A Local History of Greek Polytheism

Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

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A Local History of Greek Polytheism

Gods, People, and the Land of Aigina, 800–400 BCE

By

Irene Polinskaya



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Cover illustration: The temple and altar of the goddess Aphaia on the Greek island of Aigina. View from the East. To the left of the temple, in the distance, the characteristic triangular peak of the Oros looms over horizon.
Intervisibility between the Oros, where Zeus Hellanios had a sanctuary, and the site of Aphaia is of note.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To Michael H. Jameson, most generous mentor and friend,
—a posthumous tribute—
and
to my family, for their unflagging support in all my academic pursuits,
this book is dedicated, with love.

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PREFACE

A PERSONAL NOTE

To Michael H. Jameson, a true mentor, senior colleague and friend, I owe my first introduction to the work of Robert Levy, whose monumental study of the symbolic organization of a traditional Nepalese city, has given me both inspiration and insight into the ways we might approach the study of ancient Greek religion. Mike (as M. H. Jameson was known to his friends and colleagues) was also the first to articulate in print the usefulness of Robert Levy's anthropological work (1990) for the study of ancient Greece. In his review article published in *International Journal of Hindu Studies* (1997a), Mike acclaimed Levy's work and recalled Moses Finley's (1975a, 119) comment that "the comparative study of literate, post-primitive, pre-industrial, historical societies . . . pre-Maoist China, pre-colonial India, medieval Europe, pre-revolutionary Russia, medieval Islam" were the most appropriate and useful comparanda "for the systematic investigation of uniformities and differences, and therefore for an increased understanding of the society and culture of his own discipline," that is, of Classical antiquity.

It so happened that my own interest in ancient Greek religion has its roots in my earlier study of Russian folk traditions and was inspired by the anthropological field work I had engaged in during the course of undergraduate studies in Russia, in 1988–1992. That encounter with the world of folk legends, ancient religious beliefs, and their modern social settings in the Russian countryside of the post-Soviet era left a deep impression on me, and subsequently stimulated my thinking about the functioning of oral traditions, the origins of folk beliefs, the rooting of collective memories, and the mechanisms of religious behavior.

The present book began in 1998 as a doctoral research project at Stanford University. My object then was to study the functioning of religion in one ancient Greek community, both territorially and politically distinct. The choice fell on Aigina because of my fascination with Pindar and due to the fact that this composer of *epinikia* wrote more songs for the Aiginetans than for representatives of any other ancient Greek community. The choice, originally based on the wealth of Pindaric evidence, was strengthened by the conveniently well-defined territorial extent of

this island-state, by the small size of its territory, by the availability of useful epigraphic data, by the presence of several well-excavated sanctuaries, and by the notoriety of Aigina as an arch rival of Athens in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, the circumstance that led to a frequent appearance of Aigina in the surviving historical sources that so often focus on Athens. Although there is a good amount of evidence on the religious life of Aigina, it still begs the question whether "a good amount" is in fact enough. I recall a conversation on this subject that took place in San Francisco in 1998 with Fritz Graf to whom I was just then introduced by Mike Jameson. His main question to me then was about the evidence on Aigina: is there enough for writing a "local history of Greek polytheism"? Robert Parker's (2011, ix) dire and dramatic recent warning also reminded me of the dangers of overestimating what can be done with what is available: "Scraps of information tempt, it is true, the bold explorer; that which is almost knowable exercises a Siren-like lure; but the shores beneath the Sirens' cliff are scattered with the bleached bones of those who yield to it." My own diagnosis, after years of working with and on the island, is that Aigina lies just on the border of what is knowable, and I have taken my chances in trying to lift a veil on its religious history.

In the course of my PhD dissertation research, I spent a year (1998–1999) in residence at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, when I frequently visited the island of Aigina and conducted numerous field walks in order to understand its physical and social topography, as well as trying to find answers to the puzzling topographic descriptions and historical accounts left to us by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Pausanias, among others. Subsequent visits to the island and conversations with the archaeologists working there (E. Papastavrou, W. Gauss, G. Klebinder-Gauss, H. Goette) improved my understanding of Aigina's archaeological past and present.

The manuscript of the book was nearly complete in 2008 when it was lost due to malfunction of a computer hard drive. It took me nearly three years to restore, and in the process, revise and rewrite the book. Hence, what is presented here is a multi-stage reworking of a doctoral dissertation, begun more than a decade ago. Submitted to Brill for peer review in the spring of 2011, the text could not yet benefit from the publications of Parker 2011 and Versnel 2011, but the time for a final revision of the manuscript generously provided by the publisher in 2012 allowed me to incorporate cross-references to these two fundamental recent contributions to the field of Greek religion.

The focus on the functioning of religion in one ancient Greek state over a period of some 400 years inevitably led to the reassessing of many

old as well as current approaches to the study of Greek religion. Commonly used paradigms of interpretation had to be re-evaluated for their applicability and usefulness vis-à-vis the Aiginetan data (textual, epigraphic, archaeological, and iconographic). Persistent questioning of the tools and methods of the discipline called for an elaborate articulation of my own views and approaches, resulting in an extensive Part I of the book, which looks and acts very much like a short survey of key issues in the study of Greek religion. I feel that this coupling of conceptual overview with a concrete case study serves a purpose: the former allows readers to see 'where I come from,' in terms of the theoretical approach, and the latter (the Aiginetan case study) serves as a constant reality check on the theory. It is possible that this two-pronged exercise would prove useful, either through its successes or through it failings, for other inquiries that seek to explore the tension between the local and the panhellenic in ancient Greek religion.

My reassessment of conceptual approaches currently employed in the study of Greek religion stems from field experiences in cultural anthropology (folklore studies in Russia), a background in Classical philology and history, and a practical training in epigraphy and archaeology that has taken place in the course of my engagement with the Aiginetan material. It was inevitable that my interdisciplinary encounters, some of them deliberately sought and some of them come by unexpectedly, would lead to an advocacy of a combinatorial approach in the study of Greek religion. At the same time, there is an unmistakable and explicit adherence to social-historical principles. I approach religion as a social phenomenon, that is, as a medium of communication, which is both a product of combined religious concerns of a given community and a producer of effective and customary responses to their needs. Admittedly, this is a pragmatic and utilitarian approach. Nonetheless it does not expect to find in Greek religion either a tidy articulation of mechanisms at work or the evidence of unfailing performance. I am interested both in the functioning of religion and in the historical development of religious structures. The two aspects (functioning and development) entail the application of synchronic and diachronic analyses, to which Parts II and III of the book are respectively dedicated. Through the lens of synchronic analysis in Part II, Aigina appears under a microscope in somewhat artificial isolation from her neighbors, as if in a laboratory environment. Part III traces the historical development of Aiginetan religious structures while taking into consideration contemporary developments in the wider Greek world. Part IV combines elements of synchronic and diachronic analyses, as it

deploys a contextual perspective, where the religious world of Aigina is seen through the lenses of regional and panhellenic religious interactions. Parts II and III of the book contain a detailed evaluation of all available sources on the religious life of ancient Aiginetans in the period roughly between 800 and 400 BCE. In many cases, much space is given to the exercise of disentangling complicated sets of data and accumulated layers of misunderstanding, and to engagement with disputed interpretations. It is my hope that these sometimes lengthy discussions of the evidence will be useful to those who are interested in things Aiginetan, irrespective of their concern for the methods of studying Greek religion. Overall, my greatest hope is that the book will be useful as a resource on the Aiginetan deities, local cults, and the religious practices of Aiginetans in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations from foreign languages are my own. Abbreviations of the titles of modern periodicals are given according to *AJA*. Ancient sources (names of authors and titles of works) are cited according to *OCD* and *LSJ*, that is, in the Latinized form.

Ancient personal names and place names are given in common English transcription if they are widely known (e.g., Achilles, Corinth) and in the Hellenized form if they are less known (e.g., Karmê, Naukratis). When no firm objective criterion could be applied, the choice reflects my personal preference. For the names of Aiginetan divinities, I used only Hellenized forms (e.g., Hekate, Herakles). The main principle was to use consistently the same form, once it was chosen, throughout the book.

Termini technici are given in my text in the Hellenized transcription and are italicized, but in quotes the original formatting is preserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When a book is a result of many years of research and writing, the list of acknowledgements inevitably grows long. This book has its origin in the PhD dissertation undertaken at Stanford University and completed in 2001. It has evolved in many ways since, but the beginnings of my interest in the subject of Greek religion go back to the days of my graduate seminars, and in particular to the one on Pindar taught by Mark W. Edwards. Pindar was a revelation for me at the time, and I nearly committed myself to becoming a Pindaric scholar, writing my first conference paper on "The religious function of the epinikion," yet the "religious" aspect in the end exercised a more powerful grip on my imagination. It was Pindar that led me to Aigina, and I thank Mark Edwards for that first and spellbinding introduction to the poet. In the present study, the subject of local cultic references in Pindar's Aiginetan odes often occupies the center stage.

My dissertation readers at Stanford were Michael H. Jameson, Ian Morris, Robert (Bob) Gregg, and Susan Treggiari. Susan had the faith to offer me a graduate fellowship at Stanford some years earlier, and Bob startled me by revealing that it was not actually necessary to answer in my dissertation all the questions related to the subject of Greek religion; a small-sized contribution would do. Paradoxically, in those years that I was privileged to know Mike Jameson (1996–2004), I was not yet thoroughly familiar with his published work. Our engagement on the subject of Greek religion began as a face-to-face discussion, and continued as such for some 7 years until his untimely passing: there was no need to consult his written word because his opinion was readily available to me almost at any time of day. Mike was both open and immensely generous with his students: being neighbors in Palo Alto, we often had weekly, sometimes daily, discussions of his or my work. It was an ongoing interaction about recent publications, his views, my questions, reports of fieldwork, discussions of drafts, and of such non-academic subjects as gardening and cinema. I knew him as a live interlocutor, not as a name on a book cover. Only after his death, a deeply personal loss for me, have I come to appreciate his writings more fully: precise and sparing in words, meticulously rooted in data, and always broad in thinking. I owe Mike another special debt—an introduction to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, where the status of an Associate Student member and a grant of Jacob

Hirsch Fellowship (1998–1999) enabled me to begin my acquaintance with the island of Aigina, and to utilize the unparalleled resources of the Blegen library and of other foreign schools in Athens. As the years go by, I find myself ever closer to Mike's way of viewing Greek religion, and even to his range of academic interests: Greek epigraphy, religion, land use. His dark-tanned face lit up by a smile is ever in my mind's eye. This book is most humbly dedicated to his memory. It is his opinion on this final product of a long-term labor that I will most sorely miss.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my second PhD supervisor, Ian Morris, whose input was different to Mike's, but equally invaluable: his comments and suggestions were always to the point, informing me of a relevant piece of scholarship or unobtrusively directing me to revise and rethink some half-baked opinion. In subsequent years, following my completion of the PhD, Ian has continued to support my research by providing constructive and timely feedback on occasional queries and writing innumerable letters of recommendation to grant-providing bodies.

In the early days of my studies on Aiginetan religious history, a number of then recent scholarly publications gave direction to my research and piqued my interest in the methodology and conceptual approaches to the study of Greek religion. Among those, the works of the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1988, 1990), Francois de Polignac (1995), Robert Parker (1996), Susan Alcock and Robin Osborne (1994), as well as those of Fritz Graf (1985) and Madeleine Jost (1985) were most influential. On matters Aiginetan, it must be acknowledged that the state of scholarship would not be the same today if it were not for the monumental contribution of Thomas Figueira, whose articles and monographs (1981, 1991, 1993) on Aigina have flagged the most salient aspects of the Aiginetan historiography already decades ago and served as a starting point for my own engagement with that subject. I am grateful to all these scholars for their contribution to the field and the intellectual stimulation their works had afforded me then and continue to do so.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION: GREEK POLYTHEISM

CHAPTER ONE

RAISING QUESTIONS

1.1 'Greek Religion'—An Academic Construct?

In Ancient Greek, there were no words for 'religion,' 'ritual,' or 'cult,'[1] and the Greeks preferred to call themselves Hellenes rather than Graikoi.[2] Not least for these reasons, scholars of all conceptual orientations have been baffled by the task of making sense of 'Greek' 'religion.' Jean-Pierre Vernant declared that "in the checkerboard pattern formed by various typological combinations [in Weber's typology of religions] there is no square in which to enter Greek religion. It hardly appears as a religion at all,"[3] and Walter Burkert concluded that "an adequate account of Greek religion is nowadays an impossibility in more ways than one."[4]

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[1] We find in the Greek language words for 'customs,' 'sacrifices,' 'prayers,' 'temples,' 'hymns,' 'priests,' 'sacred things,' 'gods,' 'piety,' but not a word that could designate all of these together under such a modern umbrella-term as 'religion.' Cf. Burkert's (1985, 268–75) chapter "Piety in the Mirror of Greek Language." It is worth noting that all these terms—religion, ritual, and cult—are of Roman origin, and came into English via Latin, Christian, and, in general, West European usage. "Religion was such an integrated part of Greek life that the Greeks lacked a separate word for 'religion,'" as Bremmer (1994, 2) puts it. So Jameson 1997b, 171. Classical authors used in particular the verbs *sebesthai* and *khresthai* (see Gladigow 1990), as well as *nomizein* (Versnel 1990, 124–30) with respect to the gods: "to revere, honor", "to make use of, to have need of, to be subject to," "to recognize." The modern concept of 'religion'—"designating something apparently common to all peoples: their avowal that they were obligated by supernatural powers to act in certain ways" (Langmuir 1990, 70)—developed by the 1700s, only after the Reformation (Bossy 1985, 170).

[2] The term '*Graikoi*,' whence the Latin *Graeci*, and the English 'Greeks,' is attested in ancient Greek epigraphic and literary texts (*Mar. Par.* A11, Aristotle *Mete.* 352b2, Apollod. 1.7.3), but it is not entirely clear how 'Graikoi' and not 'Hellenes' came to designate 'Greeks' to the Romans. It may have been through their contact with western Greeks in Epirus and Akarnania, or with Greeks of particular regional derivation (e.g., from the Boiotian Graia) resident in southern Italy (Mellor 2008, 87). 'Hellenes' was a common indigenous term used by the Greeks for self-identification at least from the 6th century BC onwards (Hall 2002, 70, 125–134).

[3] Vernant 1991, 274. "Greek religion is the only one that cannot be integrated into the three-functional model . . . that Georges Dumézil has been able through comparatism to recognize in all the religions of the Indo-European peoples" (Vernant 1991, 276). Also, in the same vein: des Places 1955. Cf. Ogden 2007, 1.

[4] Burkert (1985, 7) explains the reasons: "the evidence is beyond the command of any one individual, methodology is hotly contested, and the subject itself is far from well defined." Parker (2011, viii) astutely adds on the matter of evidence: "But genuinely

The absence of indigenous Greek terminology for the concept of religion, and the diagnosis reached by such eminent scholars as Vernant and Burkert about the scale of the challenge before us, should make all scholars of Greek religion particularly alert to the poignant observation of Jonathan Z. Smith:

> While there is a staggering amount of data, of phenomena, of human experiences and expressions that might be characterized in one culture or another, by one criterion or another, as religious—*there are no data for religion*. Religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study. It is created for the scholar's analytic purposes by his imaginative acts of comparison and generalization. Religion has no independent existence apart from the academy.[5]

In the present study, my aim is to put to a rigorous test the methods that we, as scholars of Greek religion, employ in (re)constructing 'religion' from the available 'religious data.' I will be asking what can and cannot count as 'religious data,' and what current methods can and cannot be usefully employed in modeling a 'religion' on the basis of those data.[6] Although my focus will be on a concrete time and place, the island-state of Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods, a discussion and a critique of current approaches to the study of Greek religion will be necessary to explain why I retain some pieces of evidence and discard others, and why I follow some interpretive strategies or analytical models and refrain from others.

As a theological counterpart to the religions of one God, the notion of 'Greek religion' had been conceived already in antiquity, but it came into its own, as a scholarly construct, only in the 18th century CE. Today, the very challenge of the subject can perhaps be seen as a special opportunity for reaching such insights into the workings of polytheism as are not possible via the study of other Indo-European polytheistic traditions.[7] Names given by scholars to the religious ideas and practices of the ancient Greeks changed over time, as did the concepts and ideological values attached to them. Called from antiquity until the 17th century *polytheos*

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revealing evidence does not often cluster coherently enough to create a vivid sense of the religious realities of a particular time and place. Amid a vast archipelago of scattered islets of information, only a few are of a size to be habitable."

[5] Smith 1982, xi.

[6] A broad re-evaluation of paradigms is also at stake in Parker 2011 and Versnel 2011.

[7] "In this sense, the misfortune of Greek religion, an orphan cut off from its Indo-European roots, barred from the terrain of interpretation with which it should be possible to reconcile it, gives the Hellenist his opportunity" (Vernant 1991, 277).

doxa, polytheia,[8] idolatry,[9] pagan worship of many gods,[10] in the last two hundred years it has been referred to as Greek Popular Religion,[11] or simply Greek Religion,[12] while at the same time some finer distinctions have been made to designate beliefs versus practices,[13] as well as ideas and attitudes of individuals versus traditions expressed in communal myths and cults.[14]

The change in appellations reflects the developing views and attitudes of scholars and theologians. Since the days of Philo of Alexandria until the Enlightenment, the notion of Greek religion remained largely unchanged: it was the worship of many false deities instead of one true God. Colored by Christian teleology, the inquiry never assessed Greek religion on its own terms, but was rather preoccupied with finding the right place for this phenomenon in the religious history of humankind. Hence, looking back we find the interpretations of Greek religion, and of polytheism, as either primordial, transitional, or degenerate forms of faith on the way to the true enlightenment of Christianity.[15] The picture began to change in

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[8] E.g., Philo of Alexandria, *De Decalogo* 65, *De opificio mundi* 171, *De mutatione nominum* 205, etc. "Polytheism has been rediscovered only recently. This word was invented by Philo of Alexandria to describe the opposite of the Divine monarchy defined in the first commandment of the Decalogue. It only appeared in French with Jean Bodin in 1580, and in English with Samuel Purchas in 1614 in the context of a polemic directed against the "Papists" (Schmidt 1987, 10).

[9] *Eidololatreia* (Origen *Contra Celsum* 3.73; Ps.-Iust. *Mart. ad Graecos de Vera Religione* 15); Clement of Alexandria, *Strom*. 3.12.89 defines idolatry as "the extension to numerous divinities of what is reserved for the one true God," cf. *Protrepticus* 4.

[10] Bendlin (2001, 80): "die 'heidnische' Verehrung vieler Gottheiten." "*Paganismus*, a singular religious environment, is a word invented by the fourth-century Christians so that they can talk about 'it' in the same breath as they talk about Christianity and Judaism" (Dowden 2000, 3).

[11] Nilsson 1940. 'Popular religion' is used as a term distinguishing "the unreflective piety of the 'ordinary Greek' " (Rowe 1976, 51) from theological ideas of philosophers.

[12] Farnell 1896–1909; Guthrie 1950; Martin and Metzger 1976; Dietrich 1974.

[13] On the question of belief, and faith, and the (ir)relevance of these terms to Greek religion, see Veyne 1988; Dowden 2000, 2 ('believe in' is a "peculiar piece of jargon which we derive from New Testament Greek"); Sissa and Detienne 2000, 169–70; Versnel 2011, 539–559 (Appendix IV "Did the Greeks believe in their gods?"); Parker 2011, 1–39 (chapter entitled "Why believe without revelation?").

[14] Albert Henrichs (1985, 291) remarks on the significance of the term used by Wilamowitz, "der Glaube der Hellenen": "the faith of the Greeks" and the "religion of the Greeks" were not synonymous for Wilamowitz, religion being a broader concept consisting of the "religion of the heart" (i.e. religious feelings and ideas of individuals), and "religion of the community," i.e. cult. Of the broader concept of religion "faith" was but a "kernel."

[15] In late antique (patristic), medieval and Renaissance literature, the religion of the Greeks was identified as idolatry, one of the three forms of false worship, together with cosmolatry of the Chaldaeans, and zoolatry of the Egyptians. It was not until the 17th century that Herbert of Cherbury (1639) introduced the idea of a comparative history of

the 18th century. A series of ethnographic, archaeological, anthropological, and linguistic discoveries powerfully transformed the landscape of Western sciences by bringing onto the stage of academic inquiry the Indo-European family of languages, Mediterranean prehistory and prehistoric archaeology, anthropology of 'primitive' (aboriginal) tribes, and finally, the evolution of species.[16] These new fields of inquiry established a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary framework for the study of Greek religion and set the stage for debates that still rage today. Although over the centuries, the subject of Greek religion has earned its legitimacy as a scholarly construct, its precise articulations continue to be many and varied.

1.2 Religion between History and Antropology, Sociology and Psychology

Conceptually and methodologically, the study of Greek religion is a broad church. The questions asked derive from a wide range of disciplines, such

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religions, and following him Cudworth (1678, 11, 208) defined polytheism as "that is, such as Acknowledged and Worshipped a Multiplicity of Gods." With Cudworth, we witness the abandonment of the word "idolatry" together with the frame of references it evoked, and instead the adoption of the term "polytheism." In 1757, David Hume's *The Natural History of Religion* replaced the theory of primitive monotheism with that of original polytheism, and already for Hegel, the Greek and Roman worlds constituted a necessary stage in the transmigration of the Spirit, leading to the only absolute religion, Christianity. With German Romanticism, the idea of polytheism as a debased form of original revelation returned, but after the discovery of the so-called 'savage people,' theories of progress from primitive times and primitive forms of worship (aniconic images, fetishism, animism, etc.) to advanced forms were born. Benjamin Constant (1824–1831) placed polytheism in-between fetishism and theism. The same three ages, fetishistic, polytheistic, monotheistic, are established in Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* (1841). For a detailed discussion of these theoretical developments, see Schmidt (1987, 11, 19, 21, 32, 37–38), upon whose study the above summary is based.

[16] As a source of exempla (e.g., from Homeric or Platonic 'religious worlds') and as a subject of inquiry, Greek polytheism stands at the center of the humanistic debate in the West. A 'New Age' of scholarship on the history of polytheism began with the dawn of western anthropology, when the discovery of the so-called 'savage people' provided new comparanda for the ancient Greek and Roman data (see De Brosses 1760, 16). The successive publications of Darwin 1859, Lubbock 1865, Tylor 1873, Spencer 1876 marked a shift towards evolutionism, that is, "from research on primitive times . . . to an inquiry into prehistoric times. Henceforth, natural history and geology take the place which only a short while before had been that of theology or the philosophy of history" (Schmidt 1987, 41). In the fields of linguistics and philology, Franz Bopp, his first book appearing in 1816, laid a foundation for the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages, and from then onwards the comparative study of languages and religions proceeded on parallel tracks (Ernest Renan and Max Müller), and finally Müller 1878 espoused a theory of the autonomy of religious facts, "a theory which aims at saving religion from the corrupting effects of evolutionism" (Schmidt 1987, 45).

as History, Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Ethnography, Philology, and Archaeology. So that the 'who/where/when' of history are joined by the 'why' and 'how' of psychology and anthropology, while philology and archaeology determine the acceptable parameters of what we can and cannot do with our data. Unfortunately, individual studies of Greek religion have all too often in the past opted for only one or the other disciplinary approach, inevitably producing one-sided results. Today, the echoes of the 20th century's methodological clashes between structuralists and psychologists are slowly dying down, and enthusiastic endorsements of interdisciplinary approaches have become commonplace.[17] It is worth noting, however, that the recognition of the need for complementary, that is, interdisciplinary approaches to Greek religion had been formulated in the contexts of those very clashes and by the proponents of those very distinct schools of thought that had bequeathed to us the legacy of their polarized views. Historical psychologist Jean Rudhardt seemingly argues against structuralism, but in effect calls for a psychological dimension in addition, not instead of structures:

> no matter what importance I may attach to the study of structures that shape a people's character and outlook [*esprit*], I believe that we must go beyond studying them alone. The aim must be to gain access to the subjective experience which is at least partially conditioned by the structures and expresses itself through these.[18]

At one time an avowed structuralist, Vernant, against whose approach Rudhardt might be seen arguing, in fact endorses historical psychology:[19]

> The work of scholarship essential for reconstructing religious facts in all their authenticity is incapable by itself of elucidating them. Other branches of learning such as religious sociology and historical psychology are needed. In other words, the research of the specialist, without abandoning its identity, must become one of religious anthropology. The continually repeated perusal of the texts of myths, the careful deciphering of the structures of the pantheon, the exact interpretation of rituals, should not be separated from an inquiry of dual dimensions which would concern, in the first place, the social roots and status within the group of the various kinds of beliefs and

[17] See, e.g., Parker 2011, ix: "we need 'theory' in the sense of a discussion shared by archaeologists, literary scholars, and historians as to how, say, a Greek god is to be analyzed and described, and what a hero might be, or how a religious system that lacks sacred texts and formal religious institutions can operate."

[18] Rudhardt 1981, 10.

[19] Versnel (2011, 26) discusses this shift in Vernant's work to 'psychologie historique.'

> believers, and in the second, the psychological world, the mental categories of ancient religious man.[20]

Echoing Vernant, Clifford Geertz aptly articulated the exercise that a religious anthropologist must learn to perform:

> a characteristic intellectual movement . . . namely, a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view . . .[21]

Historical psychology, anthropological history, ethnoarchaeology, social history, religious anthropology,—to most historians nowadays, it is quite apparent that a combination of disciplinary approaches is necessary for the study of Greek religion. The means, however, by which Rudhardt advocates "gaining access to the subjective experience" of the ancients,[22] however, would be anathema to a cultural anthropologist such as Geertz who advises against laying too much hope on psychological quasi-identification with an informant. Rather Geertz would have us working to understand the native's "symbol systems."[23] The challenge for ancient historians is much more compounded, however, as we cannot time-travel and interview live informants. Instead we have to work with surviving fragments of textual and archaeological data that come with daunting limitations of what can be reasonably and responsibly said about both "symbols" and "systems."[24] And yet, as stated earlier, the field of Greek religion is a broad church, and the ever-increasing movement towards interdisciplinary inquiries will be certain to yield new and possibly unusual varieties of outcomes in future

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[20] Vernant 1991, 273.

[21] Geertz 1983, 69. Geertz (1983, 57) uses psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut's concepts of 'experience-near' and 'experience-distant' for vivid illustration of the academic challenge: " 'Love' is an experience-near concept . . . 'Social stratification' and perhaps for most peoples in the world even 'religion' (and certainly 'religious system') are experience-distant . . . Confinement to experience-near concepts leaves an ethnographer awash in immediacies, as well as entangled in vernacular. Confinement to experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in abstractions and smothered in jargon."

[22] "On the subject of religion [the researcher] must turn him- or herself into a religious devotee and imaginatively conceptualize the religion under study in precisely the same way as the person who practised it daily ever since learning in childhood the obligations it imposes. To achieve this emphatic identification there is no alternative to as it were becoming the pupils of those whom we wish to understand. We must watch them living and copy them in our imagination, because we cannot do otherwise . . . The procedure may perhaps be illusory, and certainly it is always approximate, but there are no other ways of approach" (Rudhardt 1981, 16, quoted in Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1994, translated by P. Cartledge).

[23] Geertz 1983, 70.

[24] Note Parker's (2011, ix) warning once again.

treatments of the subject. All of this is surely to be welcome, as long as we heed Jonathan Z. Smith's advice:

> the student of religion, and most particularly the historian of religion, must be relentlessly self-conscious. Indeed, this self-consciousness constitutes his primary expertise, his foremost object of study.[25]

It is one of my main objectives in the present study to question the suitability of methods and approaches that we/I apply in the study of Greek religion: from what might seem like a minor issue, the iconography of divine attributes, to a much larger issue, interpretive paradigms. I will discuss the present diversity of scholarship on Greek religion as conditioned by three major factors: (1) the nature of available sources (textual, epigraphic, archaeological, iconographic), (2) the corresponding disciplinary divides within Classics (philology, history, archaeology and art history), and (3) the impact of deeply rooted interpretive paradigms.

1.3 A Greek Puzzle: One Religion and Many Pantheons

The usability of the term 'Greek religion' is compromised not only by the absence of indigenous terminology and by the construct nature of any religion (1.1), more significantly it is compromised by the socio-political conditions of the ancient Greek world. The geopolitical fragmentation of the Greek world meant that there were multiple centers of religious life in ancient Greece.[26] In the words of Jan Bremmer:

> Every city had its own pantheon in which some gods were more important than others and some gods not even worshipped at all. Every city also had its own mythology, its own religious calendar and its own festivals. No Greek city, then, was a religious clone.[27]

In his characteristic fashion, Walter Burkert stated point-blank the question that begs to be asked on the basis of such realia: "would it not be more correct to speak in the plural of Greek religions?"[28] But Burkert himself and many other contemporary scholars, while recognizing the religious variability in the Greek world, nevertheless see it as multiplicity within unity.[29] And yet this postulated unity continues to be frustratingly

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[25] Smith 1982, xi.

[26] So Mikalson 2010, 47–49; Parker 2011, 70; Versnel 2011, 88–102.

[27] Bremmer 1994, 1.

[28] Price 1999 translates this question into his book title.

[29] Burkert 1985, 8: "in spite of all emphasis on local or sectarian peculiarities, the Greeks themselves regarded the various manifestations of their religious life as essentially com-

elusive. The most that scholars have been able to do is to present unity as a composite of various aspects and dimensions, such as common Greek language, common literary culture (Homer),[30] panhellenic sanctuaries, "typical Greek style of visual art,"[31] "compatibility of various manifestations of religious life,"[32] the same gods/gods of the same name,[33] common forms of worship (e.g., sacrifice, votive dedications, feasts, processions, etc.), and common material attributes of a sanctuary (altar, *temenos* wall, temple, cult statue).[34] These are heterogeneous elements that contribute in very different ways to the concept of 'Greek religion.'

Many of the same elements are the building blocks of another difficult concept, 'panhellenism', which in turn overlaps with the definition of 'hellenicity' and bears on the issue of Greek national identity.[35] Panhellenism is a hard concept to pin down. It is a sort of cultural Esperanto, a recognized

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patible, as a diversity of practice in devotion to the same gods was not questioned even by Greek philosophy." Bremmer 1994, 1: "Yet, the various city-religions overlapped sufficiently to warrant the continued use of the term 'Greek religion'." Cf. Price 1999, 3: "The religious system exemplified in the *Anabasis* was one common to all Greeks. The 10,000, drawn from numerous Greek cities, were not just an army of Greeks, they were almost a Greek polis on the move. Their practices and attitudes illustrate a religious system common to all Greeks." "Apollo is central to the Greek theological system . . ." (Davies 1997, 50). "The whole of the Greek world, from one end to the other, does however, manifest, as it were, a particular style of polytheism that has its own distinctive characteristics" (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 155). Cf. Vernant 1993, 100. Most recent and poignant articulation in Versnel 2011, ch. I and ch. III, 240–241. See also Parker 2011, 66–67.

[30] Nagy 1994 [1990], 54. Cf. Burkert 1985, 120: "The spiritual unity of the Greeks was founded and upheld by poetry—a poetry which could still draw on living oral tradition to produce a felicitous union of freedom and form, spontaneity and discipline. To be a Greek was to be educated, and the foundation of all education was Homer." Vernant, in a rare case of complete agreement with Burkert, echoes the same: "Had it not been for all the works of the epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, we could speak of Greek cults in the plural instead of a unified Greek religion" (Vernant 1993, 100). See also a concise discussion of Burkert's and Vernant's views in Versnel 2011, 31–32.

[31] Burkert 1985, 8; Snodgrass 1998.

[32] Burkert 1985, 8.

[33] But cf. the cultic epithet *Athena Athenôn medeousa* attested on Samos: *IG* I^3 1494, 1495. The use of this epithet testifies to the effort to distinguish between local Athenas and the Athenian Athena, a clear indication that for the ancient Greeks the sameness of name was not equivalent to the sameness of identity. Versnel 2011, 60–84 is the most up to date and stimulating demonstration of how problematic the category of divine names and epithets is.

[34] Hall 2002, 192: "In other words, religious homogeneity was not something that could be taken for granted, and ultimately Herodotus falls back on nothing more complex than a basic 'trinity' of Hellenic religious markers: statues, altars and temples. Their absence from Persian (1.131–32) and Skythian (4.59) religions is evoked implicitly to promote their centrality within Hellenic religious practices."

[35] Walbank 1985 [1951] and 2000; Hall 2002, 205–220; Mitchell 2007; Perlman 1976; Flower 2000; Morgan 1993.

cultural code to which local Greek communities periodically bent their epichoric voices in order to enable communication and competition with each other. To concretize it, classical philologists, historians, and archaeologists point to panhellenic poetry and panhellenic sanctuaries as specific working manifestations of this code.[36] Sourvinou-Inwood called it "panhellenic religious dimension."[37] But like Esperanto, panhellenism is an artificial entity, recognizable through its individual elements in many historical Greek communities, but in its entirety found in none.

The notion of panhellenism, or else hellenicity, in modern scholarship, is in large part due to the formulation of Herodotus 8.144 who tied religious, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural characteristics in the definition of *to hellenikon*. This definition, which contains a reference to the "common sanctuaries and sacrifices of the gods," for many modern historians of Greek religion continues to serve as 'the' indisputable evidence for the unity of Greek religion,[38] but Herodotean meaning in this context is rather limited: the shared sanctuaries and sacrifices refer to specific settings and times when and where the sharing occurred and do not refer to any and all Greek sanctuaries and festivals everywhere.[39] Shared sanctuaries and festivals do point to the existence of religious ties between the Greeks, but they should not be read as a stand-in for 'Greek religion' as a whole.

The greatest difficulty with maintaining the notion of 'common Greek religion' arises when we turn away from such general categories as names

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[36] Nagy (1994 [1990], 52–54) borrowing his definition from Snodgrass understands panhellenism as "the pattern of intensified intercommunication among the city-states of Hellas, starting in the eighth century BC, as evidenced in particular by the following institutions: Olympic Games, Delphic Oracle, and Homeric Poetry."

[37] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a [1990a], 17–18: "panhellenic religious dimension . . . is articulated in, and through, Panhellenic poetry and the Panhellenic sanctuaries; it was created, in a dispersed and varied way, out of selected elements from certain local systems, at the interface between the (interacting) polis religious systems—which it then also helped to shape. The Greeks saw themselves as part of one religious group; the fact that they had common sanctuaries and sacrifices—as well as the same language and the same blood, a perceived common ancestry, and the same way of life—was one of the defining characteristics of Greekness (Hdt. 8.144.2). This identity was cultically expressed in, and reinforced through, ritual activities in which the participating group was 'all the Greeks' and from which foreigners were excluded, of which the most important was competing in the Olympic Games (Hdt. 2.160; 5.22)." Sourvinou-Inwood 2000b [1988] compliments her 2000a [1990a] publication.

[38] E.g., Armstrong's (1986) continuous references to an undifferentiated "Hellenic piety" are a poignant illustration of the problem. Cf. Lévy 2000, 12.

[39] See Polinskaya 2010. The same opinion in Mikalson 2010, 223, of which I was not aware when writing my own paper for the Penn-Leiden Colloquium on Ancient Values V.

of gods, types of dedications, forms of worship, that is, from the categories of *la langue* to the categories of *la parole*,[40] to use an analogy with language, namely, to specific articulations of religiosity in specific places and at specific times as opposed to the overall potential of a given religion as a medium of communication. Greece was never one,[41] but always many places, loosely held together by linguistic affinity and what is sometimes called 'cultural tradition.'[42] Indeed, the geopolitical fragmentation of the Greek world forced Burkert to draw a list of geographical locales where ancient Greek was spoken in order to describe the subject of his study.[43]

Horden and Purcell see the extreme geopolitical fragmentation, in their words, "tessalation of spaces," as a particular characteristic of the Mediterranean world:

> [T]he zones and localities that jostle in the Mediterranean can be differentiated in the intensity of their fragmentation. The nature of the diversity itself is diverse. In any given locale, relatively more uniform tracts of plateau or plain may mesh with terrace of valley-side, each hollow, dune and pool of coastal lowland, may have its own identity.[44]

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[40] Saussure 1960 [1916], 7–23.

[41] Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 7.6.1327b33 who laments that Greece is not a single political state, or it would have been able to rule all nations due to its unique combination of spiritedness and intelligence. Cole 1995, 317: "There does not seem to be a simple explanation that works for all Greek poleis at all times and in all places."

[42] Finley 1975b; Walbank 1985 [1951], 4: "distinction between Kulturnation and the Staatsnation. These expressions are not wholly happy, but they sum up the thesis that a nation need not necessarily be united under a single state to enjoy consciousness of its own identity; nationhood, on this argument, is something which depends on the possession of several—but not necessarily all—of the following factors: a common habitation, a common language, a common spiritual and intellectual life, and a common state or share in a federation of states. The Greeks possessed sufficient of these in common to rank as, and feel themselves, a nation; but without political unity, they must be regarded as Kulturnation only." Walbank 2000 returned to the same issue almost five decades later. See also Hall 2002, 189–220. Hall 2002, 193 points out that "the novelty of Herodotus' definition of Hellenicity in book 8 is that it seemingly relegates kinship to the same level as broader cultural criteria—or, put another way, it promotes cultural criteria (including language and religion) to the same level as kinship." The cultural criteria that define Hellenicity are moreover of the Athenian origin: "the construction of Hellenicity that emerges in the late fifth century . . . represents instead what we may term an 'Athenoconcentric' conception of the world" (Hall 2002, 203).

[43] Burkert 1985, 8: "The proper subject of our study may therefore be defined as the religion of a group of cities and tribes united by bonds of language and culture in Greece, on the Aegean islands and along the coast of Asia Minor, together with their colonies from the Black Sea to Sicily, Southern Italy, Marseilles, and Spain during the Late Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods—approximately between 800 and 300 BC."

[44] Horden and Purcell 2000, 80.

The size of individual fragments matters less than the fact of fragmentation, they argue, and each fragment is a microecology:

> a locality (a 'definite place') with a distinctive identity derived from the set of available productive opportunities and the particular interplay of human responses to them in a given period.[45]

Horden and Purcell's "definite places" are the very topoi where the religious order of the Greek world finds its multiple anchors.[46] And as our evidence shows, the Greek inhabitants of 'definite places' of the Mediterranean much more often than not used religious traditions to differentiate between themselves rather than to underscore their unity.[47] From the earliest to the latest surviving ancient textual sources, we observe a world where Greeks pitch their community gods against those of other communities, punish their Greek neighbors for intruding in local religious procedures, and insist on the singular truth of their epichoric myths.

To give just a few examples, we may recall the sources that illustrate alliances between various Greek communities and different deities. In some literary texts, as early as Homer, these alignments are represented as military, wherein gods fight against each other on behalf of different human collectives.[48] In Attic tragedies, such alignments are even more pronounced. For example, in Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 347–352, an Athenian can say:

> The gods we have as allies are not worse (θεοῖσι δ'οὐ κακίοσιν) than those of the Argives, my lord. For Hera, Zeus's wife, is their champion, but Athena is ours. This too, I maintain, is a source of good fortune to us, that we have better gods (θεῶν ἀμεινόνων τυχεῖν). For Pallas Athena will not brook defeat. (Trans. D. Kovacs)

The same characteristic logic underlies the offer made by Eurystheus to the Athenians (Euripides, *Heracl.*, 1032–1036): σοὶ μὲν εὔνους καὶ πόλει σωτήριος | μέτοικος αἰεὶ κείσομαι κατὰ χθονός, | τοῖς τῶνδε δ' ἐκγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος. If buried in Attic soil, he will be a defender of the Athenians and an enemy of the Spartans. Likewise in Euripides, *Electra*, 671–675, Orestes and Electra pray to Zeus as to "my fathers' god and router of my enemies"—ὦ Ζεῦ πατρῶιε καὶ τροπαῖ' ἐχθρῶν ἐμῶν—and to Hera as the "ruler of Mycenae's

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[45] Horden and Purcell 2000, 79–80.

[46] "Fragmented environments and fragmented religion are linked" (Horden and Purcell 2000, 451).

[47] Cf. Scott 2010, ch. 9.

[48] Gladigow 1983, 298–301.

altars"—Ἥρα τε βωμῶν ἢ Μυκηναίων κρατεῖς νίκην δὸς ἡμῖν. A reader unfamiliar with the subject of Greek religion could mistakenly conclude from these statements that Athena was exclusively Athenian, and Hera exclusively Argive, or that deities were not communal but personal patrons, and that Zeus and Hera owed exclusive allegiance to the ruling dynasty of Mycenae.

Even in non-military contexts, the same alignments between local deities and their communities prevailed. When representatives of several cities assembled together for an event of common significance, each city could maintain its religious distinctiveness by sacrificing to its own gods. So, when the supporting parties gathered to inaugurate the foundation of Messene, Arkadians provided the victims, Epaminondas and the Thebans sacrificed to Dionysos and Apollo Ismenios, the Argives to Argive Hera and the Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to Zeus of Ithome and the Dioskouroi, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Kaukon (Paus. 4.27.6).[49] This instance can be compared to the situation in Naukratis where some cities built a common sanctuary, the Hellenion, together, and other cities built separate sanctuaries for themselves: Aigina to Zeus, Samos to Hera, and Miletos to Apollo, that is, each to the major deity of their state (Hdt. 2.178). Likewise, it is possible that when Xenophon (*An.* 5.5.5) says that the Greeks of the Ten Thousand at Kortyora sacrificed and organized processions and athletic competitions to the gods κατὰ ἔθνος he means that each *ethnos* addressed their own set of deities rather than that each group separately invoked the same ones.[50] In the words of Burkert, "an Arkadian will celebrate the Lykaia festival even when in Asia Minor."[51] The same kind of testimony can be found among traditional forms of

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[49] I do wonder, however, how Pausanias could know so precisely, in the middle of the 2nd century CE, who sacrificed to whom on that momentous occasion some 450 years earlier. Perhaps the neat attribution of deities to their respective worshipping groups is more the work of Pausanias than of his unknown sources on this matter. And yet, we cannot exclude the possibility that so it was.

[50] *An.* 5.5.5–6 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα πέντε. ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς. "There [at Kortyora] they remained forty-five days. During this time they first of all sacrificed to the gods, and all the several groups of the Greeks, nation by nation, instituted festal processions and athletic contests" (trans. O. J. Todd).

[51] Burkert 1985, 176 with reference to Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.10–11: ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. Xenias the Arkadian was the commander of Cyrus' mercenaries in the cities (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.1, 1.2.3). It would be interesting to know who were the participants in the festival and the games, only Arkadians or other Greeks as well. The celebration of the Lykaia was preceded by the arrival at Cyrus' camp of a contingent

religious communication, such as oaths. For example, a Smyrnaean, ca. 244 BCE, specifies that he or she calls upon their own local deities such as the Sipylynean Mother and Apollo in the Pandoi, among others, to honor their oath:

> Ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴ[ν] Μητέρα τὴν Σιπυλυνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐμ Πάνδοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκον τύχην.[52]
>
> I swear by Zeus, Gê, Helios, Ares, Athena Areia and Tauropolos, and by the Sipylynean Mother, and Apollo in the Pandoi, and by all other gods and goddesses, as well as by the Fortune of King Seleukos.

In a similar example from Koropes, 2nd or 1st cent. BCE, a Koropean calls specifically upon Apollo of Koropes to witness the oath.[53] The cases of the Sipylynean Mother, Apollo in the Pandoi, and the Koropean Apollo point to a critical factor in our understanding of Greek religion: in different locations, not [only] generic (common) deities (Apollos, Artemides, etc.), but specific local divine manifestations were in operation. The choice of local deities as witnesses to an oath raises a question of cardinal importance to our understanding of ancient Greek polytheism:[54] what was the ritual function of specifying a deity invoked by his/her affiliation with a certain location?

1.4 Local Deities and Panhellenic Identities

In the use of toponymic cultic epithets we come face to face with the cognitive tension between local deities and panhellenic divine identities. The use of the same names for gods in different locations of the ancient Greek world is a complicated matter.[55] The flip side of the usage of common names is the local differentiation by toponymic epithets, for example,

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of hoplites a thousand strong under the command of Sophainetos the Arkadian (*Anab.* 1.2.9).

[52] *OGIS* I 229; Jacobi 1930, 18. Almost identical swearing formulae are found in the examples from Khersonesos and Pergamon: *SIG* I3 360 = Jacobi 1930, 18, late 4th or early 3rd cent. BCE; *IPerg* I 13 = *OGIS* I 266 = Jacobi 1930, 18, post 263 BCE.

[53] *IG* IX 2, 1109: Ὀμνύω Δία Ἀκραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω[να] τὸν Κοροπῖον καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἰωλκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλ[λους] θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. "I swear by Zeus Akraios and by Apollo of Koropes, and by Artemis of Iolkos, and by all other gods and goddesses."

[54] See Polinskaya 2012.

[55] Graf 1996; Brulé 1998; Belayche et al. 2005.

Athena the Ruler of Athenians, Ephesian Artemis, Sounian Apollo. Were gods worshipped in different Greek communities and called by the same names the same? If yes, why were toponymic epithets needed? If no, why were the gods called by the same names? Is the sameness of name the sameness of identity?

If we argue that local epithets signify different deities, we will also have to account for such examples when the inhabitants of one location explicitly call upon a deity from another location (e.g., in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, Athenians call Athena from the Troad) as if they considered the two deities to be the same. Yet another question is how to understand the presence of two or three different cults and shrines for a deity of the same name in the same state (e.g., Athena Polias on the acropolis of Athens, and Athena Pallenis in the hinterland of Attica; or Athena Polias/Parthenos and Athena Nike on the Athenian acropolis). In fact, the relationship between the name and the identity of a deity or a hero/heroine in different parts of the Greek world becomes a matter of dramatic exploration in several Euripidean tragedies, e.g., *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The identification of figures with the same name from different locations with one another is a novel dramatic device in Euripidean tragedies opening up a long tradition of dramas of lost and rediscovered identities in European theater. Perhaps part of the solution lies in distinguishing between gods of poetry and drama and gods of cult.[56] Just as we would be mistaken to assume that the Homeric pantheon of gods is that of every ancient Greek city, so we would be mistaken to advance identical explanations for the handling of the sameness of divine names in literature as in cults. Both in Homer and in Attic drama, we find a careful distribution of deities between opposing human sides, for example, Athena fights on the side of the Athenians, and Hera on the side of the Argives in the Euripedean *Heraclidae*. In the *Iliad*, however, we observe that Hera and Athena fight together on the Greek side, and Aphrodite and Apollo on the Trojan side. In other words, it is not a fight between an Apollo of the Greeks and an Apollo of the Trojans, but between different deities attached to different human groups. In fact, we never encounter in our literary sources an Apollo or Athena of one Greek city fighting an Apollo or Athena of another city.[57] In a

[56] Mikalson (2010, 34–36) advises this route.

[57] The cultic reality might present a possible exception: Versnel 2011, 107 (with bibliography) discusses an inscription (*I. Ephesos* 2, *SEG* XXXVI 1011) that, according to some interpreters, documents a clash between the worshippers of (non-local) Ephesian Artemis

dramatic or epic narrative, this would be indeed impossible. To introduce two Apollos into the *Iliad* would ruin the unity of its dramatic world and run contrary to the purpose of using each character as a distinct type. In other words, the use of clearly defined deities in epic and drama is governed by the requirements and needs of literary genres. We should not, therefore, draw a direct analogy between the usage of deities' names in poetry and in religious practices.

In the sphere of cults, the very existence of multiple sanctuaries of homonymous deities in one location suggests that the Greeks did not worry about the problem of split personality of a deity. That is not to say that they did not perceive an ontological problem there,[58] only that they did not act on it. How the ancients may have answered the question if confronted with it we can only guess, but perhaps we should be equally careful about putting our own answer into their mouths. While the reasons for the emergence of homonymous cults in different locations (e.g., Apollo Delphinios in Athens and in Aigina) could be different from the reasons for the emergence of several cults of a homonymous deity in the same location (e.g., Apollo Apotropaios, Nymphegetes, Lykeios, Delphinios, Pythios, and Paion in the deme of Erkhia in Attica), it appears that in both cases, ancient Greeks resisted the equation or conflation of the cults of a homonymous deity. Instead, they told stories that offered explanations for the singularity of each cult in a given location, and hence, justified its right for a separate existence. For instance, Pausanias (2.30.7, 2.31.1, 2.31.4) recorded distinct local stories that explained the existence of three sanctuaries of Artemis, each with a different epiclesis, at Troizen: of Artemis Saronia, Artemis Saviour, and Artemis Lykeia.

For the study of Aiginetan deities, and of any local grouping of cults, it is fundamental to take a position on how to treat the semantic potential of divine names and epithets for the assessment of social functions of these deities in a local context. The relevant questions include:

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at Sardis and the worshippers of the local Artemis, so presumably a clash between two groups of Artemis-worshippers, each honoring a different Artemis.

[58] See e.g., Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus* 4–9: πῶς καί νιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον; | ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον. | Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι, | Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο; | 'Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται'· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί. Versnel (2011, 71) discusses a rare example of a Greek (here Socrates) debating the issue of multiple Aphrodites in Xen. *Symp*. 8.9. See further in Versnel 2011 on split personalities of deities.

– Does *a divine name* (e.g., Zeus, Aphaia, Pan) signify a distinct set of criteria applicable across the Greek world: visual (representation, attributes), functional (roles = *kai timai te kai tekhnai*),[59] discursive (narratives), and ritual (customary sacrifice, prayer, votive, type of sanctuary)?
– Does a *divine epithet* (e.g., Patroos, or Agoraios) signify a distinct (panhellenic, regional, ethnic, local) set of criteria (any and/or all of the above)?
– Does a *combination of divine name and epithet* (e.g., Apollo Patroos) signify a distinct (panhellenic, regional, ethnic, local) set of criteria (any and/or all of the above)?

Representatives of the so-called 'l'École de Paris' (inspired and for many years led by J.-P. Vernant) answer 'yes' to the first question because they argue that a common 'mode of acting' underlies the multiplicity of functions found associated with a particular deity in the Greek sources:

> The domain of each divinity is circumscribed, each has a specific mode of acting . . . each sphere of activity is covered by a diverse set of divine powers . . . In the domain of land, opposite Demeter, the divinity of cultivated and fertile land who invented corn, Athena who invented the plow represents the application of technical wisdom to agriculture.[60]

Although more than one deity could be associated with a particular sphere of human concerns, such as war, marriage, agriculture, and so on, many scholars of the Paris School would argue that each of these deities contributes a different (and unique to them) mode of acting in that particular sphere. So, the orderly and meaningful construction of the divine world is maintained. It is these 'modes of acting' that carry panhellenic meanings in association with specific deities, so that Apollo (whatever his local epithet) would be found displaying his characteristic mode of acting, across multiple local variations.[61] "It is nonetheless clear that each divinity has

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[59] Hdt. 2.53.

[60] Jost 1992, 33: "Mais, à y regarder de plus près, le domaine de chaque divinité est délimité, et elle y a un mode d'action propre . . . chaque domaine est protégé par un ensemble diversifié de puissances divines . . . dans le domaine de la terre, en face de Déméter, divinité de la terre cultivée et féconde qui invente le blé, Athéna, qui invente l'araire, représente l'intelligence technique appliquée à l'agriculture."

[61] Jost 1992, 34: "Mais, il est vrai, en gros, que chaque divinité a, dans chaque domaine, une puissance délimitée et limitée . . . En contrepartie, on constate que chaque divinité intervient dans plusiers domaines; elle a, outre sa 'spécialité,' une certaine polyvalence." As an example, Jost cites the multi-functionality of Athena in Attica and the solutions

one personality that finds expression in a multitude of concerns," as Jost concludes.[62] Other scholars, outside the Paris School, also struggle with the singleness of name and diversity of identities: Davies designates the latter a divinity's 'portfolio of functions,' which is similar to Jost's unity of personality with a multiplicity of concerns.[63]

A very different way of reading the evidence is proposed by Mikalson and in a much more elaborate way, by Versnel 2011. Rather than looking for ways to unify diversity through an identification of universal modes of divine acting, these two scholars advocate a notion of dual/multiple cognitive realities in Greek religious thinking. According to Mikalson who comments on the differentiation between the representation of deities in poetry and in cult:

> The deities of Greek poetry, in a sense, both *were* (by name, physical appearance, and sometimes function) and *were not* (by local cult myths, rituals, and sometimes function) the deities whom each Greek personally worshipped.[64]

This simultaneous "were and were not" mode is what Versnel (2011) identifies as the major ancient Greek way of coping with polytheistic reality, in that Greeks were adept, it would seem, at shifting between different registers, or foci, of consciousness,[65] which allowed for widely varying, often contradictory, views of divinity to co-exist because they were never operative at once. As Versnel argues, the shifting foci of consciousness ("a virtuoso winking process") are key to our understanding of how the ancient Greeks managed to prevent the different conceptions of divinity from clashing and hence how they moved between one register of order and unity to another:

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proposed by Detienne and Vernant (1974) to distinguish not one but two distinct, yet complimentary Athenas, or else (Vernant 1974) to find the "unity of the goddess" in her quality of métis, "wisdom" which connects all her domains.

[62] "Il est clair néanmoins que chaque divinité a *une* personnalité qui s'exprime dans une multitude de préoccupations." At the same time, Jost (1992, 34) admits that the attempts of the Paris School representatives to drive back all the functions of one divinity to one unique orientation ("il peut paraître artificiel de ramener toutes les fonctions d'une divinité à une orientation unique") might (and do!) appear "artificial."

[63] Davies 1997, 2009; Dowden 2000. Parker (2011, 87) uses an analogy with concertina: "every major god is a concertina that can be expanded or contracted."

[64] Mikalson 2010, 35–36.

[65] Versnel 2011, 90. Underlying Versnel's epistemology here is the work of Wallace Chafe 1994 whom Versnel quotes on p. 83.

> there is no unity, there are unities, creating at a different level a new diversity . . . multiple frames of reference, contexts and perspectives, each of them serving to help create order in an otherwise confusing diversity.[66]

To restate the puzzle: the notion of common Greek religion postulated on the basis of language, art, and literature, and such general categories as forms of ritual, forms of dedications, names of deities, and types of religious celebrations to which all Greeks were potentially admissible, is offset by an overwhelming amount of evidence for religious differentiation among Greek communities.[67] As much as the Greeks of various communities fought to differentiate themselves from others, that much more they articulated their right to the favor of their own gods, and that much more they appropriated, domesticated, localized them, and then pitted them against their Greek neighbors. The latter, in turn, did the same vis-à-vis their own neighbors unperturbed by the accusations of inconsistency that historians of Greek religion would mount against them millennia later.[68] The distinctions that characterized each local community are not neutralized by the fact that some communities may have derived their local cultic calendars from a common source (e.g., we may note the similarity between Ionian calendars),[69] or that certain ethnic or territorial groups came together to worship at a common religious center. Such connections reflect two major ontological dimensions in human-divine interaction: spatial, territorial contiguity between religious communities, and a temporal continuity from generation to generation, via real or putative blood ties.

In sum, for a modern historian, the major challenge in the study of Greek religion has to do with the apparent difference between the Greek world conceived [of] as a cultural unity and the Greek world conceived [of] as a geopolitical fragmentation. The distinction between culture and social structure central to Merton's functionalist theory is helpful here: "culture provides people with normative guidelines, social structure refers

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[66] Versnel 2011, 146 and on p. 83: "I would suggest that various different conceptions of the unity or diversity of gods with one name and different epithets or different residences are stored in the mind of a person, but that it is the shift in context—literary, social, regional—(or on the level of education) that triggers a specific focus."

[67] Cf. Schachter 2000.

[68] Burkert 1985, 119–20; Guthrie 1950, 183; Rowe (1976, 48) emphasizes that modern historians of Greek religion are still involved in the same exercise as was begun by Hesiod, "that of attempting to mitigate, in a creative way, the apparent chaos and disunity of Greek religious ideas." See also Versnel 2000; 2011, 148.

[69] Trümpy 1997.

to an organized set of social relations. Culture informs people about what is desirable and to be aimed at, whereas the very fact that they operate within a social structure implies various opportunities and constraints."[70] Religion is an interface between culture and social structure, and in the historical study of religion, it is essential to acknowledge both of these dimensions. In Greek antiquity, the contrast between the presumed Hellenic cultural unity and the documented social diversity has led scholars to make a false choice between either culture or social structure in the study of religion. Social structure provides an operating basis for religious life. While culture supplies a general repertoire of religious ideas and practices, and social structure determines how religion works, neither is operative or comprehensible in separation from the other. Social structures in the Greek world reflect its endemic geopolitical fragmentation, with which religious differentiation has always walked in tandem, from early Archaic down to late Roman times.[71] Every time we cross (mentally or physically) a geopolitical boundary in the Greek world, we find ourselves inside a different religious framework. The neighbors do not tell the same stories about the gods of the same name, the disposition of divine figures in the local landscape is different, and the group of divinities is never exactly the same. In the context of geopolitical fragmentation of the Greek world, perhaps the most tangible expression of religious diversity between states, regions, and communities was the difference in the composition of groupings of deities worshipped in their respective local socio-territorial units. The composition, functioning and historical development of one such local group of deities—that of the island of Aigina—constitute the subject of this book.

Leaving aside the difficulties of defining religion in general,[72] we might proceed from the cautious premise that the character of any specific religion is determined by the basic conception of the divine in its relationship

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[70] See Baert (1998, 57) on Robert Merton's contribution to the functionalist thinking in social theory.

[71] Alcock 1993, 172–214; Alcock 1994; Elsner 1995, 125–155.

[72] E.g., Murray 1912, 18: "I shall not start with any definition of religion. Religion, like poetry and most other living things, cannot be defined"; cf. Geertz 1973, 90: "Let us, therefore, reduce our paradigm to a definition, for, although, it is notorious that definitions establish nothing, in themselves, they do, if they are carefully enough constructed, provide a useful orientation, or reorientation, of thought, such that an extended unpacking of them can be an effective way of developing and controlling a novel line of inquiry. They have the useful virtue of explicitness: they commit themselves in a way discursive prose, which, in this field especially, is always liable to substitute rhetoric for argument, does not. Without further ado, then, religion is . . ."

to the world and mankind. The Greeks conceived the nature of the divine as existing in multiple forms.[73] The main implication of the polytheistic character of Greek religion is that in every instance when we deal with an account of a particular deity, we are hearing only one chord from a musical score, a chord that does not have an independent existence, but acts as part of a larger whole.[74] These larger wholes are groupings of deities worshipped by specific communities of the ancient Greek world.[75]

In contemporary scholarship, such groupings of deities are often identified as "pantheons," and are inseparable from the concept of "polytheism," both of which are relatively recent constructs.[76] There is however, a nuance of substance, and hence of terminology, which is worth considering. The group of deities known in local cults and that which is known in the local mythological tradition will not always be the same: there might have been deities and heroes that played a role in local myths, but were not worshipped in local cults.[77] Such divine figures would inhabit the mental world of a local worshipper, but not the physical world of his/her local cultic practice. Such a mental world of the divine would thus be broader and at the same time more abstract than that of the world of cultic practice. In this way it would be similar to the divine world of poetry, and a grouping of deities associated with the mental picture of the local divine world could be appropriately called a pantheon: the totality of deities within the cognitive world of a worshipper. It is helpful, however, both in general and certainly for my study of the Aiginetan religious life, to distinguish such a mental local 'pantheon' from the tangible group of

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[73] Euripides, *Ba.* 1388, *Alc.* 1159, *Andr.* 1284, *Hel.* 1688: *pollai morfai tôn daimoniôn* . . . An excellent survey of issues related to divine plurality is Versnel 2011, 239–307.

[74] Such terms as 'polytheism' and 'pantheon,' both relatively modern creations, are nevertheless useful as epistemological tools and should be used accordingly. Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1998, 7–10. Contra: Simon Price 1999, 11.

[75] In the words of Walter Burkert (1985, 216), "polytheism means that many gods are worshipped not only at the same place and at the same time, but by the same community and by the same individual." "Unlike Christianity and Islam, Greek religion was polytheistic. This is not just a difference in quantity. In polytheism, the pantheon constitutes a kind of system, where gods may complement one another or may be in mutual opposition . . . As only the totality of the gods was believed to cover the whole of life, ranging from orderly Apollo to bloodthirsty Ares, piety never meant devotion to only one god, although closeness of a shrine may have fostered a special relationship with a god or hero" (Bremmer 1994, 4).

[76] Bendlin 2001 and 2000.

[77] Vice versa, we might hypothesize an existence of local cults without elaborate (or any?) aetiological lore attached to them. Perhaps such a situation is imaginable when an aetiology gets lost in transmission while the practice continues: "we do this because our parents did this, but we are not sure what the reason for this custom is."

divine figures worshipped in local cults, which I will refer to as 'a cultic system' or 'system of cults' (for further distinctions between pantheons and cultic systems, see 6.1). To return to my main point of contention here: in the past, studies of Greek religion all too often focused on isolated specific deities or divine personalities,[78] or on the correlation of deities either in a poetic (e.g., Homeric) world or in an abstract composite pantheon, leaving unexplored the work of "many gods" within a local cultic system. It is the latter that will interest me in the present work.

1.5 Models of Greek Religion

Most studies of Greek religion today operate with one of two established models of Greek religion: the panhellenic or the local.[79] The panhellenic model has been in use since the days of the mythological school to the days of ritualism, structuralism and postmodernism. This model explains local expressions of religious life as versions of the big picture (variations on the main theme), as derivations of or deviations from the envisioned common source. In the center is the envisioned common Greek religion, and radiating from the core are all local variations that are viewed as derivations of the core. The object of research in studies that rely on the panhellenic approach is the core—common Greek religion, which is in some sense a virtual entity constructed from pieces of evidence taken from various parts and periods of the Greek world.[80] As far as the panhellenic

[78] "To give an account of Greek religion means listing numerous gods one after another; the task of the history of religion seems to dissolve into the history of individual gods. The fact that the Greek gods manifest themselves as individuals makes this seem quite natural, and the clarity of the resulting organization of the evidence confirms the procedure. But there is always the danger that this will lead to a fundamental misunderstanding, as if polytheistic religion were the sum of many individual religions" (Burkert 1985, 216). Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1998, 7–10. The same sentiment: Dowden 2000, xv: "In particular, I do not feel that the trivial discussions of lists of gods, which so often pass for the section on 'religion' in book on this or that culture, are at all satisfactory."

[79] The views presented here were first expressed in my PhD dissertation (Stanford University, 2001), and have also been aired at a number of conferences over the years, in particular at two panels, which I had chaired at two consecutive Annual Meetings of the American Philological Association: *Regional Approaches to the Study of Religion in Ancient Greece* (co-organized with Stephanie Larson, in San Diego 2001) and *Greek Religion: Models Old and New* (in Philadelphia 2002).

[80] Morgan's (2003, 107) criticism is well placed: "Clearly, therefore, if we are to avoid perpetuating untested assumptions about the nature of contemporary society, later religious practice cannot be used as a filter through which to view evidence from the preceding centuries."

model focuses on the study of the virtual reality of Greek religion, it does not bring us closer to the understanding of what is on the ground, namely the local variation.[81] In the words of Robert Parker: "Comprehensive accounts of Greek religion, the great 'Histories,' are typically Panhellenic. As syntheses of material from hundreds of Greek cities, each with its own social structure, they obviously cannot attempt to relate these practices very closely to particular social groups."[82] Herein lies one characteristic problem of the Vernantian approach and its followers: while acknowledging the social rootedness of individual communities in local socio-territorial circumstances they nevertheless see behind the variety of local cults a universal (panhellenic) system of divine modes of acting, so that local variability, no matter how striking, is never given a chance to undermine the overall system or to suggest a possibility of different mechanisms at work. It is this quality of the Paris School approach that Burkert particularly objects to.[83]

In as much as the sociological approach has touched the study of Greek religion, it has done so also under the spell of the panhellenic model. The work of the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood had a decisive impact on the discipline by redirecting scholars' attention to the pervasive role of historically attested social structures in the functioning of Greek religion. Her emphasis on *polis* as a particular, characteristically Greek, form of social organization engendered a new model of Greek religion that views local practices as independent units partaking in the common panhellenic dimension.[84] The object of her study in the *polis*-centered model was a

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[81] Cf. Humphreys 1978, 20: "I do not wish to denigrate the work produced on ancient religion in these years. The questions asked were certainly more profound than those of the evolutionists, and the responses produced by scholars of the quality of Willamowitz, Murray, A. D. Nock, Festugière, Latte, and Nilsson provide material for a very important chapter in the history of Classics in European culture. But I do not think that they have bequeathed to us a method for studying ancient religious history."

[82] Parker 1996, 3.

[83] Burkert 1985, 217: "The danger of this approach is, of course, that the historically given reality will perforce be curtailed for the sake of the system and its logical structure."

[84] My critique of the *polis*-religion model began to develop in 1998 in the course of dissertation research (see n. 79 above). The recent wave of revision and critique has been stimulated by an untimely passing of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in 2007 and a memorial symposium that was held at the University of Reading in her honor in 2008, entitled "Perceptions of Polis-Religion: Inside-Outside." The critique of the model of *polis*-religion takes various forms: many emphasize the inability of the model to account for the role of personal religion, exemplified, for instance, in the use of magical practices and practitioners, and of the place of such religious phenomena as Orphism, while others also point out that the focus on *polis* ignores other socio-territorial, *alias* discursive, formations, such as *ethnê*, or private and sub-state religious associations: see Kindt 2009 and 2012; Bremmer

concrete local unit of religious practice rather than the virtual Greek religion, however, her focus on *polis* alone as a specific form of social organization unnecessarily constrains the potential of the local model.[85] Michael Jameson poignantly articulated some of the problems of the *polis*-religion model and proposed to replace 'polis' with 'community': "It has been observed that groups of people with common interests, but without formal political status, will constitute themselves as a *demos*—ad hoc *demoi*, we might call them . . . This process and indispensable ritual activity that accompanied it seem characteristic of Greek society and not dependent on the existence of a polis."[86] This remarkable observation has not been widely acknowledged or explored and deserves further attention. Another underdeveloped aspect of Sourvinou-Inwood's model is the lack of attention to the systemic character of religion. Although Sourvinou-Inwood used the term "religious system" in reference to *polis*-religion, she did not inquire into the components of the system or their mutual interlocking. This is also a characteristic deficiency of many regional studies of Greek religion that have so far produced predominantly descriptive accounts of religious life in individual socio-territorial units of the Greek world. The present study of the Aiginetan religious world will seek to steer away both from the pitfalls of the panhellenic model and from the limitations of the *polis*-centered model.

2010; Eidinow 2011; Pakkanen 2011. The current critique of the *polis*-religion model is symptomatic of a possible paradigm shift in studies of Greek religion, even if it is not yet clear where it will take us. The networks model, which Eidinow 2011 advocates, will probably help to loosen the constraints of the *polis*-religion model, but will not, I would venture a guess, be able to serve in its stead. Other notions, such as, e.g., "thin coherence" of culture (Ober 2005), well integrated into the *polis*-religion critique by Kindt 2009, will do their part in redefining the conceptual field of Greek religion. See also Parker 2011, 57–61.

[85] On other forms of social organization in the Greek world: see Brock and Hodkinson 2000. Jameson 1997b, 172: "polis religion is not the whole story," noting that "[n]or is it evident that the religious life of free, native Greeks resident in communities that were not poleis but belonged to *ethne* was much different."

[86] Jameson 1997b, 172–173.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITIONS AND APPROACHES

2.1 Preamble: 'Where I Come From'

The approach I propose to apply to the study of ancient Greek religious life is indebted to many and various scientific and philosophical influences so that it would be wrong to label it in any narrow way, or to associate it with any one particular theoretical framework. It is historical, both because it seeks to account for the diachronic, and hence historical, transformation of a local religious world; as well as in the sense that it defines religious structures on the basis of their link to specific historical communities. My approach is also sociological in as much as it views religion as a social phenomenon, which is a product, as well as a producer of meaning in the interaction between members of a community; it is therefore a certain language of communication shared by a particular social group. To be usable as a medium of communication, religion has to operate according to agreed parameters, hence it has to be ordered in a systematic way. Thus, my approach is sociological in two senses, in acknowledging the link between a specific historical social structure and religion, and in viewing religion as a systemic phenomenon.[1] These are very broad characteristics of the approach and they bear further articulation. In general, I apply a combination of deductive[2] and hermeneutic[3] reasoning in an attempt to make sense of the available evidence in such a way as to reach an analytical rather than a descriptive account of a Greek community's religious world.

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[1] This approach is, in principle, the Durkheimian view of religion (Durkheim 1965 [1912]).

[2] E.g., as understood by Karl Popper. Baert (1998, 184) explains: "For Popper, scientists do not merely observe and then infer from that. Instead, they start with a problem, from which they construct a feasible theoretical construction, which allows them to infer deductively testable hypotheses. These hypotheses are tested through observation, and theories are abandoned if they do not survive the test."

[3] As originally defined by Wilhelm Dilthey and recently elaborated by Habermas 1987 [1968], 140–160, 309–310; and Habermas 1988 [1970], 89–170.

2.2 Theoretical Premises: A System

Acknowledging, and even laying as a foundation, the premise that reality is always infinitely more complex than any theoretical straightjacket we might try to subject it to,[4] we at the same time cannot forget that individuals in any society are not radical free agents. Rather, complex webs of social norms and value systems determine individuals' responses to outside stimuli. It is in this context that I propose to view religion as a social phenomenon, and a system as such, encoding acceptable parameters (these could be quite broad) of ancient Greek behavior and imagination, in as much as we can access these, for instance, through the analysis of texts, visual representations, or spatial arrangements.

Granting that the notion of 'system' is inevitably an approximation of reality, my understanding of social systems will rely upon the following premises: that social systems are structured and may contain subsystems that are also social in nature,[5] both the whole and the parts being subject to change in an ordered fashion, where changes originating in one part affect the whole system.[6] Social systems are open,[7] functional,[8] constraining, but not determinative categories vis-à-vis humans seen as active agents.[9]

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[4] Nietzsche is characteristically dramatic: "Ich mißtraue allen Systematikern und gehe ihnen aus dem Weg. Der Wille zum System ist ein Mangel an Rechtschaffenheit" (*Götzen-Dämmerung, oder, Wie man mit dem Hammer philosophiert = Twilight of the Idols, or How to Philosophize with a Hammer*, "Maxims and Arrows" 26).

[5] Kernels of these ideas are present already in Durkheim (1965 [1912], 9): "Religion is an eminently social thing. Religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities; rites are ways of acting that are born only in the midst of assembled groups and whose purpose is to evoke, maintain, or recreate certain mental states of those groups. But if the categories are of religious origin, then they must participate in what is common to all religion. They, too, must be social things, products of collective thought. At the very least—since with our present understanding of these matters, radical and exclusive theses are to be guarded against—it is legitimate to say that they are rich in social elements." Talcott Parsons' 'action theory' develops these notions. In addition, the view that social systems are interconnected and might be in conflict is espoused by functionalists, and neo-functionalists, such as Niklas Luhmann, who was Parsons' student.

[6] "All parts of the system and their changes can only be understood in relation to the system as a whole . . . the converse also holds, namely, that the system is constructed by processes and changes in its constituent components" (Th. D. Hall 1999, 7).

[7] "Realists insisted that closed systems are rare in reality, and that open systems are frequent, especially in the social realm. The existence of open systems means that various generative mechanisms intervene and they might cancel each other out" (Baert 1998, 187).

[8] See n. 5 and n. 22.

[9] This view is common to neo-functionalism, Bourdieu's genetic stucturalism, Giddens' structuration theory and Habermas' critical theory.

And additionally, social systems circulate and exchange information and energy.[10]

Much scholarly effort has been expanded in attempts to grasp the order and logic of Greek religion.[11] Even when historians of Greek religion do not explicitly espouse a systemic approach to the subject, or even when they reject the notion that an order of any kind can be discerned within it, they often use the term 'religious system' in reference to Greek religion. In this pervasive use of the term we observe the influence of sociological thinking upon historical studies since the early 20th century. Most scholars of Greek religion today use the term 'system' in reference to their subject,[12] but only some apply the concept as a hermeneutic principle.[13] Walter Burkert states that in his book religion appears as "a supra-personal system of communication."[14] Similarly, John Gould used an analogy, prevalent in the 1960s–70s, between religion and language:

> Like language, religion is a cultural phenomenon, a phenomenon of the group (there are no 'private' religions, any more than there are 'private' languages, except by some metaphorical devaluation of the two terms), and like language, any religion is a system of signs enabling communication both between members of the group in interpreting and responding to experience of the external world and in the individual's inner discourse with himself as to his own behavior, emotional and private.[15]

While historians of Greek religion have occasionally used the term 'system,' as, for instance, Burkert, Gould and Sourvinou-Inwood did, they have not made it the object of their study to inquire into the inter-related working of all the components of a religious system.[16] Burkert's definition of religion as "a supra-personal system of communication" will serve for me as an expedient formula for identifying the fundamental components,

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[10] Parsons 1966, ch. 2; Baert 1998, 52.
[11] Versnel 2011, ch. 1 is dedicated to this issue.
[12] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000, 13; Bremmer 1994, 2; Price 1999, 3; Auffarth 2001, 906.
[13] Gladigow 1983.
[14] Burkert 1985, 7.
[15] Gould 1985, 4.
[16] Ogden 2007 dedicates Part V of *A Companion to Greek Religion* to "local religious systems," but Deacy's chapter on "The Religious System of Athens" focuses primarily on the cult of Athena, and Dunand's chapter on "The Religious System of Alexandria" just offers a list of deities with a brief discussion of each; Richer's chapter on Sparta is more systemic in that he looks at a few cults, but also at the sacred topography and sacred calendar, as well as at the interaction between the mortals and divinities such as heroes. Jost's chapter on "The Religious System in Arkadia" raises legitimate questions about the utility of searching for a system of cults at the political and conceptual level of a region rather than a city-state.

or axes (Latin, pl. of axis), of a religious system. These axes are (1) participants in communication, (2) the setting (time and space) of communication, and (3) the means of communication. In a polytheistic religion, multiple deities, on the one hand, and worshippers (individuals and groups), on the other, are the participating parties in communication;[17] sacred sites and religious festivals are the spatial and temporal settings of communication; myths, rituals, prayers, songs, dances, and votive gifts are means of communication. Each of these categories, together comprising the five components of a religious system, can be presumed to be social in nature, that is, to have a common value and meaning to specific communities, besides any personal value and meaning it may hold for its individual members.[18] To determine specific interrelationships between the religious categories that comprise the axes of a given religious system constitutes the synchronic dimension of my historical study, even as I recognize that any synchronic view of a system is necessarily an approximation, as no living biological or social organism can be presumed to be in a perfectly static condition at any point in time. Several synchronic, as it were horizontal, slices of historical reality will be examined (with a view to their internal dynamics) corresponding roughly to the late Geometric (ca. 800 BCE), middle Archaic (ca. 600 BCE), late Archaic/early Classical (ca. 500–480 BCE) and the third quarter of the 5th century BCE down to

[17] It is legitimate to question to what extent "communication" is in this case presumed to be actual and to what extent—potential. For instance, if a person at any given moment is not addressing a deity, is the deity still there, that is, in a specific given sanctuary? Perhaps the answer was 'no' for the Greeks, otherwise there would be no need to summon a deity to attend a festival or choral performance, as was a common topos of hymns to the gods. Conversely, when an ancient Greek was praying, was a deity presumed to be always listening? In fact, did both participants (deities and worshippers) need to be available, present, for communication to happen? The answer apparently must be negative: time gaps between messages/actions delivered either by a worshipper or by a deity and the reception of or reaction to those messages were a norm rather than an exception. Prayers were uttered in the hope, not in the certainty of divine hearing; votive gifts were made both as thanks-offerings after a divine favor and as pre-emptive measures with a view to the future. In other words, ancient Greek religious communication "worked" not so much in 'real time' as in the 'always' of the divine time—extending into and therefore actionable both in the past and the future.

[18] As most works on Greek religion show, the following thought of Emile Durkheim remains largely unheard by the Classicists: "But the problem concerning them [categories-*IP*] is more complex, for they are social in another sense and, as it were, in the second degree. They not only come from society, but the things which they express are of social nature. Not only is it a society which has founded them, but their contents are the different aspects of the social being" (Durkheim 1965, 488). Versnel 2011 is rare among modern scholars in combining the inquiries into the collective and personal aspects of ancient Greek religion. See, however, Mikalson (2010, 169–184) who dedicates a full chapter of his book to the matter.

431, when the local population of Aigina was exiled en masse and the island was populated by Athenian settlers, highlighting an interruption of a continuous social and religious development that had taken place over the preceding centuries. My study also includes the consideration of social and religious activities on the island during the course of the Peloponnesian war, mainly in order to dissociate them from the religious world of the Aiginetans and so to mark the chronological end of my inquiry ca. 404 BCE, which follows the return of the few surviving Aiginetans to Aigina after the Athenian defeat.

Since "all parts of the system and their changes can only be understood in relation to the system as a whole . . . the converse also holds, namely, that the system is constructed by processes and changes in its constituent components,"[19] and therefore in exercising a diachronic perspective, we may expect to observe a change of one part triggering the processes of readjustment in the system as a whole. The need to combine the synchronic and diachronic analyses of religion is a well-recognized condition of many religious studies today, and the former, often associated with structuralist and functionalist approaches, is no longer seen as a barrier to the latter.[20]

Both in synchronic and diachronic studies of religious systems, the notions of 'system' and 'functionality' go hand in hand. As Cipriani points out, when scholars attempt to distinguish between various definitions of religion, they identify those that are "functional" (based on what religion does, e.g., provides strategies for survival, or for social cohesion) and those that "tend to be substantive." The latter formulation suggests that even substantive definitions (what religion is) betray the recognition of the functional nature of religion, that is, of what religion does.[21] Functionality of religion is understood in two ways, namely that religion plays a certain function in society, and that religion as a system is a functional entity, that is, its components fulfill certain functions that enable the meaningful organization of the whole.[22] Hence, my case study of a local religious

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[19] Th. D. Hall 1999, 7.

[20] On the ability of the structuralist approach to account for historical change see, e.g., Sahlins 1981. Cf. Burkert 1979.

[21] Cipriani 2000, 1–9.

[22] The argument about the function of religion in society has been made since the early days of functionalism (Malinowski), as well as by Parsons, and in the contemporary neo-functionalism of Luckmann and Luhmann. Radcliffe-Brown was the first to introduce the concepts of social structure, social form, and social function. "He regarded structure (and hence social structure) as an observable reality. The general concept of structure refers to an arrangement of interrelated parts, and structures can be observed in different realms . . . By a function, he meant the sum total of all relations that a component has to the entire system in which it is embedded . . . The stability of structural form

world (Aigina) will seek not only to identify the components of a religious system (the 'what' of religion) and the interrelationships between them, but also to reveal them at work, in their functioning mode (the 'how' and the 'what for'). We would need to trace, on the one hand, the interrelationships between the presence of a particular deity in a local system of cults and, on the other hand, the social preoccupations of the local community, the flow of social and ecological time, the lay of the land and the social topography of the place.[23] I will therefore aim to find a correspondence between the components of a system (in the synchronic perspective), and to register chain reactions between components as they change through time in the diachronic perspective. The two perspectives together will allow for a functional account of the Aiginetan religious system. At the same time, while seeking to uncover its functionality, I intend to trace how agency (worshippers and their motivations) shapes the dynamics and practical relevance of the system.

2.3 Ancient Greek Realia: A Mesocosm

Religion originates with people and operates among people.[24] It follows the changes of social conditions in a society whereby it is shaped and practiced. It finds its expression in various dimensions of human life: in the organization of time (calendar) and space (social topography), in laws, family life and social organization (worshipping groups); in the ideas about the world around them—in stories (myths), songs, and rituals. As a social phenomenon, religion is linked to a particular society where it is practiced. In ancient Greek history, approaches vary from viewing religion as an entirely separate social institution[25] to viewing it as completely

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is dependent on the 'functional unity' of the whole; that is, the mutual adjustment of the different parts" (Baert 1998, 45–46). See also on this subject Emmet 1958 and 1966.

[23] The recognition of a pressing need for such a combined approach is evident in modern scholarship on Greek religion, even though the exercise itself is not yet widely practiced (Bremmer 1994, 2 who refers to Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 228). Robert Levy (1990, 401–9) calls this interplay "the dance of symbols," or "the civic ballet."

[24] This is not a statement about the origin of divinity: the latter, depending on a given theology, could pre-exist religion, or exist beyond or even in spite of it.

[25] For a more detailed presentation and critique of this attitude, see Morris 1993. "We are all familiar with the most common result of psychological assumptions, which lead historians to write books on Greek history that treat politics, warfare, economics, and so on as major categories of analysis, but relegate religion and ritual to a chapter of their own, away from 'real' events" (Morris 1993, 23).

integrated, almost coterminous, with other social phenomena.[26] Many interpretations of Greek religious phenomena are based on the choice of either microcosmic or macrocosmic levels of social organization, e.g., an individual ancient writer (Herodotus, Hesiod, or Sophocles), or Greece as a whole. Each of these, for different reasons, fails to capture the operating mechanisms of religion. The microcosmic level, which brings into focus an individual worshipper, a single religious site, or a single cult, misses either or both the social (communal) and the polytheistic nature of Greek religion.[27] The macrocosmic level, which often relies upon the view of ancient Greeks as a social unity has no basis in political reality, as Greece never achieved the status of a federal or any kind of centralized political state,[28] and hence the Greeks in practical terms never constituted a single political community.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, much of Greece was a network of distinct socio-territorial units, some of which were autonomous political units, others—political dependencies. Some of them were called *poleis*, others were not.[29] Some of them were citizen-states, where the ruling body represented a predominant portion of population, the members of which were functionally interchangeable; and others were agro-literate states, where a small elite group ruled over a vast majority of agricultural population, and members of those social groups were not functionally interchangeable.[30] In addition, Ian Morris demonstrated that most of ancient Greek states did not maintain a specific from of state throughout their existence, but moved along the spectrum "back and forth between the agro-literate state and the citizen-state during their histories, according to the outcomes of specific social struggles."[31] Because not all Greek states

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[26] Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a [1990a] and 2000b [1988].

[27] Julia Kindt's recent calls (2009, 2012) to include what she terms 'personal religion' under the broader umbrella of Greek religion are well taken, but her point that 'personal religion' was left unaddressed by the *polis*-religion model goes too far in downplaying the social nature of religion, which characterizes personal piety no less than communal. See chapter 11 of this monograph for further discussion.

[28] See Finley 1975b; Morris 1997, 91–105; although it can perhaps be argued that Athenians tried to create a nation-state, or an empire, and employed such rhetoric (see Morris 2008).

[29] See Brock and Hodkinson 2000; Nielsen 2002.

[30] These are two basic models of state organization formulated by sociologists. In a citizen-state, members of a community are interchangeable, top to bottom. In an agro-literate state, "the ruling class forms a small minority of the population, rigidly separated from the great majority of direct agricultural producers, or peasants" (Gellner 1983, 9).

[31] Morris 1997, 98.

were of the same type, and because many of the early Greek states shifted along the spectrum of forms of social organization, it is inadequate to trace all religious discourse to one particular form of social organization—the *polis*, which itself was a complex notion that meant different things in different contexts.[32]

If the notion of *polis*, taken by itself, is not adequate to the task of describing the functioning of religion on the local level in ancient Greece, an alternative must transcend the differences between various forms of social organization attested in the Greek world (e.g., citizen-state such as *polis, ethnos*-state such as Thessaly, confederacies, sub-state units such as demes, etc.), and at the same time, reflect the vital link between the social structure and religion. I propose to use the term designating not a specific *form* but a corresponding *level* of social organization—mesocosm—a level in-between the world of an individual and the world of cultural macrocosm. The term 'mesocosm' was coined and used by the cultural anthropologist Robert Levy in his seminal study of the social and religious world of a traditional Nepalese city. Robert Levy conducted his anthropological fieldwork in Bhaktapur over the course of four years, 1973–1976. As he explains in the Introduction:

> [most of his study] is concerned with the elaborate "religious" life of the city, the system of symbols that helps organize the integrated life of the city so that it becomes a *mesocosm*, an organized meaningful world intermediate to the microcosmic worlds of individuals and the culturally conceived macrocosm, the universe, at whose center the city lies.[33]

While acknowledging that Bhaktapur's mesocosm is a product of multifarious historical and social transformations, Levy demonstrates that it nevertheless exemplifies

> the enormous comparative elaboration of a particular kind of symbolism in Bhaktapur . . . a crucial resource for organizing a certain type of community and society, a certain type of city—an "archaic city."[34]

Applied to the ancient Greek realia, the term 'mesocosm' not only allows us to embrace in one category various forms of social organization attested

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[32] Jameson (1997b, 172) proposes to use the term 'community' rather than 'polis.' Davies (1997a) identifies specific characteristics that together produce a distinctive portrait of a Greek political community, which he calls 'micro-state.' See also Hansen 1993, 1995, 1997, 1998 (work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre).

[33] Levy 1990, 2.

[34] Levy 1990, 2.

in ancient Greece, but also to emphasize the fact that the units operating at the mesocosmic level are worlds of their own, ordered, meaningful, and functional, but not isolated from one another.[35] If we consider the orbit of the Greek-speaking world as a cultural macrocosm, a variety of socio-territorial units within it could be counted as mesocosms, from small villages, Attic demes, to small *poleis* on multi-polis islands (e.g., Keos) to island-states such as Aigina, and so on.

Today, local studies of Greek religion largely remain at a descriptive stage.[36] The works of Graf, Jost, Osanna, Schachter, Giacometti and others fall in line with the recognition (already evident in the works of Wide and Picard) of regional and local diversity between the religious practices of the Greeks,[37] yet in addition to lists of data and a thorough discussion of the evidence for each cult, they rarely offer a synthetic picture of local religious life.[38] Parker's *Athenian Religion: A History* (1996) is still an exception. Primarily, local cults are discussed in terms of which deity or deities were more important than others, but it is rarely asked why all deities and cults attested together in a particular location are there at all, and

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[35] Cartledge et al. (1998) driven by the same desire as the present author to address 'social order' of ancient Greek communities use similar terminology ('kosmos') in tying together the studies focused on the Athenian social world. Some socio-territorial units, such as subdivisions of states, e.g., demes in Attica, would certainly qualify as mesocosms, although that may raise a question about the status of Attica (territory)/Athens (state) with respect to demes, i.e., whether we would have to operate with tiers of mesocosms: a deme's mesocosm within the mesocosm of Attica. Parker (2011, xi) places demes at "microlevel."

[36] As Parker (1996, 2) puts it: "Local studies tend to proceed piecemeal, cult by cult." I did not have a chance to consult the unpublished Habilitationsschrift of Auffarth (1994), but more recent developments are in Richer 2007; Jost 2007. Giacometti (2005) focuses on the deities and heroes of Metaponto, treating each separately, but does not offer a synthetic discussion of how the whole ensemble of them relates to the *polis* as social organism. The latter appears, however, in Part III of the book, "La *polis* e i santuarî panellenici," to be considered in religious interaction with Delphi, Delos, and Olympia. Casadio's (2005) useful overview of 'local' studies in Greek religion is appended at the end of Giacometti's study.

[37] Giacometti 2005; Sporn 2002; Reichert-Südbeck 2000; Zunino 1997 (with review by Dillon 2000); Osanna 1996; Graf 1985; Schachter 1981; Jost 1985; Willets 1962; Picard 1922; Wide 1973 [1893]); Wide 1888; Maybaum 1901.

[38] Cf. Dowden 2000, 213: "It is no use just listing names and supposed functions [of gods]... Pagan Polytheism is in fact a very complicated ideology and we need a lot of evidence to understand why their systems of gods were configured as they were." Parker (2011, 236) adds another point of critique: "But the god-by-god approach of canonical histories obscures diversity, while regional monographs lack the comparative diversity." Prent (2005) goes well beyond listing, applying diachronic analysis to the development of Cretan cults and reaching illuminating insights, although a more differentiated approach to the diversity of local religious mesocosms on Crete would no doubt reveal further complexities.

how they relate to each other. These are the questions that will give shape to the present study of Aiginetan cults. Some existing treatments from Near Eastern studies, representing synthetic and multi-sided accounts of local religious life, can be taken as useful models. For instance, Kaizer's study, *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (2002), sets the analysis of sanctuaries and cults within the framework of the social history of Palmyra, correlating the "rhythms of religious life" and the roles of worshipping groups, priests and benefactors. Such an integrated account allows one to see the place of deities within the social mesocosm and appreciate the mechanisms of their co-existence within a pantheon and in the physical space shared with mortals.

2.4 Locality: 'Definite Places' and Local Religious Systems

Sociologists advise us that the status of individual communities consists in the relationship of people to people (form of government) and people to land (territory occupied and used). For example, Aristotle's definition of *polis* emphasizes both these aspects: "for the state is essentially a form of community, and to begin with there is bound to be a common locality: a single city occupies a single site, and the single city belongs to its citizens in common" (Trans. H. Rackham).[39]

Horden and Purcell use such terms as 'definite places,' microregions, and 'microecologies' to refer to localities "with a distinctive identity derived from the set of available opportunities and the particular interplay of human responses to them found in a given period."[40] The tie between a people and the land they occupy, generation after generation, results in a locally, centered view of the world,[41] and the world view of a local community is necessarily centrifugal, or 'concentric.'[42] It is centered upon itself, and it is the view from the inside out, a 'local perspective.'[43] In religious terms, "local perspective" finds its expression in locally significant myths, locally

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[39] εἴπερ γάρ ἐστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας (*Pol.* 1276b1). ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολῖται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως (*Pol.* 1260b40–61a2).

[40] Horden and Purcell 2000, 80.

[41] According to Eliade (1959), for 'religious men,' 'their world' is always situated at the center of the universe.

[42] E.g., 'Athenoconcentric,' in Hall's terminology (2002, 205).

[43] The relativity and ideological implications of a 'local' perspective are poignantly articulated by Goldhill (2010) in a paper entitled "What is local identity? The politics of cultural mapping."

meaningful pantheon, local sacred topography, local sacred calendar, and local mythology.[44] In sum, local perspective pervades all aspects of religious life at the level of mesocosm.[45] It has further implications for polytheistic religions.

In a polytheistic society, local territory is inhabited not only by people, but also by divine residents.[46] Interaction between people, land, and gods in ancient Greece resulted in clusters of cultic sites, which belonged to distinct socio-territorial units. These three components, land, people, and gods,[47] and relationships between them (people to land, gods to land, and people to gods) constitute what may be called 'the polytheistic triangle,' the matrix of a polytheistic religious system.

Two ancient Greek terms vividly embody this fundamental three-way interdependence: ἐγχωρίοι (gods, heroes, daimones)[48] and πατρῷοι (gods). The literal meaning of *enkhôrios* is "in the chora, in the land," although by extension it also means "of the land." Used substantively, it means "an inhabitant," to which a modifier "of the land" (τῆς γῆς) is sometimes added (e.g., in Soph. *OC* 871). *Enkhôrioi theoi*, then, are gods of the land, where the land is understood both as country and as physical earth, gods who inhabit the land, the local gods.[49] A cognate, *epikhôrios*, is also often used in exactly the same sense as *enkhôrios* (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 601–2, calls Athena ἥ τ' ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεὸς | αἰγίδος ἡνίοχος, πολιοῦχος Ἀθάνα), but it seems that the sense "of the land" rather than "in the land" is more prevalent in the usage of *epikhôrios*,[50] and this adjective has a wider semantic

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[44] Similarly Parker 2011, 225–236; Versnel 2011, 116–119.

[45] Versnel 2011, 116 uses the term 'mikrokosmos' in this context. Useful insights are in Christian 1989 and 1981. See also Müller 2003.

[46] Cole (1995, 297) makes the same point: "Each polis inhabited the same space as its divinities. Citizens of the fourth century Kolophon knew from experience which of their gods 'dwelt' in the town and which in the countryside, and it was natural for them to consider that the polis belonged to all of them." A growing appreciation of this aspect of polytheistic societies is reflected in Labarre 2004, with particular relevance to the Greek world in Pirenne-Delforge 2004. Cross-cultural comparanda: Werbner 1977.

[47] I note a coincidence of terms in Mitchell 1993, where these components are, however, viewed paratactically rather than integrally.

[48] *Enkhôrioi daimones* (Aesch. *Supp.* 482).

[49] A synonym, more rarely used than *enkhôrios* as an attribute of gods, is *entopios*. Our only example is Plato, *Phaedrus* 262d3: καὶ ἔγωγε, ὦ Φαῖδρε, αἰτιῶμαι τοὺς ἐντοπίους θεούς.

[50] Cf. in the sense of "local residents" in Herodotus 2.60.16: οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. Also Hdt. 2.63.19, Hdt. 4.81.15, etc. As a characterization of deities: e.g., Hdt. 5.102.2 on Kybele at Sardis: ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης; with reference to Delphic heroes Phylakos and Autonoos: Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἱρόν. One more time in Hdt. 9.119.3 about the human sacrifice by Thracian Apsinthioi of Oinobazos to local god Pleistôros: Οἰόβαζον μέν

field, therefore allowing for greater ambiguity. It is also more politically charged than *enkhôrios*.[51] *Epikhôrios* much more often than not is an attribute of a group of people: their customs, armour, dress, what they say, who they worship, how they live, and so on. By contrast, *enkhôrios* emphasizes the place, *khôra*, the physical space where items or people find themselves.[52] This subject deserves closer investigation, for which there is no room in the present study. Here it is sufficient to illustrate, e.g, from Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 661–2, that he uses *epikhôrios* once, with reference to "local corpses," that is "corpses of the locals": τάνδε πόλιν κενώσαι, μηδ' ἐπιχωρίοις ἔρις| πτώμασιν αἱματίσαι πέδον γᾶς. By contrast, when speaking of deities, Aeschylus uses *enkhôrios*, e.g, in Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 482: βωμοὺς ἐπ' ἄλλους δαιμόνων ἐγχωρίων. In *Agamemnon* 1645, the chorus describes Klytemnestra as χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων.

The connection with the land as a physical place and the divine presence in it are vividly illustrated by Thucydides 2.74.2–3 where the Spartan king Arkhidamos addresses the *enkhôrioi* (Plataean) gods and heroes on the subject of the Spartan invasion of the land of Plataea:[53]

> ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστη λέγων ὧδε· Θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ ἥρωες, ξυνίστορες ἐστε ὅτι ὔυτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε προτέρων τὸ ξυνώμοτον,[54] ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἤλθομεν . . .

νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν.

[51] As Goldhill (2010, 51–52) so aptly shows, the use of an attribute *epikhôrios* is never neutral: *epikhôrios* positions the speaker/writer either with or apart from the audience. To remark on something as *epikhôrios* is to notice a difference: between you (individual or a representative of a certain group) and others. When Herodotus writes: "the locals say," he keeps himself apart. When Thucydides the Athenian writes that herms (*hermai*) are a local Athenian thing (6.27) he addresses a non-Athenian audience of the present and the future, writing for all time, *ktêma es aiei*.

[52] Hesychius *Lex*. ἐνχώριοι· ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ὄντες; Σ Homer, *Od.* 3.178.3: Ποσειδάωνι ταύρων] τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐγχωρίῳ θεῷ· ἐτιμᾶτο γὰρ ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐν Γεραιστῷ· Also scholia on Pindar: *O*. 10. 58a τιμάσαις πόρον Ἀλφεοῦ: πρώτῳ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ ἔθυσεν ὡς ἐγχωρίῳ θεῷ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν τιμᾶται. σφόδρα δὲ αὐτὸν τιμῶσι σάλμιοι. 58c ἄλλως· Ἀλφειῷ εἰκότως ὡς ἐγχωρίῳ ἔθυσε ποταμῷ. μετὰ δὲ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐποίησε· βωμοὺς γὰρ ἵδρυσε διδύμους ἔξ·

[53] I offer discussions of this episode in Thucydides from two other angles in Polinskaya 2010 and 2012.

[54] *Synistores* ("knowing along with") *theoi* is a common expression in Greek literature: Soph. *Ph*. 1293, Eur. *Supp*. 1174, etc.

> thereupon king Archidamus first brought the gods and heroes of the country into a position of being witnesses by saying the following:[55] "O gods and heroes who hold the Plataean land (*gê*), be witnesses that we came to this land (*gê*) not wrongly from the start, but only when these here [Plataeans] had first abandoned the oath . . ."

As explicitly stated in this passage, the *enkhôrioi theoi kai herôes* are those that hold the Plataean land (*gê*). For gods as owners of (*ekheîn* is the verb typically used) and residents in the land there are, of course, numerous examples.[56] What is noteworthy in this passage is that the Spartans are calling as witnesses the gods of the land where they happen to find themselves at the moment, the land of Plataea. This fact that the *enkhôrioi theoi* can be detached from their primary protégés, the Plataeans, is paramount. These are the gods who are the patrons of the land first and foremost rather than of a people. They would potentially protect/oppose anyone who comes into contact with the land under their control. Thus, long-term residents of the land, the natives as current caretakers, naturally have a primary claim to the support of the *enkhôrioi theoi*, but should the land be contested, should the natives be expelled, or new owners come into the land, the *enkhôrioi theoi* can potentially change allegiance.[57]

This is very different from the gods who attach themselves not to land, but to people understood as generational units. *Patrôoi theoi* are literally, the gods of the fathers, ancestral gods,[58] but specifically the gods of patrilineal descent.[59] The connection that is emphasized here is that between gods and people, generation after generation. The two attributes, *enkhôrios* and *patrôos*, are not necessarily functional opposites of each other. Instead and more often they are complementary notions, and sometimes can be

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[55] Thucydides is fond of constructions that use the active voice of καθίστημι with a prepositional phrase introduced by ἐς and an abstract noun: ἐς ἀπόνοιαν (1.82), ἐς ἀπορίαν (7.75). So, here: ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν . . . κατέστη.

[56] See, e.g., collections of references in Sissa and Detienne 2000, 137–150; Versnel 2011, 88–89.

[57] This seems to be the underlying rationale behind the debate over the Athenian occupation of Delion (Thuc. 4.97–98), see Polinskaya 2010, 63–65.

[58] There was a notion among the Greeks that the *patrôos* deity among Dorians was Zeus (Aesch. Fr. 162.3), and among Ionians—Apollo (Soph. *Phil.* 933, Plato, *Euthed.* 302d, Arist. *Ath.* 55.3), but the cultic reality was more complex: see Parker 2005, 22 and nn. 64–65 for a more detailed discussion.

[59] We should note that in the context of a civil war, Xenophon 2.4.21 has Thrasyboulos remind the two sides of fighting Athenians (in 404 BC) that they are bound together not only through *patrôoi*, but also through *matrôoi theoi*. Perhaps this is supposed to emphasize how much deeper, i.e., on both possible sides, the Athenians are related to each other.

identical. At the same time, they represent different aspects of human relationships with the gods: *enkhôrioi* gods, heroes, and daimones are the ones that people have to honor either due to being co-residents, or due to a temporary presence (either peaceful or violent) in the land of local deities; *patrôoi* gods are the ones that a person has to honor because they were honored by his father, and his father's father.[60] The two terms embody an affiliation with gods as either guardians of the land, or guardians of kinship groups. *Patrôoi* are the gods that follow the people even when they abandon their traditional geographical area of habitation or are exiled from it.[61] *Patrôoi theoi* travel with their people, *enkhôrioi theoi* stay bound to their land.[62]

The continuation of the Plataea episode (Thuc. 2.71.4) illustrates the conceptual difference between the *enkhôrioi* and *patrôoi*. When the Plataeans are pleading with the Spartans not to attack them, they make a distinction between their own gods whom they call *enkhôrioi* and the Spartan gods whom they call *patrôoi.* The Plataeans are referring to the time in the past when they took oaths together with the Spartans. The gods who were then invoked as *horkioi* (witnesses and guarantors of oaths) were the Plataean local gods and the Spartan ancestral gods:

> μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τούς τε ὁρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρῴους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους, λέγομεν ὑμῖν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐᾶν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Παυσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν.

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[60] That is why the position of Polyneikes vis-à-vis Theban gods is so precarious in Eur. *Phoenissae*: because Polyneikes left his native city, Thebes, and is now a resident of Argos/Mycene, he cannot invoke the Theban gods as his *enkhôrioi* (608). In that capacity, he has to appeal to the Argive gods instead (as he does in 1365), but he can still address the Theban ones as his ancestral gods (as he does when bidding them farewell in 631–5) because the fact that these were the gods of his forefathers has not changed. An excellent exposition of the issues related to the notion of *patrôoi theoi* in Attica can be found in Parker 2005, 21–23.

[61] There is evidence, however, that indicates a notion of gods abandoning a city when it is sacked (see references in Versnel 2011, 101 n. 286), and here we might have another example of seemingly contradictory notions in ancient Greek thinking, or else of shifting foci of consciousness. If the latter, then the two planes of consciousness between which we are asked to shift are that of deities as permanent residents in the land, on the one hand, and on the other hand, as simple visitors to their various sanctuaries throughout the Greek world. If the second register of consciousness is engaged, it is understandable how the gods' temporary departure is conceivable. A subsequent remedy is to invite gods to return, for which we also have plentiful evidence in the Greek sources.

[62] My thinking on this subject was helped to its articulation by a paradigmatic representation of Lares and Penates in Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*, in the chapter on the city of Leandra.

Why this distinction? Why could not the Spartans also swear by the Plataean gods at the time? The answer must be that they had no right to. Plataeans invoke a connection with the *enkhôrioi theoi* by virtue of being co-residents in the Plataean land, but Spartans had no special tie to the Plataean gods (that is, at the end of the Persian wars, in contrast to the present episode when Spartans are contesting the Plataean special relationship with their local gods). Being away from their own land the Spartans also could not invoke the Spartan *enkhôrioi theoi*. Instead they invoked their *patrôoi theoi*, those who are connected to them as people and who retain their special ties with them no matter how far from home Spartans find themselves. These are the gods that "travel" with people wherever they go. On another similar occasion during the course of the Peloponnesian war, when Athenians found themselves far away from their own land, in Sicily (Thuc. 7.69.2), they were exerted to fight well by an appeal specifically and significantly to their *patrôoi theoi*. Thus, each practical situation and social context might invoke one of these two aspects of the human-divine relationship, or both of them: the allegiance of deities to people through ancestors, or the connection of deities to land, which they co-inhabit with a particular community of people at a given moment.

In some contexts that pertain to deities, the senses of *enkhôrioi* and *patrôoi* can function in a complementary fashion, e.g., in Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 704–6: "And may they worship forever the gods who possess the land" (θεοὺς δ' οἳ γᾶν ἔχουσιν, that is, *enkhôrioi theoi*), with "native daphnephoria and sacrifice of oxen [that are their gods'] ancestral honors." The juxtaposition of ἐγχωρίοις πατρώιαις followed by δαφνηφόροις βουθύτοισι τιμαῖς compels taking δαφνηφόροις βουθύτοισι as apposition to πατρώιαις τιμαῖς. This is an illustration of a case where people and land collapse into one dimension, a unit 'people-land' that is bound up with a particular set of gods who are both *enkhôrioi* and *patrôoi* at the same time. In other cases that illustrate situations where people are physically acting at a distance from their native land (as we have seen in Thucydides and Xenophon), only one category, that of people's ancestral gods (*patrôoi*) is of use to them. *Enkhôrioi* and *patrôoi* are thus two complimentary aspects of the three-way relationship between people, gods, and the land.

The spatial aspect of the human-divine relationship in a given location determines that the sacred sites and cults of such local territorial units function as parts of locally centered religious systems.[63] In contrast

[63] The term "local religious system" is often used as a matter of fact in modern scholarship: Ogden 2007, 9. Mikalson (2010, 47) strikingly and correctly articulates what

to Sourvinou-Inwood's term '*polis*-religion', the term 'local religious system' does not specify the form of political organization present in a particular locale, but allows one to address religious systems of politically different communities, existing at the mesocosmic level and exercising local perspective. Whether local systems together also comprise some supra-systems (e.g., ethnic, regional, or panhellenic) that are organized wholes, or else a network, requires additional investigation, which is outside the scope of this book. Sourvinou-Inwood stopped short of identifying 'panhellenic religious dimension' as a system. Christoph Auffarth, however, without referring to Sourvinou-Inwood, uses the same characteristics to describe the panhellenic dimension as an "autopoietic system."[64] As we have already remarked, a system at the panhellenic level can only be envisioned as a virtual reality, a construct, as it will always lack a corresponding social structure (see further chapter 11). Other models of interrelationships between local religious systems are possible, e.g., religious systems of neighboring communities may intersect with one another or interrelate in ways perhaps similar to 'peer polity interaction'[65] or 'social networks' model.[66] In this regard, boundaries of local religious systems become an issue (see further, chapter 10).

In sum, the approach I propose here consists in investigating the organizational and operational principles of Greek religion in their connection to a particular social structure at the level of mesocosm. My local case is the island-polity of Aigina. The components of local religious life, such as local cults, worshipper groups, and such, will be viewed in relationship to each other as comprising parts of the whole; and each component will be viewed as a social phenomenon. Thus, my approach to the study of Aiginetan religious life will rest upon the concepts of system,

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a locally-centered religious perspective would have meant to an Attic demesman: "a resident of one deme would be, as it were, entering somewhat alien territory and a somewhat alien sanctuary if he went to the god of another deme. The individuals' family and ancestors had worshipped for centuries at their village's sanctuaries, and he would not find in another deme, people, deities, and priests as familiar to him as those of his own deme." With respect to the latter part of the statement, we ought to ask perhaps about the phratry membership and whether that affiliation could cut across the deme or tribal (*phylê*) lines.

[64] Auffarth 2001, 906: "So ist das Modell einer sich aus der Vielfalt der lokalen Religionen selbst schaffenden Gemeinsamkeit in der Verschiedenheit zu bevorzugen: ein autopoetisches System, das durch 'Märkte' wie die panhellenischen Spiele konkurrierend und angleichend kommuniziert. Griechische religion ist dann die Option, griechisch zu sein."

[65] Renfrew 1986.

[66] Cf. Malkin et al. 2009.

location, and mesocosm.[67] Further principles of my approach entail viewing people as social agents (community members), and places as not only physical but also psychological dimensions where communal memories and aspirations reside. Primarily, however, I shall study deities and their social functions via fundamental connections to the local people and the land.

[67] These aspects of my approach to the study of local religious systems in ancient Greece had been initially outlined in the PhD dissertation (Stanford, 2001) and were later presented at several conferences: in particular, APA 2002.

CHAPTER THREE

CATEGORIES, DATA, PARADIGMS

3.1 Categories

With rare exceptions, the exercise of systematizing, "making sense,"[1] of Greek religion has up until now consisted in designating one of the religious categories as central and subordinating the rest of religious phenomena to it.[2] To understand, to get at the core of Greek religion was to explain one of these categories at work. Topping the list are the categories of myths,[3] rituals, or both together, as the most immediate windows into the religious worlds of the Greeks, but I will discuss these categories in the order in which they represent the main axes of a religious system: participants in communication, time and setting, and means of communication.

3.1.1 *Participants: Deities*

Perhaps the most obvious religious category in polytheism, deities are both individuals and social members. In other words, their characteristics reflect both their self-standing personae, and their social roles vis-à-vis other gods. Greek deities have been studied as individuals (e.g., Apollo) and individual hypostaseis (e.g., Delphinios), as well as groups and classes of deities, such as Homeric Gods, the Twelve Olympians, Chthonic deities, Hero-Gods, and so on.[4] Predominantly, both the studies that focus on deities as persons and as classes of beings, follow a panhellenic perspective,

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[1] See Gould 1985.

[2] Henk Versnel has long been advocating a different approach to the exercise of 'making sense,' namely to recognize a typically human cognitive mode of interaction with reality that allows contradictory notions to co-exist and be operative within one cultural and religious framework. His latest (2011) publication forcefully restates and advances these ideas already present in earlier studies (1990, 1994).

[3] There is, of course, an enormous amount of literature on myth in general, and on Greek myth in particular, with a variety of definitions and interpretations. For an introduction to the subject and further bibliography, see Lincoln 1999.

[4] See, e.g., such handbooks on Greek deities as Sechan and Leveque 1966; Simon 1980; Sissa and Detienne 2000; "Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World" series published by Routledge.

presuming that an Apollo is everywhere an Apollo, and a Chthonian deity is everywhere Chthonian.

In the study of Aiginetan deities, I refrain from using such broad labels, focusing instead on the local particulars in the characterization of each. It is problematic to evaluate individual deities or individual cults in isolation from the rest of cults in a given locale. A rigorously sociological approach would shun an abstract conceptualization of deities and put an emphasis on specific social contexts representing the religious worlds of political communities, ethnic groups, religious sects, epic poems, and the like. As discussed in 1.3–1.4 and 2.3–2.4, while there might be a pragmatic convenience in using the term 'Greek religion,' the 'Greek Pantheon' is nowhere to be found.

3.1.2 *Participants: Worshippers*

Members of any social group, and in particular residents within a defined political territory, engage in religious acts in accordance with culturally regulated parameters, which often prescribe particular worshipping roles. Thus, the cultural role of 'worshipper' is a conscious mode of behavior that can emphasize such dimensions of personal and social identity as age, gender, membership of kinship groups, and professional affiliation. Participation in worship defines specific worshipper-roles and worshipper-groups that represent the second party in the communicative model of religion (see 8.7 on Aiginetan worshipper-roles and worshipper-groups). Worshippers are the center of Robert Parker's book-long study on Athenian religion identified by him as a neglected aspect of religious studies.[5] The groupings of people assembled for the purposes of worship, in Parker's view, should take primacy in religious studies because they represent the social nature of Greek religion. This view somewhat simplifies the ideas of Durkheim who observed that every component of a religious system (e.g., deities, calendar) is social in nature, thus it is not sufficient to address only the social organization of the body of worshippers in order to account for the social nature of religion.[6]

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[5] Parker 1996. A broader comparative view can be found in Parker 2011, 236–264.
[6] Durkheim 1965 [1912], 9.

3.1.3 *Time Setting: Festivals*

The timing of religious practices is integral to the proper functioning of a religious mesocosm. Hesiod, in *Works and Days* 769–770, remarks on auspicious days for propitiating the gods,[7] and examples of sacrificial calendars from around the Greek world testify to the importance of the temporal dimension of religious life. Some scholars single out religious festivals as the primary category of Greek religion. As Paul Cartledge states:

> it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that within this practical, social frame of reference festivals were the single most important feature of classical religion in its public aspect. That *religion*, it could be argued, *was above all the totality of public festivals* celebrated by each of the hundreds of political communities[8] [Italics—I.P.].

Such a cumulative formula could not adequately account for the social reality of religious life in ancient Greece. If we imagine Greek religion as the totality of all festivals celebrated throughout Greece, no single Greek could ever be said to have practiced Greek religion. The fact is that for each individual Greek it was a particular combination of his local festivals together with select shared ones that made up his festival year, not the rest of the festivals celebrated in other *poleis*, demes, or distant regions by other Greeks.[9] As far as Aigina is concerned, unfortunately we have no attestation of sacrificial calendars, and only a passing mention (Pindar *N.* 5.44) of a local month "that is dear to Apollo," the month Delphinios, as explained by the scholia (which may or may not be the same month during which the Nemean games took place). This month also gives us a point for anchoring the sacrifice to Apollo Oikistes and Domatites in the local calendar (see further in ch. 7.6.5).

3.1.4 *Space Setting: Sacred Sites and Sanctuaries. Sacred Topography*

Sacred sites and sanctuaries, both private and public, represent the spatial settings of religious communication between worshippers and deities. This dimension of religious life should not be underestimated. Land is one

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[7] The first, the fourth, and the seventh days of the month.

[8] Cartledge 1985, 98.

[9] Cf. Parker 1996, 2: "This tradition of hiving off 'festivals' as a separate object of study, which goes back to antiquity, isolates them from the broader life of the society in which they are performed. The festivals of various Greek states, torn from their place of origin, float in a sea outside time and place, occupied only by other festivals."

of the three cardinal points in a polytheistic triangle, where deities and people are the other two. Scholars who focus on sacred sites and sanctuaries stress that ritual practice was of prevalent importance among the Greeks, and therefore we would get the closest to understanding religion, if we study the physical environment where rituals took place.[10] While privileging sacred topography as the absolutely central object of religious studies unnecessarily skews the picture, a careful analysis of the relative placement of sanctuaries within a physical and social landscape is indispensable to the proper understanding of how ancient Greek polytheism functioned.[11] It may also be the key to understanding the historical development of local religious systems in ancient Greece (see further discussion in chapters 9 and 10). For the purpose of reconstructing sacred landscapes, the archaeological methodology of regional field-surveys opens the door to viewing local religious phenomena against the better documented ecological and social data.[12] Another recent development potentially useful for the study of local religious phenomena is the post-processualist move toward landscape archaeology, especially prevalent in British prehistoric studies,[13] but also increasingly so in the United States, and other European countries.[14] Scholars of Greek religion also find network theory increasingly useful in articulating the complex tiers of religious affiliations among various Greek communities and locales.[15] On Aigina, the location of only three sanctuaries and of one extended ritual complex (Kolonna) are known with precision, and for several others a general vicinity where they would have been situated is known. Knowledge of the social topography of Aigina, i.e., the position of settlements, farmsteads, cemeteries, harbors, quarries, and roads remains very patchy, as no comprehensive surface survey of the island has yet taken place.[16] The

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[10] E.g., Albert Schachter's (1992) edited volume *Le sanctuaire grec*, as well as *Placing the Gods*, edited by Alcock and Osborne (1994).

[11] Alcock and Osborne 1994, with review by Cartledge 1996; Jameson 2004.

[12] Horden and Purcell 2000.

[13] Among others: Bender 1993; Tilley 1994.

[14] See Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992.

[15] Malkin 2005; Constantakopoulou 2007; Malkin et al. 2009.

[16] An unpublished manuscript of Thiersch (post 1928), and the dissertation of Faraklas (1980) are the only accounts of the archaeological surface remains on Aigina. Aiginetan harbors: Knoblauch 1972, Hansen 2006, 5–18. Underground chamber tombs: Papastavrou 2007. Some other scattered reports of archaeological remains: Goette on the Archaic farm at Bourdechti; Polinskaya 2009 on rupestral inscriptions and possible agricultural installations in the area of Sphendouri. See *AΔ* 1977–2003 for reports of rescue excavations. Archaeological surveys have taken place in recent decades all around the Saronic Gulf: in Attica, Argolid, Corinthia, Sikyonia, and Methana.

present author has called for such a survey on a number of occasions, and it is hoped that beneficial conditions will eventually present themselves for carrying it out. A better knowledge of the social topography of the island would allow us to contextualize the placement of sanctuaries within it (for now, see Appendix 2).

3.1.5 *Means of Communication: Myths and Rituals, Myths versus Rituals*

In the historiography of Greek religion, the subjects of 'myths' and 'rituals' have seen periods of relative isolation and polarization, and periods of almost indissoluble conjoining.[17] Some psychologists and anthropologists tended to privilege myth in the study of religion as a medium that expressed more than narrative sequences, but rather the very way of being. In the words of Karl Kerenyi, "mythology . . . is a special sort of activity . . . The stuff of mythology is composed of something that is greater than the story-teller and than all human beings . . ."[18] Other classicists, e.g., the Cambridge Ritual School placed the focus of religious studies on rituals as the most substantial evidence for religious ideas.[19] In the words of Jane Harrison, the leader of Cambridge ritualists: "The first preliminary to any scientific understanding of Greek religion is a minute examination of its ritual."[20] Cambridge Ritualists shared with the founder of modern sociology Emile Durkheim the view that "ritual precedes belief, that practical action precedes rational thought."[21] The view on the centrality of ritual to religion remains strong,[22] and the classification of approaches to the study of ritual as sociological, cultural, and psychological holds true for religious studies in general.[23] At the same time, the category of ritual

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[17] Recent discussion in Burkert 2002.

[18] Kerenyi 1951. Cf.: "In a true mythologem this meaning is not something that could be expressed just as well and just as fully in a non-mythological way" (Jung and Kerenyi 1963 [1941], 3). Malinowski (1926, 18) is more emphatic: "Myth as it exists in a savage community, that is, in its living primitive form, is not merely a story told, but a reality lived."

[19] "What a people *does* in relation to its gods must always be one clue, and perhaps the safest, to what it *thinks*" (Harrison 1922, VII). Cf. Dowden 2000, 2: "Paganism was not credal, but a matter of observing systems of ritual. Ritual too is a language, one which involvingly defines the place of man in the world."

[20] Harrison 1922, VII.

[21] Jones 1991, 117.

[22] See, however, Versnel 2011, Appendix IV for a discussion of whether the idea of 'belief' should be downplayed in favor of ritual pre-eminence in the Greek religious life.

[23] Morris 1993; Burkert 1985, 120.

does not stand in for all religion,[24] nor are all rituals in the plural equal to a particular religious system.[25] Any given ritual activates only select and specific instances of each of the five main components (divine and human participants; space and time of action; means of communication) of a religious system.

An eventual shift from a highly polarized view of myths and rituals to a conjoining of the two was only to be expected. John Gould argued for a parallelism between the meanings of Greek myths and rituals and set this parallelism as a proof of the orderly nature of Greek religion.[26] Although myths and rituals can act as parallel tracks in religious communication, they can also serve their communicative functions independently of each other.[27] We should not expect that for every ritual or for every cult there was a developed myth or even a simple aetiological explanation. Nor should we expect that an existence of myth always presumes an existence of ritual. The two means of communication can, and often do, but do not have to exist and act in tandem. Myths and rituals lead somewhat separate existences, both in terms of origin and purpose, and sometimes myths develop later. The myths and votive customs in the cult of Aphaia on Aigina illustrate the point. The myth of a virgin Britomartis pursued by Minos and jumping into the sea to escape him has no obvious narratological link to the material presence of votive armor in the sanctuary of Aphaia. This is not to say (not to be misunderstood) that myth and ritual practice are typically incompatible, but that a scholar would not always be able to predict a votive practice from a myth, and a myth from the votive practice. If we knew only the myth, we would not necessarily anticipate armor as votives, and vice versa, if we knew of armor votives, we would not immediately envision a myth of a pursued maiden.

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[24] For an in-depth presentation of this view, see Rappaport 1999. Moreover, there are reasons to think that ritual is not as universal in religions as some anthropologists have tried to show. Robert Levy (1999) discusses cases of religious systems that either have a small degree of ritualization, or, in fact, do away with ritual altogether, remaining the visions of the sacred world nonetheless.

[25] Cf. Vernant 1991, 279: "We wish to apprehend the nature of sacrifice in the meanings, values, and functions it implied for the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods. This ambition presupposes that sacrifice be resituated within the religious system of which it constitutes one element, and that the system itself be restored to its right place within the general body of the civilization to which it belongs."

[26] Gould 1985.

[27] See Kowalzig 2007 for a recent discussion.

3.1.6 *Means of Communication: Gifts for the Gods*

Material offerings represent a means of communication between worshippers and deities, in a given religious system.[28] Offerings at cultic sites are such that in every case they present both some similarities to cults from other places, but also always display unique features. Interpretations of local cults are often based on the analogy with other cults and cultic sites, but in the last thirty years more sophisticated methods of interpreting archaeological data have been developed. There is hope that we might be able to say something more specific about the cult at a particular location based on the material on the ground rather than by trying to attach a whole set of features from another cult to some seemingly similar detail of the cult in question.[29]

3.1.7 *Interrelating Categories*

Every attempt at a synthetic account of Greek religion seeks to interrelate various religious categories, but most of these attempts remain paratactic and descriptive rather than analytical.[30] As much as 'Greek religion' is a concept that, at least nominally, has to embrace all of the Greek world, and all periods of Greek history, a history of Greek religion will always remain a catalogue of data, rather than a systemic view of the whole. Burkert's approach can be identified as 'systematizing' only on the level of components, for example, when he calls pantheon a 'semiotic system,'[31] at the same time as he frustrates over the lack of order within it. The overall Greek religion, as Burkert describes it, at no point appears as a system, not even as a unity, nor can it possibly appear as such as long as we are looking for it on the macrocosmic, that is, panhellenic level, and yet some inconsistencies will not be eliminated even at the level of elementary units of polytheistic piety, such as individuals or households.[32]

From a socio-historical perspective, any privileging of one category of religious phenomena over another leads to a singling out of elements,

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[28] See, e.g., Van Straten 1981; Linders and Nordquist 1987; White 1992. Parker (2011, x) renders the issue in terms of 'reciprocity,' so that a hymn or a choral performance that is meant to please, "delight" a deity would count as a 'gift' as much as a votive object.

[29] Renfrew 1985; Simon 1986; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991; Pilafidis-Williams 1998; Baumbach 2004.

[30] Before Burkert, Nilsson 1941–50 can be cited as an example of a comprehensive, and still useful, history of Greek religion.

[31] Burkert 1985, 124.

[32] See on this Versnel 2011.

which only together constitute a functional whole. Already in 1960, Brelich announced at the International Congress on the History of Religions that the primary task of a scholar of polytheism "is not to formulate a strict definition, but to establish the *morphology* of polytheism."[33] While distinguishing the categories of religious phenomena is an important preliminary step to studying the whole, the choice of an appropriate level of social organization is another. Before moving on to the discussion of the latter, we have to address the opportunities and limitations inherent in the nature of our evidence.

3.2 Data

3.2.1 *Material Evidence*

Material evidence relates to votives, architecture, sculpture, types and attributes of sanctuaries, and their topographic position. Scholars identify material objects in votive assemblages according to date, style, provenance, decoration, and value, and on the basis of these criteria they draw conclusions about the relative 'importance' (a rather vague characteristic) of a deity to the community. They also indicate the clientele (local, regional, panhellenic, or international) of the cult, which is also taken to reflect the function of a local cult and deity. Most of these interpretations rely on some established or currently supported correlations of meaning: e.g., size, expense, amount and quality of decoration are indicators of importance, which are in turn commonly seen as correlatives of the civic centrality of cult. These correlatives are taken to hold panhellenic significance.

One of rare exceptions to the common practice of the panhellenic approach in the interpretation of material evidence is Sourvinou-Inwood's case study of the votive *pinakes* in the cult of Persephone and Aphrodite at Lokroi,[34] and another, of the iconography of a group of vases that yield meaning when we recognize their specifically local, Attic, referents.[35] The former study exemplifies a search for local meaning of cult on the basis of votive dedications. While it is possible to disagree with Sourvinou-Inwood

[33] Brelich 1960, 125.

[34] Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 147–188.

[35] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990c. Not all such correlative exercises prove successful: see a number of attempts to read specific local meaning (into or out of) the Aphaia pediments via comparison with Aiginetan choral lyric, as seen in several studies within the collection edited by Fearn (2011a).

about the particular meaning of some iconographic details,[36] her principle of searching for local meaning on the basis of local material is a sound practice.

Sourvinou-Inwood argues that each Greek deity had a local and a panhellenic personality, and hence in each local case we might expect to find elements of both in the character of a deity.[37] The mechanism by means of which a panhellenic persona of a deity comes to be, and then comes to be known throughout the Greek world, is an understudied issue. How the panhellenic personality is affected by local personalities, and in which form the two co-exist are the questions that require further understanding. Meanwhile, independent of the issue of the panhellenic persona of a Greek deity, the work of Sourvinou-Inwood and other scholars demonstrates the possibility of arriving at an identification of social functions of a cult on the basis of local material evidence.[38]

To illustrate this point, we can take a subset of material evidence, e.g., numismatic, used among others as an indicator of social roles of local deities. If a deity appears on local coins, she/he is considered to be a patron deity of the state, the *polis* god/goddess par excellence. Jost, for example, defines the civic role of Poseidon on the basis of his appearance on the coins of Mantinea. Poseidon is represented on the Mantinean coins seated (as Zeus usually is) holding a trident in the right hand, as a scepter would be in Zeus' hand, thus displaying "the attributes of an authentic poliad divinity."[39] Jost's conclusion, however, even if correct in this instance,

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[36] In the following passage, it becomes clear that more than iconographic details themselves, it is the subjective use of the same descriptive term that constitutes the rhetorical force of Sourvinou-Inwood's interpretation: "Even if originally in some cults Aphrodite and Hermes had been a married couple their relationship would have been transformed into an illicit one under the impact of Panhellenic religion . . . It [representation of copulating satyr and hind on a *pinax*] shows that bestiality too belongs to the cultic sphere of Hermes and Aphrodite, the illicit lovers . . . the presence of the flute-playing girl in front of Aphrodite may perhaps illustrate the goddess' connection with the illicit aspects of love, since the flute is associated with hetairai" (Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 177). The attribute "illicit" allows Sourvinou-Inwood to connect three strands of interpretation together, but the applicability of the term to each case can be challenged.

[37] Dedications of pinakes with scenes of abduction . . . suggest that Persephone "fulfilled the role of protectress of marriage and weddings . . . also had a kourotrophic function . . . she was presiding over the world of women and their concerns" (Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 153). "We can deduce the following about Aphrodite's personality. First, the myth of her birth from the sea, which was part of the goddess' Panhellenic myth, was included in her personality-nexus at Locri . . . Her cultic association with Persephone is not due to a common funerary aspect" (Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 176). See also Redfield 2003.

[38] E.g., Sinn 1987 and Pilafidis-Williams 1998.

[39] Jost 1985, 291.

relies on presumed panhellenic correlations of iconographic meanings rather than on specifically local evidence for such correlation.

Spatial distribution of sanctuaries in a local landscape, if it can be represented through mapping, also supplies data for analysis of a local religious system. This can be especially meaningful if sacred topographic data can be correlated with the geo-morphological, demographic, and economic data, so that religious structures are seen as an integral dimension of local social life.[40]

3.2.2 *Textual Evidence*

Textual evidence is of varied nature: some are written compositions of individual authors, others are products of anonymous folkloric tradition. The differences in the nature of textual sources, that is whether they are authored or folkloric, affect their historical value. Literary accounts, are further differentiated by genre, which is significant because genres of literature signify specific types of audience, specific purposes, and specific conventional representations. Narratives of folkloric origin often feed into literature and themselves consist of stories belonging to specific genres. Ancient oral tradition reached us only indirectly, via and in the context of written accounts, a factor which is not always given proper consideration in discussions, and especially, in interpretations of ancient myths.[41] In our textual sources on Greek religion, relevant data appear in the narrative form of the following types:

(a) Factual descriptions of places of worship and cult objects, written by direct witnesses or from the words of informants (e.g., much of the Scythian realia were probably described to Herodotus by local informants in Olbia rather than witnessed by him directly).
(b) Myths of origin (of deities, cults, and rituals): aetia explaining the birth of a deity, foundation of cult, introduction of a certain ritual practice.
(c) Myths of power: stories of deities or cult, most often illustrating a deity's power, and hence designed to convince or demonstrate the

[40] Jameson 2004 was enabled by and based on the availability of the data collected in a regional survey (Jameson et al. 1994). Lolos (2011) dedicates a chapter to the sacred topography of Sikyonia, which is also enabled by a combination of survey results and textual evidence.

[41] Burkert (1979, 3) warns: "a myth, qua tale, is not identical with any given text; the interpretation of myth therefore is to be distinguished from the interpretation of text."

effectiveness of a deity (e.g., *iamata* at the Asklepieion of Epidauros, or the Labours of Herakles).

(d) *Exempla*, or illustrations within historiographic, philosophical or rhetorical writings, and in scholia.

'Factual' accounts, type (a), require the testing of motifs, personal agenda, the nature of the literary genre, historical circumstances, and performative occasions, when applicable. Analysis of these allows one to evaluate the reliability of direct descriptive information on the religious subject. The other types of narratives, (b), (c), and (d), raise fundamental questions about the validity of information they relate. Myths are stories with a plot line, named characters, and often with some connection to a historical, that is, real and physical, cult place or ritual. *Exempla* can be nothing more than a mention of a divine or heroic name, but they always imply a fuller story that stands behind the name, and hence can be seen as a reduced form of myths of origin and power.

3.2.3 *Myths as Historical Evidence*

The interpretation of myths is a vast field of study, and our concern here is only to inquire if and how myths might be used as a source of information about the social characters of deities in local cults. Can we rely on myths to provide us with historical, factual, information about local religion? The formulation of the question is not without problem, as "the notion of historical content of a myth presupposes a distinction between myth and history which is fundamental for us but anachronistic for the Greeks…" and yet "modern research, from the eighteenth century, has used Greek myth as a source of historical data."[42] The common perception that abides even today is that myth might contain information about objects and phenomena that existed at some point in time at some place on earth. Yet, the question of historical information in myths is quite different from the question of the historicity of events described in a myth. The trouble with myths is that they pass off artificial constructs as natural, wherein lies their enormous power of persuasion.[43] The seeming paradox

[42] Edmunds 1991, 91.

[43] Roland Barthes is credited with articulating this characteristic of myths. In the words of Ryder (2004), "Barthes describes myth as a well formed, sophisticated system of communication that serves the ideological aims of a dominant class. Barthes's notion of myth is that of a socially constructed reality that is passed off as natural. Myth is a mode of signification in which the signifier is stripped of its history, the form is stripped of its

of the historical dimension of myths lies in their nature as phenomena of language, and of narrative.[44] As such, myth falls within the realm of other linguistic and textual phenomena, and within the field of related genres of narrative, both oral and written, folkloric, that is, anonymous and traditional, and literary, that is, authored and datable. The challenges of identifying myth among other types of discourse, and then of using it as a historical source are many.[45]

Myth is first and foremost a type of story, and as a story it obeys the laws of story-making and story-telling. These laws are not subject to the scrutiny of factual accuracy, or chronological consistency.[46] Brillante has identified two major types of historical analysis of myth. One type of historical approach "analyzes myth by focusing not on possible external references, but rather on cultural elements that figure as an integral part of the narration."[47] An example of this approach is Walter Burkert's interpretation of the fire-treated stake, which Odysseus uses to blind

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substance, and then it is adorned with a substance that is artificial, but which appears entirely natural. Through mythologies, deeply partisan meanings are made to seem well established and self-evident." Conspiracy theories, like myths, exercise a pervasive hold on human reason.

[44] Cf. Brillante 1991, 120: "Myth is presented as a form of meta-language in which the first level of communication, of a denotative type, refers back to a higher level of organization of meaning belonging to the order of connotation."

[45] Vernant 1991, 284–5: "The mythologist, therefore, is led to follow two lines of research simultaneously: comparison of mythic narratives as presented in the oral tradition, and comparison with all other kinds of literary works produced by the Greeks. It may be that the prevailing concept of myth will consequently be put in doubt, although the main problem is less one of comparing the myth as a whole with what is not myth than it is of circumscribing exactly the disparities between various types of discourses: disparities in vocabulary, patterns of construction, syntactic links, narrative methods, and techniques of collating semantic values by use of a text . . . The Greek terrain, therefore, is one that most strongly incites the mythologist to grapple with the overall problems of myth on the textual level."

[46] Brillante 1991, 101: "the mythic past . . . does not show any interest in either relative or absolute chronological order, and thus is by its very nature without historical interest."

[47] Brillante 1991, 109. Brillante (1991, 108, 109) observes that "the material of mythology has appeared substantially composite in its nature and origin," and quoting from Brelich (1958, 59–69) he notes that "Brelich admitted the possibility that some mythic traditions may have been formed around real facts," in which case "the historical element is distinguished in that, and as long as, it preserves its own unrepeatable character;" in those cases, however, "where the historical element has been totally assimilated into the traditional forms of myth, it would lose, along with its specificity, also the possibility of being recognized as historical." "Brelich invoked the ethnological method, which he declared preferable to the "philological" method and which is based on comparison," whereby the myth of Oedipus "may be easily interpreted in light of a general model that both in Greece and in the Near East we find in the myths of royal succession" (Brillante 1991, 114, 118).

Polyphemus, as a Paleolithic tool.[48] In this reading, the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus reaches back into the early dawn of humanity. Another type of analysis

> considers the mythic tale in the light of particular historical events that might have left traces in the tale . . . Such an analysis aims rather at discovering and considering separately a series of facts referable to determinate historical conditions or events . . . the presence of historical memories of an ancient past.[49]

This type of analysis is most prone to misconstruing ancient history because

> myth is a stitching together of heterogeneous elements; a historical analysis can point out its internal seams, helping to illuminate its formation, but the myth itself cannot be used in the reconstruction of historical events.[50]

Yet, some modern historians still take the story line, and especially the sequence of elements within a story, as reliable historical information. In his widely influential studies published in the early twentieth century, Vladimir Propp clearly demonstrated how certain types/genres of folkloric narratives require certain elements to appear in them in a particular sequence.[51] So, even while a story might be operating with historical names of peoples (e.g., Athenians, Spartans),[52] and might be mentioning historical objects (e.g., a fire-burnt stake), the chain of events described in the story may have nothing to do with historical reality and everything to do with the laws of traditional oral narratives.

In narratives, I distinguish two types of components, fact-statements and connectors, both of which are almost always historically unverifiable. In the study of Aiginetan cults, this issue becomes crucial in the assessment

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[48] Burkert 1979, 33–34.
[49] Brillante 1991, 106–7.
[50] Brillante 1991, 101; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 217–43.
[51] See Propp 1996 [1928].
[52] The use of proper names immediately turns a potential fairy tale into myth: "A clear and well-known indication of the difference between myth and fairy-tale is the appearance of names. Proper names need not have a 'meaning,' but they have a reference . . . In this way Greek myths are connected with families, tribes, cities, places, rituals, festivals, gods, and heroes: the story about abducted Helen, brought back by brothers, could be just a general type of story; with Agamemnon of Mycenae, Menelaus of Sparta; the Argives, Danaioi, or Achaeans fighting the non-Greek Trojans beyond the Hellespont, it is a myth through which the self-consciousness of Greek versus barbarians first asserts itself. 'Prometheus' is a character of myth because of the general importance of fire and technology . . . and because of the explicit reference to Greek sacrificial practice. If the reference is deleted, myth turns into folktale" (Burkert 1979, 23–4).

of the Herodotean account in 5.82–91 (see ch. 9.2.3) on the origins of the cult of Damia and Auxesia on the island. What I call 'connectors' are various narratological means of stitching together the fact-statements of the story. Connectors either stem from the 'logic' of the genre, i.e. they have to do with story-building and story-telling, or connectors reveal ideological motivations. In the latter case, motivations can be historical. A folk story told in the 5th century BCE in a particular Greek state may present a generic folktale with local details and motivations in the actions of characters in such a way that it would make sense for the time and place where the tale is told. Thus, factual statements within a story may often be nothing more than elements of a generic folktale, while motivational connectors might reflect the ideological interests of a particular author, or group of people living at a specific and identifiable time period and place.[53] While fact-statements have an equal chance of being historical or not, nothing in the story itself can help determine if they are, and only additional external evidence can tell one way or another. As in many other areas, Sourvinou-Inwood has done pioneering work in bringing to light this particular problem,[54] and Brillante formulated the criteria for using myth as a source of historical information: "the singularity and non-iterability of the trace, and adequate parallel data from archaeology and other historical sources."[55]

The questions of origin, meaning, purpose, and use of any particular myth are all distinct matters. Answers to these questions can easily differ one from another. To determine the social function of a local cult from a particular myth connected to this cult requires careful isolation of

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[53] Such motivations need not imply intentionality, i.e., that behind a particular tale there is a deliberate aim to convince.

[54] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990b, 215. "Thus, the notion that the elements under consideration are 'un-Apolline' is simply a culturally determined judgment, the result of the fact that we have been looking at Apollo's personality and the oracle's early history through a series of distorting mirrors . . . partly created by our own constructs about his early history, which are based on culturally determined assumptions about, for example, what constitutes a logical connection between divine functions" (Sourvinou-Inwood 1990b, 223–4). At the same time, Sourvinou-Inwood (1990b, 226–7) is not immune to the influence of the powerful assumptions built into other common hermeneutic paradigms, e.g., structuralist: "The Gaia-Apollo relationship has several meanings in this myth. First, through the defeat of the female primordial goddess by Apollo the lawgiver and establisher of order . . . Second, this relationship expresses the two deities' complementarity . . . The myth is structured by, and expresses, the perception that at Delphi the chthonic, dangerous and disorderly aspects of the cosmos have been defeated by, and subordinated to, the celestial guide and lawgiver."

[55] Edmunds 1991, 92.

fact-statements from connectors, and the crosschecking of each through comparison with other textual, epigraphic, and archaeological sources. In spite of these limitations, this exercise is less doomed to failure than a search for the historical meaning of a myth.

Because a myth is a tale applied, as Burkert puts it, we can in most cases ascertain the application of myth, that is, the purpose for which it is told. At the same time, the social function of a local cult corresponds to a social need and hence to the reason for the presence of local cult. Therefore, we are often close to the object of our search for the social function of a local deity when we identify the application, the purpose of myth-telling.[56] It is especially important to keep this correlation in mind when myths, or other genres of folklore that convey information about local cults, appear imbedded within such narratives as the 'histories' of Herodotus. The difficulty in evaluating the historicity of information provided by Herodotus lies precisely in the near impossibility of separating the traditional forms of narratives and traditional plots from historical details woven into them, and on top of that, in identifying the degree of personal interference and editing of the stories by the author himself. In such cases, when a mythical story comes down to us within a heterogeneous narrative, such as we find in Herodotus,[57] in addition to the criteria applicable to the historical analysis of myth, we also need to consider the historical circumstances of the composition, the agenda, and the motivations of the author who is relating a myth within his narrative.

3.3 Paradigms of Interpretation

3.3.1 *The Role and Power of Paradigms*

Whether scholars operate with a panhellenic or a local model of Greek religion when interpreting the data, they are also exposed to the methodological influences of another kind: the pervasive and self-perpetuating presence of epistemological paradigms, many of them long outdated, and some heavily critiqued but still used. I use 'paradigm' as a convenient one-word synonym for what otherwise might be called 'models of interpretation.' In this way, the sense of 'paradigm' is close to its ancient meaning:

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[56] See n. 43 above.

[57] In Herodotus, the term for stories of mythical or legendary nature, is *logos*. On *logoi* and short stories in Herodotus, see Dewald 2002; Gray 2002. On myth and history in Herodotus, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 244–84.

pattern, model, example. Under the umbrella term 'paradigm' I discuss various kinds of interpretive models, which are different both from Kuhn's use of the term,[58] as well as from one another, e.g., an Evolutionary paradigm can be found in operation across disciplines, while the Olympian-Chthonian paradigm is confined to Classics. In spite of these differences, the main reason for using the term 'paradigm' is to highlight how models/modes/habits of interpretation exercise a 'paradigmatic' force in scholarship. In this sense, the linguistic meaning of paradigm as in "paradigm of noun declension" or "paradigm of verb conjugation," presents itself as a helpful analogy. When we see in a text a noun or verb with a particular inflection, we can deduce from it the type of declension or conjugation that word belongs to, so with these interpretive paradigms: an identification of one element in the religious data as characteristic, triggers the deployment of a fixed pattern/model of interpretation. The reason we need to recount these paradigms here is to alert ourselves to their pervasive interpretive power as we turn to the study of the Aiginetan data. Most of these are so deeply imbedded in the scholarly discourse that they have acquired the status of unquestionable truths.[59]

We need to revise many established ways of interpreting our evidence,[60] flagging and disembedding paradigmatic explanations within them, in order to demonstrate that each interpretive possibility cannot be taken as a matter of course, but should be independently evaluated for applicability and appropriateness in each local case. In other words, local cases should not be approached as illustrations of panhellenic idioms, but on the contrary, we should ask whether local cases support the notion of a panhellenic idiom. That is, it is not the local case that should be viewed as a deviation from or a variation on the panhellenic idiom, but the panhellenic paradigm should be viewed as a hypothetical construction subject to constant testing and re-evaluation, while the local case should be viewed as solid fact. For this reason, we need to spell out the indicators of these pervasive paradigms in order to release the local data for the possibility of fresh interpretations.

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[58] Kuhn 1962.

[59] Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990b, 222: "Thus the data are forced into perverse explanatory patterns and linked by circular arguments, to produce interpretations which only appear convincing when viewed through the perceptual filters of the culturally determined expectations which generated them."

[60] A similar motivation is expressed in the Preface to Parker 2011.

3.3.2 *Evolutionary Paradigm*

Although largely abandoned, the evolutionary paradigm makes an occasional, matter of fact appearance in scholarship. The evolutionary paradigm envisions the history of Greek religion as a sequence of several stages described through metaphors of nature: birth, adolescence, maturity, and decay, or as a development from primitive to sophisticated levels. This paradigm was dominant at the turn of the twentieth century, especially in the studies of Gilbert Murray, Farnell, and other representatives of the Cambridge School,[61] and it was still central in the 1950s.[62]

The advances in cultural anthropology in the 19th and 20th centuries that followed the discovery of indigenous cultures of the Americas, Australia, Oceania, and Africa gave rise to the notion of 'primitivism' as a special stage in the evolution of the 'great religions,' a stage that could be understood through comparison with the indigenous religions of the New World, and of the remote Asian and African colonies established by the European powers. The general theories of the evolution of religious ideas, from animism to anthropomorphism, from worshipping objects, animals, or natural phenomena to worshipping deities in human form, or God as an abstract concept not tied to any material form, carry the connotations of "low" and "high" types of religiosity,[63] and these latter characteristics are still operative in contemporary scholarship: "if in religion an evolution from a lower to a higher level is assumed, belief in demons must be older than belief in gods. In Greek literature no verification of this is possible: hence the postulate of popular beliefs which fail to find expression in literature or do so only at a late date."[64] The main problems of the evolutionary paradigm lie in our arbitrary position as evaluators of

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[61] Murray 1912 and 1925.

[62] See, e.g., Guthrie 1950, xiv: "When we delve into what we call the origins of Greek religion, we must remember that we are recalling an age of what appeared to the Greeks themselves as "non-Greek and foolish simplicity," and that one of the most important origins of Greek religion was the superior mentality of the Greek. And just as there was an age of infancy, when τὸ Ἑλληνικόν was not yet free from the swaddling-clothes of εὐηθίη ἡλίθιος so also there came a later age, sometimes called an age of decline, though in many ways it was anything but that—but an age, at least, when the exclusive character of the Hellenic once again broke down."

[63] E.g., Farnell 1926. The so-called "low" aspects of Greek religion often carry negative connotations in the studies of the early anthropologists-classicists, and even reveal a sense of embarrassment on behalf of ancient Greeks, and an impulse to apologize, cf. Murray 1912, 16. See also Burkert (1985, 260) for the use of such attributes as "primitive" and "high" in contexts referring to civilizations and cultures.

[64] Burkert 1985, 179.

progress, and in that designating something as "high" or "low," "primitive" or "advanced" does not in itself explain how religion actually functions.

3.3.3 *Initiation Paradigm*

The initiation paradigm has become a popular interpretive tool in studies of Greek religion since the first applications of the paradigm to the Greek material appeared in press in the first half of the 20th century.[65] This subject will become relevant, e.g., in the discussion of Apollo Delphinios on Aigina: whether this deity was in charge of initiations of young men (see 7.6.5). The uses of the initiation paradigm in studies of Greek religion fall in line with a wide cross-cultural application of the paradigm in anthropological research, which adds to the clout of initiation theory and indirectly reinforces its validity in Classics.[66] In spite of some pointed critique,[67] many modern applications of the initiation paradigm in Classics lack a nuanced approach, and follow the common model of identifying in ancient Greek rituals, narratives, and social practices the same three-partite complex (separation-transition-integration) as was identified by Van Gennep for what he called "les rites de passage."[68]

The middle stage, transition, has proven to be the most expressive for epistemological purposes, and nowadays such terms as 'marginal,' 'liminal,' and 'peripheral' in academic discourse rarely indicate a neutral spatial position on the side, or on the edge;[69] they always imply the initiation paradigm at work. Most importantly, a whole range of material and textual features has been assigned the status of almost infallible indicators of marginality, either in social status, space, or time. The pitfalls of de-contextualized and ahistorical use of such signals of marginality, alias liminality,[70] are significant, and yet, so far, the critique of the paradigm

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[65] Jeanmaire 1979 [1939]; Dumézil 1929; Brelich 1960–61, 1962 and 1969. See Versnel (1994, 48–60) for discussion of scholarly uses of the initiation paradigm.

[66] The sheer number of conferences dedicated to the subject of initiation in recent decades are a testimony to the overwhelming popularity of the paradigm, see Bianchi 1986; Ries and Limet 1986; Moreau 1992, Dodd and Faraone 2003.

[67] Versnel 1994, 48–74; Dodd and Faraone 2003.

[68] Van Gennep 1909; Padilla 1999.

[69] We should note, however, that some studies that use Van Gennep's model of 'les rites de passage,' in fact, do not address initiation, but other types of transitions culturally marked as significant, e.g., New Year festivals and the like.

[70] These are often the features that appear somehow abnormal in the context of any particular culture. Initiation presumably requires separation from the norm with the purpose of highlighting and ritualizing the subsequent return to the norm. Thus, in various cultures, gender reversal in behavior, dress, occupations, temporary social license on what

has had little effect on classical scholarship.[71] Vidal-Naquet's interpretation of the myths and rituals associated with the Athenian ephebeia as a case of initiation continues to provide a model for the application of the initiation paradigm in scholarship on Greek religion, and as much can be said about the influence of Burkert's interpretation of Arrephoria in Athens.[72]

3.3.4 *Olympian-Chthonian Paradigm (see also 4.3.2)*

The Olympian-Chthonian paradigm is one of the most deeply rooted and long-standing ones.[73] The paradigm had been regularly applied to the interpretation of Aiginetan cults in the past.[74] Recently, the validity of this paradigm has been challenged and then defended with a renewed force.[75] The main determinants of the paradigm are the distinctive types of sacrifices, ritual actions, and modes of worship (time, place) offered to deities. Blood sacrifices (on a built altar) of animal victims, of whose cooked flesh humans partake in a feast "shared" by gods, are ascribed to the so-called Olympian deities and Olympian rituals. Conversely, while unburnt food offerings deposited into a pit in the ground, or holocaust sacrifices, which are not shared by gods and humans, since humans do not use any part of the sacrificial animal, are associated with Chthonian worship. In accordance with this paradigm, certain features of cult and ritual are indicators of respectively the Olympian or Chthonian nature of deities, and not only of rituals, for example, a sanctuary inside a sacred grove "accords well with the Chthonian personality of the god."[76] The topographic position of sanctuaries, as well as different categories of cult objects can be viewed as such indicators: a temple is typical of Olympian worship, while a cave, or tomb—of Chthonian. Any underground

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is usually prohibited, dislocation from typical positions,—are all viewed as signals of 'marginality,' and hence, of the initiation paradigm at work.

[71] Versnel 1994, 48–74.

[72] Vidal-Naquet 1986a, 106–128; 1986b; 1989. For recent critique, see Polinskaya 2003. Arrhephoria: Burkert 1966, and 1985, 260–64.

[73] See recent discussions in Mikalson (2010, 36–38) who re-labels Olympian deities 'Ouranic;' Parker 2011, 80–84, 283–286; Versnel 2011, 144–145 n. 432 and n. 433.

[74] Thiersch 1928; Felten 2007b, 22.

[75] Schlesier 1991/2 and 1997; Scullion 1994 and 2000. See also Henrichs 1991 and Hägg and Alroth 2005 with review by Ekroth 2007.

[76] Jost 1985, 288: "Pour Trikoloni on sait par Pausanias que le sanctuaire était entouré d'un bois sacré, ce qui s'accorde bien avec la personnalité chthonienne du dieu, mais n'est en rien son apanage."

ritual activity is identified as Chthonian.[77] It is not always clear from our evidence whether ancient Greeks perceived and/or ascribed a difference in meaning to such differences in ritual or to a physical location of cult, yet modern scholars often do not hesitate to assign specific meanings to the distinction between the Olympian and Chthonian. It is still an open question whether the modern paradigm of Olympian versus Chthonian worship has an ancient correlative, and if so, what the correspondence between the two is.[78] In most cases, when a scholar uses a certain detail of cultic data as an indicator of the Chthonian nature of that cult, such identification does not really tell us anything more illuminating than what we already knew before this label was attached. Robert Parker provides a wonderful illustration of one less than helpful application of the paradigm in connection with sacrifices for Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias on Cos. The preliminary sacrifices to these deities involved a holocaust of a piglet for Zeus and a sacrifice of a pregnant ewe for Athena. Both of these sacrifices point out an association of the two deities with agriculture, despite their "urban" epithets. The types of victims and the manner of sacrifice would for some scholars immediately call to mind the identification with Chthonian cult, however, Parker concludes: "To establish that the cult of Zeus Polieus has an association with agriculture advances our knowledge. To label it chthonian substitutes for that precise description a vaguer one."[79] I would refrain from labeling any cultic data Chthonian and identifying a cult or local deity as Chthonian unless our ancient sources use this term explicitly, in which case the evaluation of the term's significance in the given context would be well justified.

3.3.5 *City-Countryside Paradigm*

This paradigm attributes ideological significance to the relationship between city and countryside in ancient Greece, and it is not the sole property of Greek religious studies. Its origin is in the political, social, and economic history of the Greek world.[80] The paradigm reflects a distinction,

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[77] E.g., Gebhard (2002, 59) on the dining caves at Isthmia: "dining underground suggests a connection with a chthonic deity."

[78] Ekroth 2002 strongly emphasizes the lack of evidence for a distinction between the Olympian and Chthonian features in the Greek terminology of sacrifice for heroes.

[79] Parker 2011, 286.

[80] The early articulations of the paradigm can be found in de Coulanges (e.g., 1877, 177–187); also cf. Morgan (2003, 49) who discusses the early theories of urbanism. On the political and economic dimensions of the relationship between city and countryside in ancient Greece, see Hansen 1998.

attested in our textual and epigraphic sources, between an urban center and a state's agricultural territory. This distinction, however, is neither clearly demarcated in taxonomy, nor is it equally relevant to every territorial and political unit of the Greek world. The definition of 'city' and 'countryside' varied regionally, as did the physical lay of the land, and so the agricultural area of each socio-territorial unit was determined with relation to a particular set of geo-ecological opportunities rather than in absolute terms.

As far as the field of religion is concerned, certain connotations linked to the notions of 'city' as an urban and political center have put their stamp upon the classifications of sanctuaries and deities. The distinction between city and countryside is thus engaged in the production of meaning in the field of Greek religion.[81] The city has long been seen as a focus of political life, of civic institutions, and hence, the cults and deities located in the city, that is, inside city walls and especially on an acropolis, or in an agora, have been termed the city, or civic sanctuaries/gods *par excellence*. On Aigina, Apollo has been viewed in this way.[82] The opposite, that is, the connotations of untamed wilderness, insecurity, danger, and pollution, have been attributed to the sanctuaries and deities located outside city walls, in the countryside, and on borders of states.[83] Many of these value-laden oppositions, similar to those in the initiation paradigm, rest on structuralist foundations.

The city-countryside paradigm underlies the classification of sanctuaries into urban, suburban (peri-urban), and extra-urban. Deities are accordingly classified as city or countryside ones. Connotations of social centrality and civic importance transferred onto the sanctuaries and deities located in the *asty* had long been a predominant view until François de Polignac's widely influential study shifted the attention of everyone to the role of rural sanctuaries in the formation and definition of Greek city-states.[84] Polignac's model, however, presumes that the roles of rural sanctuaries, and hence of the deities worshipped there, are universal throughout the Greek world, and as a consequence there is little room

[81] What meaning we assign to the position of sanctuaries vis-à-vis the city, varies greatly: Malkin 1996.

[82] Welter 1938c, 50; Walter-Karydi 1994, 133ff; Felten 2003b, 41 (still citing *IG* IV 2 as evidence).

[83] E.g., Bremmer 1994, 17; Jost 1994, 227.

[84] Polignac 1995 and 1994. A more nuanced elaboration of his earlier ideas is in Polignac 1998.

in his model for accommodating local idiosyncrasy.[85] While the paradigmatic connotations associated with city and countryside are still widely accepted in contemporary scholarship,[86] it can be shown that they are not consistent throughout the Greek world,[87] and that the fixed values linked to the panhellenic distinction between city and countryside are a poor tool in determining the meaning of any local deity or cult. While sanctuaries might be classified as urban, suburban, or extra-urban, their location does not constitute a sure indicator of the function of a cult practiced there.[88] Although the sanctuary of Aphaia was located on the opposite side from the main settlement on the northwest coast of Aigina,[89] and although the shrine of Zeus Hellanios was also at a great distance to the southeast of Aigina-town, neither of these cults can be said to be any less central to the Aiginetan religious system than the cults of Apollo and Aiakos whose shrines were in the town.[90]

3.3.6 *Structuralist Paradigm*

Structuralism has been perhaps the most influential conceptual and methodological approach in the interpretation of ancient Greek narratives and rituals in the 20th century.[91] Many decades since the deconstructionist critique has all but ousted structuralism from social and historical sciences, it still continues to play a visible hermeneutic role in Classics. The entry of structuralism into Classics was marked by the use of classical myth, that of Oedipus, as a paradigmatic illustration of the structuralist method by its founding father, Claude Lévi-Strauss,[92] although his

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[85] Cf., e.g., Jost 1994, 217–30.

[86] E.g., Bremmer 1994, 17; Price 1999, 51–53.

[87] E.g., Dignas (2003) argues against the blanket use of rural-urban dichotomy in approaching the religious life in the Greek East.

[88] Cf. Henrichs 1990; Polinskaya 2005.

[89] Polignac 1995, 37, 46 views the sanctuary of Aphaia as extra-urban.

[90] The view that Apollo, due to his location in Aigina town, was the *polis* god par excellence, presumably more so than Zeus or Aphaia, is quite common among scholars who write on the subject of Aiginetan cults.

[91] Burkert (1979, 5 n. 1) highlights some scholarly summaries of structuralist theory, such as Leach 1967 and Piaget 1970, but already in 1979 the task of collecting a full bibliography on the subject was daunting. Burkert on structuralism: "At present, however, attention tends to focus on an *ahistorical* structuralism concerned with formal models and confined to presenting in their full complexity the immanent, reciprocal relationships within the individual myths and rituals." On the structuralist interpretation of myth, see Calame 1990. Parker (2011, 84–97) and Versnel (2011, 26–36) offer most useful summaries, references, and critique of the approach.

[92] Lévi-Strauss 1963 [1958], 213–16.

"excursion into classics is not considered success even by the adepts."[93] The structuralist theory postulates an interplay between various types of binary oppositions as the operating mode of human thinking, story-telling, and ritualized behavior. Such oppositions include culture-nature, civilization-wilderness, male-female, public-private, young-old, cooked-raw, and such. For instance, on Aigina, some scholars wish to see the respective roles of Peleus and Phokos in the myth of fratricide (see ch. 7.2.2) as a structural opposition symbolizing the struggle for supremacy between the powers of the earth (Peleus, son of Endeis, goddess of the earth) and the sea (Phokos, son of Psamathe, a nymph).[94] There is, however, no trace of such connotations in the ancient sources.

Structuralism is often defined as a synchronic, systemic approach that more or less ignores, or else is unable to account for historical changes. As such, the structuralist approach is generally successful in answering the question of "how" about a social phenomenon, but not "why" and "when." The approach, as the name implies, reveals the operating structures of a story, ritual, or custom, making visible a certain "geometry" of culture.[95] In classical scholarship, some of the most influential work using the structuralist approach has been carried out by the French social historians of the Paris School, especially by Vernant.[96]

Vernant argues that each deity within a pantheon acquires its meaning from its place in the system of relationships with other deities. The relationships between deities are configured on the basis of binary oppositions with ascribed sets of values. Whenever a researcher encounters in his/her study one element of the prefigured binary opposition, e.g., a ritual or a cult that takes place in the frontier region, he or she is powerfully driven to assign meaning to the subject of the inquiry according to the opposition frontier-center, parallel to wilderness-civilization, parallel to chaos-order, and so on. The danger of such a generalized approach is in missing the peculiarity of the particular, which, in the field of Greek religion, often means overlooking the locally-specific meaning altogether.[97]

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[93] Burkert 1979, 150 n. 21.

[94] Burnett 2005, 17–18; McInerney 1999, 127–147.

[95] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 157; Malkin 1996, 75: "Empathy has given way to various kinds of systems analysis (structuralist or other) and . . . to a kind of 'geometric' framework of mind."

[96] E.g., Vernant 1983a. See also Vidal-Naquet 1986a.

[97] See discussion in Polinskaya 2003.

3.3.7 *Biological Ethology and Psychoanalysis*

Walter Burkert is one of very few classicists to promote the approach of biological ethology. He holds that "biology has the advantage of presenting a clear-cut definition of ritual":

> characteristic features of ritual in this perspective are: the stereotyped pattern of action, independent of the actual situation and emotion; repetition and exaggeration to make a kind of theatrical effect; and the function of communication . . . Ethology observes behavior with the double question of 'How come?' and 'What for?' Dealing with both history and function, it can answer such questions without the 'if I were a horse' method. Thus for interpretation of human ritual we may tentatively adopt the biological perspective . . . [98]

Burkert's overall conclusion is "that conglomerate of tradition which constitutes religion perhaps owes its particular form less to the cunning of reason than to the cunning of biology . . ."[99]

For someone arguing from the biological point of view, any juxtaposition of Poseidon and Athena would signify "a telling constellation of elemental force and technical wisdom," and "the conjunction of Poseidon and Apollo [would be] obviously experienced as a polarity of old and young, of watery depths and youthful vigor."[100] Here, preconceptions about the nature of specific deities lead to further inferences about their role in cult, they often fail at the juncture with local evidence. In such cases, Burkert attributes the failure to the generally contradictory nature of Greek religious thought and behavior rather than to the misapplication of theory to data.

The psychoanalytical paradigm, here grouped together with the biological because both see the roots of religious practice in human physiology, is perhaps the weakest in contemporary studies of Greek religion, but it makes an occasional appearance, especially in the interpretation of mythological texts, and readily springs to the minds of scholars whenever they deal with myths that describe violent and tragic family relationships.[101]

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[98] Burkert 1979, 36–37, 39.
[99] Burkert 1985, 218.
[100] Burkert 1985, 221, 222.
[101] Sigmund Freud was, of course, the first to propose a psychoanalytic reading of *Oedipus Rex*. Caldwell (1990, 1989, 1987) is the most prominent of the modern proponents of the psychoanalytic approach in Classics.

3.3.8 *Conclusion*

In the study of the Aiginetan religious world, I do not suggest that we dismiss all existing paradigms altogether and start with a clean slate, but rather that we stay alert to their pervasive influence and do not allow the pressure of paradigms to obscure or distort and over-ride the concreteness and peculiarity of local data.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCEPTION OF THE DIVINE IN GREEK POLYTHEISM

4.1 The Subject Matter of This Book: Focus on Deities

Deities are one of five fundamental axes of a religious system conceived of as communication, but it is the only one without which the social phenomenon in question would not be classified as 'religion' at all. Any religion is fundamentally about God, in the case of polytheism—gods. How this religious category determines the character of a given religion, however, can only be understood through the study of all five categories together in their inter-related co-functioning. The focus on deities in this book, therefore, is an angle, a window through which I propose to observe, perceive, reconstruct, and understand the working of the Aiginetan religious system as a whole. The fragmentary and deficient state of our evidence will never allow an ancient historian to achieve the same level of comprehensiveness as is possible for a modern anthropologist, e.g., for Robert Levy in his study of Bhaktapur. At the same time, a systemic approach allows one to establish an armature of an imaginary structure that provides spaces for the surviving fragments to be fixed within, held together, as it were, by conceptual wires, while in-between those fragments of data, spaces are left for the missing pieces, some of which might get filled at some later point with newly discovered data and some never filled at all. Employing the image of an armature, I am not thinking of a grid, rather I have in mind the technique that a sculptor uses in creating a clay model of a future full-scale piece: a wire armature that underlays a three-dimensional figure.

4.2 Conception of the Divine in Greek Polytheism

At first sight, the world of Greek gods presents a rather heterogeneous picture. Besides unitary individual deities recognizable from poetic sources, such as Zeus, Hera, Hermes, and Ares, in cultic contexts, we encounter peculiar double deities such as Artemis Iphigenia, or Artemis Hecate, and Artemis Eileithyia. Some deities are worshipped in special pairs, e.g., at Eleusis, Demeter and Persephone, or Persephone and Aphrodite at Lokroi.

What of Nemesis, or Themis, personified abstractions, yet deities of cult and not of poetic imagination alone? What of nameless gods and heroes, just a *theos*, or a *hêrôs*? What of *pantes theoi*?[1] What do these diverse conceptions tell us about the Greek view of the nature of the divine?

Immortality and superhuman power are two central characteristics of divinity in Greek religion.[2] The power of polytheistic deities is, however, of a limited kind. It is unlimited vis-à-vis humans,[3] but limited vis-à-vis other gods.[4] Accordingly, the mutual *curbing* of powers results in a certain *distribution* of powers among the deities in a particular polytheistic religion. The association of a particular power or powers with particular deities circumscribes the deities' individuality and contributes to their conception and often verbal and visual representation as persons.[5] Personhood is, therefore, at least in part, a direct result of the multiple number of deities, and of the limited nature of their powers in polytheism. Incidentally, the immortality of polytheistic gods similarly leads to the solidification of their images as persons: while humans go through various physiological transformations in the course of their lives, and hence change in appearance, gods always stay the same, both in their looks and in their characters. The flip side of polytheism is that 'the many' are called upon to account for the entirety, or else, the 'oneness' of the universe, the fact which in cognitive terms calls for a need to correlate the many with the oneness by creating connections between deities. As a result, polytheistic deities are highly aware of the presence of other deities in the universe they commonly inhabit. In the words of Brelich, polytheistic deities demonstrate the need for "die durch Beziehungen zu anderen Gottheiten

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[1] See Jacobi 1930.

[2] These characteristics are not universal and do not apply to all types of deities known to mankind (Cf. Vernant 1993, 105). In the Eastern religious traditions, e.g., Hindu, or Buddhist, it is not the mortality or power, but categories of 'being' or 'not being' that are central (see Yandell 1999, 23–35).

[3] We may consider, however, the peculiar issue of gods' vulnerability before humans in the *Iliad* Book 5: Aphrodite and Ares are wounded in the battle by Diomedes.

[4] Brelich 1960, 127: "The deities of a polytheistic religion however always differentiate themselves from each other, whereby the superhuman power of one deity limits that of the other . . ."

[5] Brelich 1960, 128–9: "These great gods must be complex and not simple figures . . . moreover they must be in their large number—which is characteristic of polytheism that it brings its experience of the world into a large number of forms—well contrasted; yet, in order to avoid the disturbance of the unity of the world-experience, the deities must be connected to each other and form an organic pantheon . . . The prerequisite of this relationship is that a deity is a person."

bedingte Einfügung in ein Pantheon" ("the adaptation into a pantheon through connections to other deities").

Hence, the two main schools of thought on the nature of Greek deities: that Greek gods are persons,[6] and that Greek gods are powers.[7] Jan Bremmer noted that poets typically represented Greek deities as personalities, whereas in philosophical works we find an emphasis on the 'power' aspect of divinities.[8] As two ontological planes of the same phenomenon, personalities and powers of gods and heroes in historical terms make us wonder about the processes that led to the representation of Apollo in a poem (e.g., Homer) and at various cult sites (e.g., Delphi). Did an underlying sense of unity/modality of a divinity precede his/her multiple local manifestations, or were the local manifestations synthesized into an overarching notion of a particular deity?

Vernant conceives of the various epithets of a deity as signifying the range of its powers, which are not incompatible and "define the contours of divine sovereignty as conceived by the Greeks" and which only cumulatively constitute the distinctive identity of a deity in a pantheon.[9] In order to arrive at the identity of a deity thus conceived one must collect all the instances of that deity's actions from all existing myths and rituals

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[6] Walter Burkert most prominently represents the view that Greek gods were to their ancient worshippers quite definite and not abstract entities: "the Greek gods are persons, not abstractions, ideas, or concepts; *theos* can be predicate, but *a divine name in the tellings of myth* is a subject . . . The modern historian of religion may speak of 'archetypal figures of reality', but in the Greek, locution and ideation is structured in such a way that an individual personality appears that has its own plastic being. This cannot be defined, but it can be known, and such knowledge can bring joy, help, and salvation" (Burkert 1985, 182–3). It is noteworthy that Burkert chose the term *theos* as the subject of his statement. "God" is the usual translation for *theos*, but in ancient Greek other appellations are known, and their "godhead" in relationship to *theos* is important to address.

[7] Jean-Pierre Vernant whose name flags not just an individual position, but a whole methodological (if not even philosophical, almost in the ancient sense) school (l'École de Paris), holds that Greek deities are not persons, but powers. This view is the foundation block of structuralist studies of Greek religion. Vernant (1991, 273) defines god as "a power that represents a type of action, a kind of force. Within the framework of a pantheon, each of these powers becomes distinct not in itself as an isolated object but by virtue of its relative position in the aggregate of forces, by the structure of relations that oppose and unite it to other powers that constitute the divine universe." Bruit Zaidman & Schmitt Pantel (1994, 177) follow Vernant: "The gods, however, despite their anthropomorphic appearance, were not persons so much as powers, ordered and classified according to the system of Greek religious thought . . . Each deity had its own name, attributes and adventures, but they all owed their existence solely to the bonds that linked them in a systematic way to the totality of the divine universe."

[8] Bremmer 1994, 23.

[9] So Jost 1992, 34.

associated with the deity of this name. The name of a deity thus plays an anchoring role through time and place. John Davies envisions a different process whereby a deity becomes an entity as a result of a particular construction of its persona by a worshipper from a storehouse of available powers, or portfolios of powers,[10] on a particular occasion. It would seem that the name of a deity and the essence of a deity have a distant, and almost arbitrary relationship. As a linguistic sign is of arbitrary but conventional nature, so the relationship between the name 'Apollo' and the meaning associated with it is dependent on the choices made by a worshipper. In this conception, a god is anything a worshipper may want it to be. Deities then exist as conceptual clouds of various potencies, as portfolios of powers, and become persons through the medium of worshippers who make selections from these mental portfolios that are in their minds appropriate to the occasion.[11]

Thus, a polytheistic deity possesses characteristics of personhood, power (or a certain portfolio of powers), and adaptability to the co-existence with other gods.[12] Adaptability to the co-existence with other deities when set in motion in the workings of a concrete pantheon constitutes what Brelich called the dynamic "morphology" of polytheism, which he

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[10] "Such names ['Zeus' or 'Britomartis' or 'Siva' or 'Yahweh'] are indeed a shorthand for portfolios or packages of attributed imagined powers, but they, and especially the overwhelmingly anthropomorphic way in which the Greeks visualized their gods, can all too easily tempt us to speak and think of them as 'persons' in ways which, if adopted incautiously, send ontologically misleading messages. We have therefore to reach round the name to the portfolio . . . The imaginary construct which Greeks and we call 'Apollo' was seen as sufficiently multi-functional to provide a refuge and a reference-point for many human conditions and situations. In that way, just as each of us, given a particular cultural environment or a particular personal disposition, and with or without guidance from priests and texts, constructs the God whom we need at a particular time from among the inherited conglomerate of ideas of 'God,' so too Greeks could clearly each construct their own 'Apollo' from available cults, myths, and iconography" (Davies 1997, 43–44). Versnel (2011, 317), it seems to me, suggests something similar: "It is my unfashionable impression that in everyday religious practice individual Greek gods were practically never conceived of as powers, let alone as cultural products, but were in the first place envisaged as persons with individual characters and personalities. However great the impact that local peculiarities may have had on the perceptions of believers, the mention of a divine name or observing a picture or a statue would evoke a broad, universal image, a set of connotations which, despite all incisive local differences, is typical of that specific god, pervading both myth and ritual."

[11] Cf. references collected in Versnel 2011, 83 n. 225.

[12] "Deities actually possess the stated characteristics: the personhood, the immortal and active existence, the multiplicity of aspects, the differentiation from other deities and the adaptation into a pantheon through the connections to other deities" (Brelich 1960, 130).

identified as the primary focus for the historical study of polytheisms.[13] Within the group of the Aiginetan deities, we thus expect to find interconnections. What kind of connections can we expect? Will some explicit indigenous classifications reveal them or are we to identify them through a different type of analysis?

4.3 Indigenous Classes of Supernatural Beings in Greek Polytheism

4.3.1 *Gods*, daimones, *Heroes, and the Dead*

Both ancient sources and modern scholars disagree about the identification of some Aiginetan cultic figures as goddesses or heroines (see 7.4.2 on Aphaia and 11.3 on Damia and Auxesia). It is important to understand whether such designations carried semantic and/or functional value in the local religious nomenclature. Indigenous Greek classifications of divine beings into gods, *daimones*, heroes, and the dead claim Archaic pedigrees. According to one tradition, it was Thales who first established the tripartite division between gods, *daimones* and heroes.[14] In an inscription from Dodona we find θεοὶ ἥρωες δαίμονες given as a group of divine powers to whom prayer or sacrifice might be offered ("praying and sacrificing to whom of the gods, or heroes, or *daimones* . . . we would be most better off") alongside with more common formulae, such "to whom of the gods" or "to whom of the gods or heroes."[15] According to Plato, *Symp.* 202d–e,

[13] "In reality the morphology, however, may not be a simple description of stated traits—it is not so today even in the natural sciences. Each 'morpheme' also has a dynamic dimension . . . Only after working out the morphology of polytheism—its basic tendencies and its means of realization—can one turn to the historical problem of polytheism's origins" (Brelich 1960, 129–30).

[14] *RE* IV(8), 2011, s. v. Daimon (by Waser): "Philosophische Speculation fixierte die Rangfolge: θεὸς δαίμων ἥρως ἄνθρωπος, die Plutarch (*de def. orac.* 10 p. 415B) bereits bei Hesiod findet, nach Athenagoras (*leg. pro Christ.* 21) Thales zuerst aufgestellt hat."

[15] On this inscription, see Farnell 1921, 77; Llôte 2006, no. 8. Also with translation in Parke 1967, 263: τίνι κα θεῶν ἡρῶων ἢ δαιμόνων || εὐχόμενοι καὶ θύοντες. There is only one instance of this formula among the Dodonean inscriptions. Buck (1929, 63) gives this inscription as the only example of the interchange of spirant θ to φ (the text actually spells φεῶν and φύοντες), and takes it as the feature of the Thessalian dialect. His dating is unclear "much earlier period" (Buck 1929, 59) than the time when the pronunciation of φ, θ, χ as spirants prevailed in Attic). For a good discussion of questions posed to oracles concerning divine identity, see Versnel 2011, 43–49.

daimones occupy a position between mortals and immortals.[16] Our knowledge of ancient Greek ideas about the distinctions between different types of divine beings is extremely meager. The two references mentioned earlier point to the figures of philosophers as authors of the classifications of divine beings. We cannot say if they were drawing on contemporary folk ideas, (e.g., in case the Dodonean formula is an evidence of this), or creating analytical categories unfamiliar to the folk culture. Nor do we know what other ideas on the typology of divine beings and the relations between them Greeks may have had, not to mention that such ideas may have been different in different parts of the Greek world, or even in the minds of individual Greeks from the same region. Although our corpus of evidence does not allow us to discern a general widely accepted classification of divine beings, it does not mean that any individual Greek, whatever his/her background or education, if asked whether Aphrodite was a *theos* or a *daimon* would not have had an elaborate explanation of why he/she would use one term and not the other, or why he/she would use either or neither.

What we know today about the worship of gods, heroes and the dead in the ancient Greek world suggests that the distinctions between these categories were more often blurry than not.[17] To our eye, heroes are often indistinguishable from gods in cult, or in their scope of social functions. A deity commonly called *theos*, e.g, Aphrodite, can also be called *daimon* (Hom. *Il*. 1.222; 3.420). A hero, e.g. Achilles, could be worshipped as *theos*.[18] Heroes and the human dead as well overlap to a large extent, hence the common confusion of ancestor worship, hero cult, and the cult of the dead.[19] Heroes include the heroized dead, that is, those mortals who were elevated to the status of heroes post mortem.[20] *Daimones*, however,

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[16] Τί οὖν ἄν, ἔφην, εἴη ὁ Ἔρως; θνητός;
Ἥκιστά γε.
Ἀλλὰ τί μήν;
Ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἔφη, μεταξὺ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου.
Τί οὖν, ὦ Διοτίμα;
Δαίμων μέγας, ὦ Σώκρατες· καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ . . .
οὗτοι δὴ οἱ δαίμονες πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποί εἰσιν, εἷς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἔρως.

[17] Cf. Boehringer 2001, 37–46. Excellent presentation of the issue is in Parker 2011, 103–116. See also a useful summary in Mikalson 2010, 38–46.

[18] See Hommel 1980.

[19] See Antonaccio 1993; 1995.

[20] E.g., Theagenes of Thasos (Paus. 6.11), or the founders of colonies (see Malkin 1987, 189–266). See also Boehringer 1996 on the heroization of historical figures.

represent the most problematic category in the group.[21] Hesiod (*Works and Days* 122–6) describes the origin of *daimones* in the race of men of the Golden Age, who were transformed into the guardians over mortals, good beings who dispense riches. Burkert suggests that *daimones* were not a certain type of divine beings, but "a peculiar mode of activity":

> *Daimon* is thus the necessary complement to the Homeric view of the gods as individuals with personal characteristics; it covers that embarrassing remainder which eludes characterization and naming.[22]

Apparently there was no clear-cut uniform application of the term among the Greeks. Both gods and the dead could be considered *daimones*.[23]

Both *theoi* and heroes were worshipped in sanctuaries, *temenê, hiera*. Temples were built mostly for the gods, but also for some heroes, e.g., Herakles and Amphiaraos. Altars were dedicated to the gods and heroes, and even *daimones* (*Agathos daimon*?).[24] Prayers were addressed to all four types of supernaturals, and rituals, sacrifices of various types, as well as offerings of food and drink were made to all, even if in a much lesser degree to *daimones*. The differences are telling, however. Gods and heroes were ordinarily represented in visual form, including cult images, but *daimones* and the dead were not. Gods and heroes figure prominently in myths, while *daimones* and the dead do not, at least in the surviving body of evidence. We should, however, keep in mind the possibility that there may have been a substantial body of folk tradition about *daimones* and the dead,[25] as there is in other cultures where comparable types of supernatural beings are known.

The scope of definitional and conceptual issues related to the ancient Greek classes of divine beings highlights the distinction between persons and powers central to the scholarly debate on the nature of Greek divinities. The latter appears inadequate to capture the complexity of the former. Heroes, although figures of worship and of superhuman abilities, are of human birth, and as such are definitively persons. The relationship

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[21] Bremmer 1994, 11: "At an early stage of their history the Greeks replaced the Indo-European word *deiwos with *theos* in order to denote the most powerful category among the supernatural beings they worshipped . . . Whenever they felt that a god intervened for a short time, directly and concretely in their life, they spoke of *daimon*, which only later acquired its unfavorable meaning."

[22] Burkert 1985, 180.

[23] The dead are addressed as *daimones* in Hellenistic inscriptions (Burkert 1985, 181).

[24] See Ekroth 2002.

[25] Johnston 1999, 162–3.

between a hero's name and his persona is much tighter than that between a god's name and his persona or portfolio of powers. *Daimon*, being a generic name, by definition lacks the attributes of personhood, while the dead have characteristics of both persons and powers. The debate about divine personhood and divine powers is then relevant only to the category of *theoi*, which leaves out the other types of supernaturals recognized in the indigenous terminology. *Daimones* and heroes must have been as important a category of divine beings as *theoi* in Greek polytheism, only our evidence gives us far fewer means for capturing their significance.

4.3.2 *Olympians and Chthonians (see also 3.3.4)*

There is another typology of Greek deities, variously labeled as etic or emic—the distinction between the Chthonians and the Olympians. Some early studies of Aiginetan deities (e.g., of Aiakos, Aphaia, and Hekate) were heavily influenced by this distinction, which has acquired a paradigmatic force[26] in the scholarship. Today, there are two opposing views on the subject of Chthonian versus Olympian divinities, and Chthonian versus Olympian cult. Renate Schlesier posits:

> Ancient Greek polytheism was determined by the contrast between Olympian and Chthonian religion. This postulate, coined in the 19th century and still influential today, holds that the antithesis between the Olympians, or the heavenly gods (*Ouranioi*), and the Chthonians, or the powers of the earth and the underworld, developed into a quasi-archetype in ancient Greece. On this point most scholars in the field agree, at least in general terms.[27]

The sharp difference of opinions revolves around the question of the substance to which this antithesis should be attached: divine beings or rituals.[28] Some scholars insist that it is possible to distinguish between Olympian and Chthonian deities because there is something in the character of a deity that calls for a particular type of ritual procedure to be offered,[29] for example, a sacrifice in which gods and humans share the portions (fat and

[26] E.g., Thiersch 1928.
[27] Schlesier 1991/2, 38.
[28] Scullion 1994, 76.
[29] Scullion 1994, 77 "defends the view that the character of the recipient is a constitutive element of ritual." Scullion interprets the evidence collected in Jameson 1965 as justifying that "in this case we may speak of the god's character as the determining factor." See also Otto 2005.

bones to the gods, and meat to the mortals) versus a holocaust sacrifice of which humans receive no portion. Yet other scholars argue that the type of ritual and how it is performed depends entirely on the motivations and aims of the religious action, and not on the inherent character of a deity, so that the same deity might be approached with either a shared or a holocaust sacrifice depending on the motivations of the religious action and the effects the worshippers hope to achieve in each case.[30] Schlesier, summarizing the approaches to this subject in modern scholarship, concludes:[31] "the ancient testimonies do not provide enough evidence for a clear distinction between Olympian and Chthonian cult." Scullion insists that the distinction between the Chthonian and Olympian deities is ancient, and therefore, valid, and that substantive characteristics of ritual can be distilled and associated with specific deities.[32] Parker's critique of this view has been poignant.[33]

It should be pointed out that the evidence has not been scrutinized from all possible angles: leaving aside literary testimonia, it might be useful to search for cultic use of the epithet *khthonios* in epigraphic sources. A very cursory survey of various forms of the adjective in PHI *SGI* suggests that it was not at all evenly distributed across the Greek world, and that regional patterns of use might emerge. Also, it would seem important to understand the difference between the use of *khthonioi* as a corporative appellation attested in literary and epigraphic sources (which seems to suggest the conceptualization of a specific type of divinity) in contrast to its use as a cultic epithet of individual deities suggesting that it was only a particular aspect, perhaps one among several.[34]

While no one would argue that there were different types of ritual possibilities in offering sacrifices, prayers, and so on, it is a big leap to argue that these varieties were clearly labeled, or that the labels were uniform throughout the Greek world, or that specific terms (e.g. *spondai* vs. *khoai*) had a clear and Greece-wide correspondence with specific rituals. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether there is variability in use according to location. Meanwhile, we may add that if the classification into *theoi, daimones*, and heroes, (and the dead), and the classification into Olympians

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[30] Nock 1944; Graf 1980. Cf. two types of *tritopatres* (polluted and pure) in the Lex Sacra from Selinous (*SEG* XLIII 360, Lupu 2009, no. 27).

[31] Schlesier 1991/2, 38.

[32] Scullion 1994 and 2000.

[33] Parker 2005, 424.

[34] Schlesier (1997) assembles relevant examples of both types of appellation in literary and cultic contexts.

and Chthonians were to be both considered indigenous, they would clearly clash with each other, and the etic opposition between deities as persons or powers would lose its point in the alleged dichotomy of the Olympian and the Chthonian. Some such seemingly irresolvable contradictions might turn out to be a by-product of modern scholarly theories and would decrease or disappear if we move to historically attested social worlds and concentrate on local groupings of cults.

4.3.3 *Deities, Inc[orporated]*

Another peculiar and typically Greek expression of polytheism is the use of the plural form of some names and of various cultic epithets to designate the plurality of the divine forms without specifying their exact number. For example, on Aigina, we have such a plural cultic group: Koliadai (see 7.15). At Sikyon, we know of Θεοὶ Ἀποτρόπαιοι, in Attika—Θεοὶ Γενετυλλίδες; Θεοὶ Μειλίχιοι at Myonia in Lokris; Θεοὶ Πραξιδίκαι on Mount Tilphossion, near Haliartos, and so on.[35] Burkert calls them "societies of gods" and sees their origin in the corresponding social groupings of human individuals:

> The real women of the neighborhood come together to assist at a birth—the *Eileithyiai* are a reflection of this. When we read that women dressed up as *Erinyes* to kill Helen this again must be reference to actual practice . . . The institution of masked societies is so ancient and fundamental that one can never discuss the ideas of the corresponding societies of gods without considering this cultic reality.[36]

The use of the plural form of divine names, it seems to me, more likely reflects a polytheistic perception that the exact number of deities cannot be known, or is ever changing (growing as would be the case with the world of the dead and heroes). Sometimes, the uncertainty about the number is coupled with uncertainty about the names, or identity, of deities (πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων, Eur. *Ba.* 1388, again springs to mind). Pausanias comments on *Theoi Katharoi* at Pallantion in Arkadia: "The people do not know their names, or knowing them are unwilling to pronounce them."

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[35] Farnell (1921, 71–94) discusses these in the chapter "Functional Heroes and 'Sonder-Götter.' " Alongside the heroes with 'functional' epithets, Farnell critiques Usener's theory of 'Sonder-Götter' as a historical stage preceding the development of personal gods of Greek polytheism.

[36] Burkert 1985, 173.

Not only *theoi*, but *daimones*, and heroes as well, can be addressed and worshipped in the plural form. Charondas (*Prooemia* to the *Laws*) speaks of δαίμονες ἑστιούχοι.[37] We observe the blurring of two indigenous classifications again when we encounter *khthôniai theai* (probably with reference to Demeter and Kore) and *khthôniai daimones* (with reference to Moirai).[38] In other words, one indigenous classification distinguishes between *theoi* and *daimones*, and another allows the possibility of both belonging to the Chthonian class. *Dôdeka theoi* is yet another peculiar category that expresses plurality, which is numerically specified (on *dôdeka theoi*, see more in 5.2).[39]

4.3.4 *Abstractions Personified*

Besides the already mentioned emic typologies of divine beings, one other phenomenon undercuts the distinction between deities as persons and powers in the Greek world, and that is the cultic existence of personified abstractions,[40] such as Eros, Nemesis, Themis, Tyche, Eirene, Homonoia, Demokratia.[41] Personified abstractions stand outside the Greek emic classifications, those that distinguish between gods, *daimones*, heroes, and the dead, and those that pitch Olympians against Chthonians, or designate some deities as *patrôioi* and others as *enkhôrioi*. Personified abstractions implode the person-power dichotomy; that is, from our modern perspective, they remain an unclassified or even declassified group in Greek divine typologies, while to ancient Greeks they were *theoi*.[42]

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[37] Thesleff 1965, 61, line 18. Cited in Stob. 4.2.24.

[38] Schlesier 1997, 1189: *khthôniai theai*: Hdt. 6.134.5, 7.153.8—cult on Paros and in Gela; Moirai as *ouraniai te khthôniai daimones*: Lyr. adesp. (*PMG*) 100b from a lost tragedy of Euripides.

[39] See also Versnel 2011, Appendix I ("Grouping the Gods"), which deals with the issue of *pantes theoi* and *dôdeka theoi*.

[40] "Deification or daimonization of abstract forces" are better terms according to Parker (1996, 235) who follows Reinhardt (1966) because "abstract nouns are never personified without also becoming divine." Cf. Parker 2011, 78: "All the forces that are powerful within human life are in a sense divine; in Willamowitz's famous formula, 'god' is a predicate, a special power recognized in certain phenomena."

[41] Burkert 1985, 184–185: "The personification of abstract concepts is a complicated and much disputed matter . . . the Archaic Greek personifications come to assume their distinctive character in that they mediate between the individual gods and the spheres of reality; they receive mythical and personal elements from the gods and in turn give the gods part in the conceptual order of things."

[42] See Dietrich 1988; Stafford 2000 and 2007; Parker 2011, 77–79; Otto 2005; Reinhardt 1966; Nilsson 1960.

The question of abstractions personified and whether we are to suppose that they may have been figures of cult is relevant to the case study of the Aiginetan cults because a number of Pindar's Aiginetan odes start with invocations to some such abstractions: Ὥρα πότνια, κάρυξ Ἀφροδίτας (*N.* 8.1), Φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ (*P.* 8.1). These abstractions appear as addressees of invocations and prayers which are in every formal respect identical to the prayers offered by Pindar in the same odes to actual figures of cult, such as Aiakos, the Aiakids, Zeus, Herakles et al. This mix of undoubtedly cultic figures with what seems to be nothing more than personified abstractions raises questions about the way we should view both.

4.3.5 *Classes of Meaningful Forms*

Seeing that indigenous Greek classifications do not offer much clarity for the understanding of inter-relations between different types of divine beings, we may like to consult some cross-cultural comparanda. The work of Robert Levy on the pantheon of Bhaktapur, a traditional Newar city in Nepal, is one of the most comprehensive and conceptually sophisticated studies of deities in a complex polytheistic culture, and it is of special utility to students of the ancient Greek world.[43] The pantheon of Bhaktapur is one of a number of elements (others are, for example, spatial organization, social hierarchies, festival year) that together make up the mesocosm that is Bhaktapur, a living, "dancing"[44] whole which is as much sustained by the mental picture of the city envisioned by its inhabitants as by the city in its physical aspect that provides loci and stimuli for the mental picture. Thus, Levy's study is "an essay in comparative "mental organization" as can be seen in questions "what is Bhaktapur that a Newar may know it, and a Newar that he or she may know Bhaktapur."

> [These interdependent questions] serve admirably to indicate what I am mostly after, with the qualification that "know" is too limited, and would need to be expanded to "act in, be secure in, be sane in, be human in," as well as "resist, struggle against, reinterpret" or whatever words we may find for those aspects of Man (who is of course generic Man) that turn out to be dependent on the forms of the community in which an individual lives.[45]

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[43] Levy 1990 and review by Jameson 1997a.

[44] "For those who live in or are familiar with other kinds of cities, whose experience of urban symbols is of a different kind, it may be useful to think, at the start, of the civic life of Bhaktapur as something like a choreographed ballet" (Levy 1990, 16).

[45] Levy 1990, 3.

In Bhaktapur's pantheon, which is the major symbolic system that contributes to the city's existence as mesocosm, Levy distinguishes four "classes of meaningful forms:"[46] astral deities, ghosts, stone deities, and anthropomorphic deities (ordinary=benign, and dangerous). Individual "classes of meaningful forms" stand apart from each other according to the categories of proximity, materiality, artifice, and ordinariness. Overall, the differences between the four classes of deities in the Newari pantheon are both conceptual and physical. By contrast, indigenous Greek classifications, if we are to consider the scattered evidence available to us as sufficient grounds for making any kind of generalization, do not designate clearly separate categories of divine beings. Still, useful comparisons between Newari and Greek classes of divine beings can be made. At first sight, at least two classes of deities in the Newari pantheon resemble the Greek ones. Ghosts of the Newari pantheon in very general terms can be compared with the Greek *daimones*, if only on the basis of the common trait of immateriality, in the sense that neither are represented by idols, and that neither are objects of cults or "communal religion." In the Greek, however, *ho daimon* might be used as just an alternative term for *theos*, with all the accompanying characteristics of material representation, cult, and so on. At the same time, another category of Newari deities, the ordinary deities, especially benign, stand very close to the Greek *theoi*, sharing anthropomorphic appearance and most of the characteristics of personhood (on this below). Overall, a developed hierarchy of classes of divine beings in Greek religion is not apparent. It gives further weight to the characteristics that *are* emphatically visible in the constitution of Greek deities—the related characteristics of anthropomorphism and personhood.

4.3.6 *Anthropomorphism and Personhood: Moral and Immoral*

Anthropomorphism and personification are the two most important Greek ways of objectifying the divine side in religious communication.[47] To continue comparison with the pantheon of Bhaktapur, we may note that the divine beings of Greek pantheons that we are best informed about stand very close to a particular class of Newari divine beings, the

[46] Levy 1990, 276: "The classes of gods are distinguished by neither conventional iconographic signs nor relation, but by discontinuous and 'directly meaningful' (rather than 'conventional') contrasts."

[47] Cf. Parker 1996, 235; Vernant 1983b.

anthropomorphic gods.[48] Here, Levy's most interesting (for our purposes) observations concern the nature of relationships between the Newari deities within the set of anthropomorphic gods (dangerous and benign), who are "close to 'full' persons, as defined by the roles, needs, and possibilities of a social community."[49] Anthropomorphism in the Bhaktapur's pantheon is only one step removed from such 'full' personhood; in the Greek world, the two are identical.

Levy defines 'person' as "a universal social invention, 'someone' as the legal definition has it, 'who is capable of having rights, and being subject to duties and responsibilities.' "[50] In this sense, Newari benign gods look and act very much like human persons.

> They are embedded in and defined by social relations, out of which a larger community of related divine individuals is built. Their relations to each other are in part moral, matters of understood obligations and limits, and in part passionate, [and they represent] aspects of 'normal' behavior, that which is tolerable for humans. What they do not represent . . . is 'insanity' and other modes of operation and understanding of the mind peripheral to the 'person.' This is done by dangerous deities in various ways . . . The dangerous anthropomorphic gods vividly represent this non-moral realm precisely because they have some characteristics of persons—names, forms, and anthropomorphic embodiments. They are radically peculiar and unacceptable persons, however, persons in flux . . . They are outside the constraints of both logic and morality that are the essence of true persons.[51]

In Greek religion, there is divine personhood even when human social morality is overstepped. Our literary sources (e.g., Homer or Hesiod) showing how deities deceive each other are a testimony to that. We should not assume, however, without further testing, that local worshippers were unconcerned about the 'social morality' of their local deities. The study of

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[48] The centrality of anthropomorphism in the Greek cults: "If it is true, in the words of Burkert, that Xenophanes found listeners, but no adherents or disciples, and that his theories had no impact whatsoever on the mainstream cult religion, this can be explained above all by the fact that his god by its very nature was devoid of anything resembling anthropomorphic personality in terms of either representation (image, myth) or communication (cultic ritual, prayer)" (Versnel 2011, 265). Yet, there are aniconic images, and many of those were particularly revered in antiquity. See Pausanias (7.22.4–5) on the field of thirty ἀγροὶ λίθοι in the agora of Pharae, but aniconic images typically do not have any sagas attached to them; to tell a story you need to give the character a name or a shape, i.e., an identity.

[49] Levy 1999, 280.

[50] Levy 1009, 282–283.

[51] Levy 1990, 283–284.

the Aiginetan pantheon, as of any other local case, should afford a chance to touch on these questions. Such literary sources as Pindar show an awareness of local sensibilities and could be a valuable source of insights in this respect.[52]

[52] Cf., e.g, Pindar on Pelops (*O.* 1.26–45), or Neoptolemos (*N.* 7.34–47). In trying to amend the foul stories of cannibalism, or theomachy, Pindar is perhaps forced to accommodate the sensibilities of his local audiences who may have been fine with the same stories in an abstract sense or as happening somewhere else and with some other people, but not at their place and not with their ancestors (see further discussion in chapters 8 and 9).

CHAPTER FIVE

PANTHEONS AND MEANINGFUL GOD SETS

5.1 Polytheistic Plurality

Central to polytheism is the notion that the divine reveals itself through a multiplicity of forms.[1] Originally, the adjective *polytheos* "designated in the Greek poetic language that which falls to the share of the majority of the gods: an altar or seat of many divinities (Aesh. *Suppl.* 424) or a divine gathering visited by a large number of gods (Lucian *Iupp. trag.* 14)."[2] Then, in Jewish and Christian literature beginning with Philo of Alexandria the concept appeared in the expression *doxa polytheos* as a counterpart to the doctrine of One God, and much later, in the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin coined the term 'polytheism' as a French translation 'polythéisme' of *polytheótes* in the text of the neoplatonist Proclus.[3]

In a polytheistic society, the implications of the multiple number of deities are pervasive and structuring: in the organization of time, space, stories, and social groups. Through the multiplicity of divine forms, polytheism offers people a range of options for the handling of various life problems, but the notion of 'deity' is complex:

> there was no such thing as one fixed category of 'god.' Rather we are confronted with a type of classification without sharp borders, more especially with a so-called 'polythetic class,' a concept first coined by Wittgenstein. Such classes are like families to which all members belong, linked by "a conceptual network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing" without, however, sharing all family resemblances.[4]

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[1] When Euripides uses the expression πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων (e.g., *Bacch.* 1388, *Alc.* 1159, *Andr.* 1284, *Hel.* 1688); *ta daimonia* may equally refer (conceptually, not grammatically) to the things divine and to the divine agency. Such understanding is especially relevant in the *Bacchae* where both the plot and the message of the play hinge upon Dionysos' practice of taking on different forms of appearance.

[2] Bendlin 2001, 80.

[3] My summary is based on Bendlin 2001.

[4] Versnel (2011, 261) describes the formulation of Wittgenstein (1958, 66–67).

Henk Versnel invites us to consider the implications:

> we now take a deep breath and bravely prepare ourselves for the conclusion that *hoi theoi* is not always the same as *hoi theoi*, and for the even more terrifying discovery that sometimes *hoi theoi* may be the same as *ho theos*. In other words, (grammatical) plurality does not always imply 'many,' but can refer to 'oneness . . . paradoxically, both *ho theos* and *hoi theoi* may be indicative of both a polytheistic and mon(othe)istic thought pattern.[5]

Ancient Greeks, according to Versnel, consciously utilized the potential for ambiguity inherent in any verbal communication and developed various strategies, 'experiments in oneness,' "as, on the face of it, attempts to redefine plurality or diversity of phenomena as being basically a unity."[6] At the same time, he demonstrates that these experiments never "ousted or absorbed the Many," that is, divinity understood as plurality. The ancients, he prompts, developed strategies for negotiating plurality, which, however, should not be confused with modern scholarly attempts " 'to reduce the complexity' of their own object of study."[7] All contemporary scholarly views of Greek deities (with a partial exception of Versnel) employ etic terminology, which when compared with the emic designations of divine beings highlights important predilections in modern scholarship, predilections that need to be illuminated. For instance, most discussions that focus on 'gods' do so without specifying if they apply this term to all divine beings of the Greek pantheons, or only to gods, *theoi*, proper.

We might also like to consider whether a person choosing to use a particular ritual or to approach one particular deity out of the available multitude, could ever do so while closing one's eyes to the existence of other deities. Would a worshipper need only keep in mind a proper course of interaction with a deity of his choice, or also worry about negotiating his lack of attention to other deities at that moment?[8] No matter how we answer the question about a possible anxiety involved in focusing one's attention on offering sacrifice to one/several deities at a time, but not to all of them at once (although prayers and invocations regularly employ

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[5] Versnel 2000, 121. See also now 2011, 270–273.

[6] Versnel 2000, 84.

[7] Versnel 2011, 307.

[8] In Greek literature, deities have a potential for being jealous and simply unpredictable (Odysseus forgets to sacrifice to Poseidon with disastrous consequences, Hippolytus neglects Aphrodite, Pentheus does not accept Dionysos), but in cultic practice, various other considerations stand behind worshippers' perplexity as to which deity they are dealing with (see a most helpful discussion in Versnel 2011, 43–60).

the safety net formula "to all gods and goddesses"), we should be clear in recognizing that

> integration and adjustment mark, in a manner of speaking, the corner-values of religious transactions in the polytheistic systems: religious sense is constructed not through the mere accumulation, but through the selection of options—gods, cults, rituals and representations—from the potentially inexhaustible supply.[9]

The process of choosing an appropriate course of action in any endeavor constantly put a person living in a polytheistic society before a multitude of divine forms, and hence presented him/her with a need to make a choice.[10] In any given historical community, however, this multitude of divine forms was passed down to each subsequent generation as a connected set called in modern scholarship 'pantheon.' In ancient Greek usage since Aristotle (*Mir.* 834a 12 (fr. 18 Ross)), 'panthe(i)on' referred to a place, a sanctuary, temple, or altar, where all the gods were worshipped, while "in modern research 'pantheon' stands for an ensemble (numerically limited in the religious practice) of the deities actively envisaged and worshipped in a certain geographical and social realm."[11]

5.2 Numerical Parameters of Polytheism

In what forms do we find integration and adjustment among Greek deities? Often, there are small groups, of two or three deities, linked genealogically, as family groups. Apollo and Artemis, brother and sister, often act as a pair. Also, together with Leto, their mother, Apollo and Artemis, form a family triad. Groups of three deities are consistently found in various religious systems and mythologies around the world. The question is how much significance we should assign to such groupings. "Three seems to be quite a common number and was even thought by Grimm to be the basic, original model of polytheism, from which sets such as twelve later emerged . . ."[12] Is three a magical, hence intractable, number, or an

[9] Bendlin 2001, 82.

[10] The issue is relevant to a number of ancient polytheistic societies: cf. Hornung 1971; Goedicke and Roberts 1975; Green 1989; Gladigow 1995.

[11] Bendlin, 2000, 265. Cf. another contemporary definition: "The gods were thus differentiated from one another within a group that included them all, later known as a pantheon, an organized team of contrasting powers with complementary abilities" (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 146–7).

[12] Dowden 2000, 220.

informative combination that sheds light on the workings of polytheism? Dowden puts forward three (ironically! or inevitably) possible answers to this question. It might be that "three is a common number for religions," or alternatively, I would think, a matter of rhetorical habit and traditional form for shaping an argument "for people who write about religions, like Dumézil with his conception of the three ideological levels, 'functions,' of Indo-European society." Finally, both ancient and modern tendencies to group deities or thoughts in triads may have something to do with the way the human brain works, that is, with human cognitive capacities: "three is sometimes held to be the maximum number of items that we can focus on simultaneously."[13] In much simpler terms, triads in myths are often elemental family groupings, parents and a child, or siblings and their parent.[14]

Besides asking whether diads or triads serve any structural role in the organization of pantheons, we might also like to ask whether there is a certain limit to the size of a workable pantheon, a historical system of cults on the ground and in operation. Some scholars suggest that the number of deities in a pantheon is not random or accidental, but is once again determined by human cognitive capacities. Burkert, considering the 'modular' literary (= panhellenic) Greek pantheon, remarks:

> behavioral psychology has discovered that the football eleven represents an ideal group for human co-operation, not too large and not too small; similarly, the eleven to thirteen Olympian gods form a well attuned team.[15]

Anthropological researchers working in polytheistic communities of South Asia and confronted with enormous numbers of divine forms known in local cultures, discovered that individual members of these societies were well aware of only a limited number of deities out of the general cultural storehouse.[16] These limited groupings of deities constitute "meaningful god sets," as Roberts, Chiao, and Pandley call them.[17] These scholars identified "meaningful god sets" in the "personal pantheons" of a Chinese and a Hindu informant. Their findings are illuminating:

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[13] Dowden 2000, 220 gives no reference to the evidence that supports this assertion.

[14] Leto, Apollo, and Artemis together in cult: at Herakleia Salbake in Caria (Fleischer 2000). Also: Dionysos-Hera-Zeus (on Lesbos).

[15] Burkert 1985, 218.

[16] Large numbers of deities are a common feature of most developed polytheistic cultures: "... In Gaul these [lists of god-names] name 375 ... in Spain more than 300" (Dowden 2000, 219).

[17] Roberts et al. 1975.

> although the Chinese informant knew in some detail about some sixty deities and the Hindu informant about more than one hundred, their "meaningful god set" was, for each, fifteen deities. After examining some of the aspects of meaning by which each informant compared, contrasted, and sorted the members of his pantheon, they concluded that "meaningful god sets appear to be symbolic small-group networks, with believers ordering their thoughts about their gods in terms of a relatively small number of major dimensions . . ."[18]

In Greece, the numerical referent itself became canonized practically as another divine name "Twelvegods," *Dôdekatheoi*.[19] Although the Twelve were sometimes "spelled out," so to speak, represented as a group of specific gods, especially in art, they typically appeared in cult as a set of unspecified twelve, an idealized set.[20] We know, however, that on the ground, various local pantheons neither always consisted of twelve deities, nor of the same ones. It is likely to be disputed whether "the concept [of Twelve Gods] confirms that the Greeks had an implicit notion of a distinction between major and minor gods (not their terms however—they spoke just of 'the twelve gods')," as Robert Parker suggests.[21] In his opinion, such deities as Dioskouroi, Eileithyia, Hekate, as well as local rivers, nymphs, and heroes would have been seen as minor or lesser than the deities comprising the Twelve. It remains to be seen whether the study of the local Aiginetan grouping of cults would reveal such a hierarchy of major and minor deities, and if so, whether nymphs and heroes could be identified as 'minor' figures within it.

'Meaningful god sets' is a useful concept not only in describing 'personal pantheons,' but in distinguishing between what may be called a 'pan-cultural' pantheon, a necessarily artificial collection of all the known deities from all areas and time periods associated with a particular civilization, and 'meaningful god sets,' such as, I would argue, were the local

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[18] Levy 1990, 273.

[19] "Ever since the seventh century, in Delos, Olympia, Athens, and Cos they seem to have been known as the Twelve [gods] . . . Usually, however, the Twelve were divided either into six couples or into four groups of three" (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 158). See Will 1955 and 1951. Recent studies on the Twelve Gods: Georgoudi 1996 and 1998. See also a useful summary with bibliography in Versnel 2011, 507–515.

[20] Parker (2011, 71) speculates that the Twelve was "an arbitrary number doubtless suggested by the twelve months," which to me seems like a contradiction in terms. If the number of deities is suggested by the pragmatic and historical matter of months, then it is not arbitrary.

[21] Parker 2011, 72. Cf. Sissa and Detienne 2000, 137: "the major pantheon consisted of twelve deities in all."

Greek pantheons, or cultic groupings, for example, those of Attic demes,[22] or of the mono-nucleous island-state Aigina. 'Meaningful god sets' would then be the sets of deities which have common significance and salience for a local community. Robert Levy has shown that the concept is relevant even when applied to complex urban environments:

> the number of active gods in Bhaktapur's urban pantheon that are of general urban importance is also limited, although there are more of them than fifteen . . . There are somewhat more than forty if the ghosts and spirits are included . . . The quantity is probably small enough so that each deity may carry a "full religious and cultural weight" for city dwellers. This is to argue, following Roberts et al., that the civic pantheon is a "meaningful god set" to the city's individuals, for the numerical constraint has something to do with individual cognitive capacities.[23]

These observations can be tested in interesting ways on Greek soil. For instance, how many deities might be listed in a prayer, or oath, before the "and all other gods" formula is attached to complete the supplication? How many deities/cults do we know of in Attika, and how many appear in the deme sacrificial calendars?[24] Compared with the numbers of deities in Hesiod and other catalogue poetry, there are much fewer deities known in local cultic groupings; it leads one to think that either the process of oral formulaic composition or else the medium of writing are necessary to collect all of the deities together,[25] hence it is likely that all these deities cannot be present in a worshipper's mind at the same time, and do not constitute "active" pantheons.[26]

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[22] Mikalson (2010, 47) very aptly states that "in his everyday religious life the largest pantheon of interest to a Greek would be the gods and heroes of his own city-state . . . but we must imagine that many or even most of the individual cults in a large city-state such as Athens had little relevance to the individual citizen." Mikalson elaborates (pp. 49–50) on the approximate number of deities that a demesman would worship and suggests (on the basis of the Erkhia calendar and other calculations) that it would come to over 60 divine figures.

[23] Levy 1990, 273.

[24] Mikalson (2010, 48–49) began answering this one.

[25] Brillante 1991, 96.

[26] Versnel (2011, 83) arrives at similar conclusions (relying on the works of Chafe 1980 and 1994) when he considers how an ancient Greek could cope with all potential Apollos, Artemides, etc. His answer: an ancient Greek probably did not have to cope with all of them at once, but only with a limited number that was relevant to that Greek.

5.3 Pantheon: Chaos or System?

> A scattered and heterogeneous pantheon, a mythology of bits and pieces: if this was the polytheism of the Greeks, how could these men, whose exacting rigor in the realms of intellectual consistency is extolled, have lived their religious life in a kind of chaos?[27]

Depending on how a scholar understands the nature of Greek deities (e.g., with respect to the characteristics of power and personhood), he or she ends up seeing the relationships between Greek deities as either intractable and chaotic or as predictable, even systemic. Burkert who postulates Greek deities as persons, notes that "a polytheistic world of gods is potentially chaotic"[28] and offers few attempts to analyze its structures.[29] He attributes the existence of a panhellenic pantheon to the influence of epic art.[30]

Vernant, in contrast to Burkert, emphasizes that it is the structures of the pantheon, not individual deities that should be the subject of our study:

> We have to identify in the pantheon the manifold structures and to detect all the forms of grouping in which the gods are habitually associated or in opposition. The pantheon is a complicated system of relationships in which each god is a part of a variegated network of associations with other gods; it surely has the function of a classificatory system, applicable to the whole of reality—to nature and to human society as much as to the supernatural world. It is, however, a system in which the main structures do not exactly coincide and which has to be followed along its several lines like a table with a number of columns and many entries. It is these structures of the pantheon that are the subject of research, not the deities in isolation.[31]

The issue of pantheons, and their orderly or chaotic structure has come to the center of scholarly attention in the last decade in particular.[32] Versnel returns to this question multiple times in the course of his book.[33] It can

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[27] Vernant 1991, 271.

[28] Burkert 1985, 119.

[29] See section 5.4 below.

[30] Burkert 1985, 176: "the fact that a fixed group of Greek Gods was established at all is due not least to epic art." Cf. Cole 1995, 292: "polis religion, like the polis itself, was a system without being systematic, adaptable to changing conditions and responsive to different types of institutions."

[31] Vernant 1991, 277–78, corrected transl. by P. Cartledge.

[32] Cf. Parker 2011, 70–73, 84–100.

[33] Versnel 2011, 29–35, 114, 116, 142–149, 212.

be said that the discourse on this subject is very much ongoing and is bound to advance our understanding.

5.4 Structures of Pantheons: How to Find? Panhellenic Templates

The differences between the approaches of Burkert and Vernant represent two main sides of 'making sense of Greek religion:' looking for explicit indigenous expressions of relationships between deities, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of discovering and labeling, with etic terms, the implicit relationships.

Both Burkert and Vernant, it should be emphasized, operate with the panhellenic notion of Greek pantheon. The etic approach of Vernant relies on the notion that a pantheon is systemic by nature: it must be if religion is understood as a cultural system, a means of communication. Thus in Vernant's approach, one needs to penetrate behind the immediacy of a single myth, or a single ritual or site, to the underlying schema. In order to do that, Vernant and any other structuralist, needs to be free to collect data from *all* instances of a deity's appearance in myth, art, or cult, where *all* includes all places (within the 'Greek world' broadly understood) and time periods.[34]

The emic approach of Burkert leads him to the denial of a systemic order within the panhellenic assemblage of deities[35] and to a suggestion that "the language of polytheism can only be learned passively, as it were," and only "what is present at hand may be interpreted." Looking for emic indicators at hand, Burkert labels the latter "thought patterns," such as, e.g., "family of the gods," "pairs of gods," "old and young."[36] Many of Burkert's "thought patterns," however, are Vernant's "structures," or, in the words of Sissa and Detienne, "partnerships," and "... groupings of

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[34] This is the general rule of thumb in the structuralism of Levi-Strauss. Cf. also: "Georges Dumézil was suggesting that, in societies where there were dozens or even hundreds of gods, any definition of a particular god needed to be differential and classificatory. A god could not be defined in static terms, but had to be identified by the whole collection of positions that he or she occupied at one time or another in the complete series of his or her manifestations" (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 156).

[35] Burkert 1985, 218: "Just as the Greek mind does not exist as a unified structure, so the Greek pantheon cannot be regarded as a closed and harmonized system. Even if the system could be described specifically for each place and time and even for each individual, it would still remain unstable and full of gaps ..."

[36] Burkert 1985, 218–225.

deities, in explicit hierarchies, and in configurations based on symmetry, antagonisms, or affinities."[37] In other words, while Burkert stops at recognizing only explicit groupings, Vernant and his followers seek implicit connections as well. The groupings that Sissa and Detienne have in mind are discernible everywhere: in myths and cults, in spatial organization of sanctuaries, in visual representations, and in the composition of religious texts (prayers, oaths, curses, hymns, and so on).

But here we encounter the gap between structures at the panhellenic level and at the local level. One may wonder whether every instance of a group appearance of deities signals some underlying and presumably universal enduring structure. For instance, do representations on vase paintings have the same weight as groupings that appear in prayers or curses? A quick run through some examples will prepare the way for my discussion of interconnections among the Aeginetan cults in chapter 8.

Groupings of deities that are found in cultic settings, such as shrines shared by several deities, or images of some deities found in sanctuaries dedicated to others, are the most obvious place to start. The side by side placement of cult statues within a sanctuary, e.g., the presence of an image of Dionysos in the temple of Mnia on Aigina (*IG* IV^2 787.9–10), or visual representations of deities on altars and other cultic structures,[38] e.g., Poseidon next to Apollo and Artemis on the Parthenon frieze, indicate, in the words of Sissa and Detienne, "the elementary structures of active pantheons . . . or, in Dumézil's words, the "structural facts" (le fait de la structure)."[39]

While I agree that by observing various types of groupings in cultic representations we learn something about the relations of deities in a local pantheon, such groupings cannot be always taken literally. First, they might be reflecting just one of a number of possible local

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[37] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 155–56. Further, p. 157, in the subchapter "Hunting for Structures" (a telling title): "That certainly seems to the case of Greece, with its pantheons and their geometric configurations that have been rethought constantly . . ." Outside the Greek world: van der Meer 1989 on the Etruscan pantheon.

[38] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 157: "the best way to apprehend polytheism in the Greek world is to follow the method adopted by Pausanias when he described an open field dotted with pillar-gods right next to a very rectangular, bearded Hermes, accompanied by a little Hestia, in the public square of Pharae."

[39] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 157: By the "structural facts" Dumézil meant the carefully arranged elements, the little structures of gods to be found on altars or used in some sacrificial rituals . . . for example, there are altars that are consecrated to more than one god . . . It [the altar at the Amphiaraion of Oropos] "is an altar for an entire pantheon, in the midst of which the diviner Amphiaraos . . . is enthroned (Paus. 1.34.5)."

configurations of the given data, rather than 'the' singular elementary structure. Second, a particular placement of deities on an altar, or even of cult statues within a sanctuary might be the result of some immediate practical arrangements unrelated to "structural facts." For example, considerations of artistic, stylistic, or aesthetic value might influence a visual representation, and non-religious pragmatic considerations of economy of space or of social ranking of votaries might affect the relative placement of votives. Groupings of deities in cultic settings can lend themselves to the analysis of structures of local pantheons, but they are not necessarily the finite primordial structures themselves. An analogy with language (*la langue*) and speech (*la parole*) as understood by structural linguistics may help again. While a language possesses specific structures that determine its functionality, speech acts represent only a particular actualization of the language's potential for intelligent communication. A speech act might therefore be a window into the structures of a particular language, but is not coterminous with the structures themselves. The latter exist only as abstract distillations of numerous individual acts of speech and are identified and formulated as such by scholars. So, by analogy, a divine grouping in a sacrifice or a prayer might be an instance of *la parole*, not the evidence of *la langue*.

Groupings of deities in ritual, such as a sacrifice, or a banquet in honor of deities, nonetheless have a certain potential for revealing the structures of local pantheons.[40] In the Greater demarkhia of Erkhia in Attica, a sacrificial calendar produced in the 4th century BCE records that sacrifices to the Nymphs, Akheloos, Alokhos, Hermes, and Ge are to take place in the same location in the deme (Pagos = Rocky Hill) on the same day, the 27th of Boedromion. In the same calendar, Dionysos and Semele each get a sacrifice on the 16th of Elaphebolion, but these two are offered on the same altar. When Bacchylides (13.94–96) mentions a local Aiginetan chorus of maidens singing in honor of the nymphs Aigina and Endeis, we may speculate a possibility that the two nymphs were worshipped in a joint ritual on Aigina.

We also observe the grouping of deities in verbal ritual communications, in various ritual texts, such as oaths and prayers (both of supplication and

[40] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 162: "every time that a ewe was sacrificed to Artemis Orthia of Argos, it was understood that Apollo should be offered a ram, presumably in his sister's sanctuary. Sacrificing to one god on the altar of another could indicate their respective places in a hierarchy, possibly a hierarchy observed in one particular place, or on one particular day."

gratitude).[41] For example, a vow of thanks inscribed on the wall of Temple G at Selinous, 5th century BCE, lists Zeus, Phobos, Apollo, Poseidon, the Tyndaridai, Athena, Malophoros, Pasikrateia, and all other gods, but especially Zeus.[42] The groupings of deities in ritual texts, similarly to the groupings in cultic settings, present special data for the analysis of structures of local pantheons, but they do not necessarily spell out the structures themselves.

Some scholars have placed much stake on the potential of visual representations to reveal structures of pantheons. So, Vernant 1983 has analyzed the side by side placement of Hermes and Hestia on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia to show their structural relationship, and Sissa and Detienne proposed to view the relief on the altar of Amphiaraos as a case of "elementary structures of a pantheon." Bremmer in turn points to vase paintings.[43] But a recent study by A.-F. Laurens, who searched for cultic significance behind the visual representations of divine groupings on Athenian vases, arrived at the conclusion that "these vases show purely iconographic constructions."[44] The particular groupings on vases testify to the desire of vase painters to explore the potential and the limits of variation in the representative schemes, but always keeping in mind the need for them to be recognizable, and hence in line with some conventional modes of visual representation. Thus, in the view of Laurens, the variation in groupings of deities in vase paintings is better viewed as a product of iconographic convention and originality rather than a reflection of the underlying pantheon structures. I may add that it is not entirely unthinkable that in some instances such a reflection could be present, but I agree that it should not be presumed as a rule. Visual representations of deities more often tell us about the conventions of visual representations than about the meaning of deities in a local context. Like poetry, visual art often has in mind a wider than local audience, and is therefore not always helpful in revealing local structures.

In addition to the explicit groupings of deities found in cultic settings, ritual communication, and visual representations, where the interconnections between deities appear to reflect the peculiarity of local religious structures, scholars identify other groupings that appear to them to

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41 E.g., in the oath of Athenian ephebes. See recent study by Brulé 2005.

42 *IG* XIV 268.

43 Bremmer 1994, 15: "... we should also try to search for the, often hidden, hierarchies within the pantheon. Here new possibilities have been opened up by a study of divine representations. A fine example is a black-figured vase of the painter Sophilos (c. 580 BC)."

44 Laurens 1998, 61. See also Castaldo 2000.

convey and reflect panhellenic, or even universal meanings. Such groupings are pairs of deities, and divine families. Both the proponents of the systemic (school of Vernant) and the chaotic (Burkert) views of Greek pantheons distinguish certain pairs (Burkert) or oppositions (Vernant) of deities. Burkert usually does not spell out his hermeneutic methods in defining the logic behind these groupings of deities, but often the reasons are related to the biological-psychological nature of humans, as Burkert perceives it.[45] So, Aphrodite's relationship with Ares "is developed more as a polarity, in accordance with the biological-psychological rhythm which links male fighting and sexuality."[46] Another mode of associating divinities is, according to Burkert, based on the age factor (old and young): "although not further explained in our texts, the conjunction of Poseidon and Apollo was obviously experienced as a polarity of old and young, of watery depths and youthful vigor."[47]

Many scholars have noted that the model of 'family' is a peculiarly impressive and effective mode of relating deities in Greek pantheons. In John Gould's words, "conceived as a metaphor of human experience this is a brilliant stroke; the model of the family provides framework within which we can intuitively understand both unity and conflict . . ."[48] Emphasizing the influence of the Homeric vision of gods upon the Greek religious ideas in general, Burkert observes that the model of 'family' is more effectively employed in Greek pantheons than in other polytheistic religions: "what does distinguish the Greek/Homeric family of the gods is its compactness and clarity of organization . . . the Greek gods make up a highly differentiated and richly contrasted group."[49] Relationships of 'parent(s) to children,' and 'siblings to siblings' are the two most prevalent family relations used to connect deities in pantheons.[50] Relationships between grandparents and grandchildren are more rare, unless we are dealing with a hero-cult where both the generations of children and

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45 "The conglomerate of tradition which constitutes religion perhaps owes its particular form less to the cunning of reason than to the cunning of biology . . ." (Burkert 1985, 218).

46 Burkert 1985, 220.

47 Burkert 1985, 222. Other pairings in Burkert (1985, 219, 221): "The coming together of Hermes and Aphrodite appears not as an opposition but as natural complement: the phallus figure and the naked goddess." "In Athens Poseidon and Athena are the principal deities . . . a telling constellation of elemental force and technical wisdom."

48 Gould 1985.

49 Burkert 1985, 218.

50 See pertinent remarks in Mikalson 2010, 44.

grandchildren are named after their ancestor and worshipped together (e.g., Aiakidai on Aigina).

5.5 Structures of Pantheons and Cultic Systems: Where to Look?

Glimpses of explicit connectedness through pairing, genealogy, or visual representations offer only a disjointed picture of local groups of deities. We still lack an insight into what makes them 'meaningful god sets' in any given location. Bendlin's critique is valid:

> the systematics of an idealized Pantheon (panhellenic or Roman Imperial) organized according to the logical points of view is able to clarify neither the differences between the individual local pantheons, nor their historical development.[51]

Virtually every scholar of Greek religion states that each Greek city, better to say, every Greek community, worshipped its own select group of deities regulated by its own calendar of festivals and sacrifices, its own mythology, and so on, but most view local religious life as a version of a vaguely defined pan-Greek religion.[52] Rather than seeking answers about a local group of deities in the data related to other communities, or in the panhellenic library, we may be better grounded and justified if we look at other dimensions of the same local religious world, that is, at the local myths, festivals, sacred topography, and worshipping groups. In the end, 'deities' as a group tie all the aspects of a local religious system together, but the latter produces meaning through all its components, which are

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[51] Bendlin 2000, 266.

[52] Sissa and Detienne 2000, 165: "Each city had its own strategies for coping with the invisible and set up its own structures of deities, organizing complex local pantheons that seemed as autonomous as the cities themselves in their desire for self-sufficiency and completeness. But just as cities, whatever their size, all seem to have presented the same morphological characteristics, the divine powers, whatever their concrete form and whatever their individual traits anchored in the specific details of their locality, all seem to have been structured in the same general way, recognizable from one city to another and operating according to the same principles—abstract principles modified, on the one hand, by the many nuanced variations of these microsocieties of deities, heroes, heroines, and demons, and, on the other hand, by Pan-Hellenic declarations that paid lip-service to the rival powers of the Twelve Gods . . . This was the polytheism with a framework sufficiently pliable to accommodate the needs of small, rival, independent communities and, at the same time, strong enough to constitute a world of forms that recognized its own particular rules along with values that were shared by the whole of the Greek world."

interdependent.[53] The structures of a local cultic system, therefore, can be illuminated through the analysis of all components of the local religious world taken together and viewed within the context of local demography, geography, economy, and history. Social roles of local deities will therefore be determined by multiple social dimensions. Thus, only evaluating the worship of each deity in its entirety and with the aim of determining its social role in the local society can we approach the view of an interrelated whole of social structures of local religion. In order to establish how a world of deities ties into the greater local mesocosm, its political, economic, and ideological life, we will need to analyze how specific cults and deities respond and correspond to the community's social needs.[54]

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[53] With respect to Greek religion, Bremmer (1994, 2): "The table of contents of this pamphlet may suggest to the reader that the following chapters are all independent subjects, which have little to do with one another. Nothing is further from the truth. Gods and sanctuaries, myths and rituals, gender—since they are mutually supportive, they should ideally be treated together in one close-knit treatise. This is hardly possible, but it will be one of our challenges to show the interdependent nature of Greek religion." Bremmer refers to Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992, 228) who express the same opinion. Neither carries out the task fully. Cf. Levy 1990, 16–18, 599–620.

[54] Part III of Parker's (2005) *Polytheism and Society at Athens* is dedicated to the analysis of spheres of human concern that the Athenian deities serviced. He titles the corresponding chapters 17 and 18 "Gods at Work I: Protecting the City" and "Gods at Work II: The Growth of Plants and Men." This is a very good example of how functional analysis of local religion could be carried out, although Parker's scale of analysis is perhaps still too big to allow a rewarding close-up of the 'elementary forms of religious life.' Parker 1988 is a brief excursus into the same issues, using Spartan material. As Jameson (1997b) and Mikalson (2010, 47–50) rightly illustrate, the religious life of an Athenian was circumscribed by a selection rather than a totality of all Attic cults, a selection that was determined by a combination of affiliations: to a deme, a *phylê*, a *genos*, a phratry, and possibly, to some other religious societies. These affiliations often cut across one another, and hence amounted to a potentially complex picture of religious engagement on the part of many individual Athenians. Parker's approach (2005, Part III) is instructive in laying out the types of social concerns the cults were there to address, and thus in mapping out a scope of divine functionality, while within each category of functionality, the discussion is less synthetic, organized per exempla, not aiming to identify a functional microcosm or mesocosm, but rather to reflect the variety of the attested possibilities.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL ROLES OF DEITIES IN LOCAL CULTS

6.1 'Cults' versus 'Pantheon'

Cult, as well as ritual, is often viewed in opposition to myth, as something that involves 'doing' as opposed to 'talking.' Hence, a common use of the phrase 'cult practice.'[1] Also, in common scholarly usage, 'cult' is what humans 'pay' to deities and what deities 'receive.'[2] In my understanding, 'cult' is a form of interaction (cf. pay-receive) that encompasses all traditional means of communication with the divine: rituals, myths,[3] prayers, dedication of votive offerings, oracular consultations, incubations for healing, and so on. 'Cult,' like 'religion' is one of those etic terms applied to the study of ancient Greek religious phenomena that would be hard for us to do without.[4] As a stand-in for 'worship,' the term 'cult' serves a useful purpose: it designates an entirety of all modes of worship directed by a distinct social group to a particular hypostasis of a deity at a particular location, even if the Greeks themselves did not think of 'cult' in this holistic way.[5] Accordingly, it would be inadequate to speak of a 'cult of Apollo in Greece,' unless we mean to say nothing more than that a god by the

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[1] Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1989, 25: title of Part II is "Cult-practices" (les pratiques cultuelles), although the authors do not define 'cult' anywhere in the book. Cf. Graf: "Cult encompasses the entirety of ritual tradition in the context of religious practice" (s.v. cult, *Brill's New Pauly* 3, 980).

[2] See, e.g., Mikalson 2010, 33; Parker 2011, 74, 79.

[3] Cf. Larson 2007, 8: "In this book, 'cults' are understood to include both rituals and, where applicable, corresponding myths."

[4] Christensen 2008, 21: "Despite the awareness that 'cult' is a scholarly, 'etic' term not immediately recognizable to, e.g., the Athenians, it is still obvious that, perceived as 'a complex of religious activities concentrated on one or more deities or heroes and including prayer, ritual, sacrifice, and dedication,' cult is there in all of the Greek, Roman and Classical world" [Aleshire 1994, 12] . . . To philologists, and therefore also to Classical archaeologists, "cult" appears just "to be there" in the archaeological material and the texts themselves. In this view, Greek and Roman religions are cults—i.e., regular worship of gods."

[5] Jameson (1997b, 180–1) observes: "In general the relations between the state and cults seem to have been piecemeal, in part at least because the Athenians did not think in terms of comprehensive 'cult' rather than the elements of festival, sacrifice, sanctuary, property, and so on." Christensen 2008 comments on the tendency in Classics to use 'cult' synonymously with 'religion.' Cf. Mikalson 2010, 32: "most Greek gods . . . may be defined in three ways, first by the name . . .; second, by the epithet . . .; third, by the designation of a

name of Apollo was worshipped in Greece, but because different Apollos were worshipped by different Greek communities in different ways, it would be impossible to envision all this diversity as comprising any sort of unity that could be designated 'cult.' For the same reasons, it would be equally inappropriate to speak of a 'cult of Apollo in Attica,' or even of a cult of Apollo at Erkhia because that would presume that all hypostases of Apollo there (e.g., Delphinios, Apotropaios, Nymphegetes, etc.) are somehow collapsible into one category. In using the term 'cult,' I therefore have in mind to distinguish the elementary units of worship, for example, the cult of Apollo Delphinios in the deme of Erkhia (where the social group of worshippers are the demesmen of Erkhia, the location is Erkhia, and the hypostasis of Apollo is Delphinios, whatever it means in this location), or the cult of Athena Parthenos on the Athenian acropolis (where the social group is all Athenians, the location is Attica, and the hypostasis of Athena is Parthenos with all its specific local attributes).

The terms 'pantheon' and 'system of cults' or 'cult system' are often used interchangeably in modern scholarship on Greek religion, but a pantheon and a system of cults are not always coterminous.[6] I would like to draw a fine, yet tangible line between the two concepts (see also above, 1.3). We may conceive of a 'pantheon' as a group of divinities that inhabit a worshipper's cognitive/mental picture of the divine world, while a 'system of cults' would be all divine entities known to a worshipper to be active in his/her respective habitable world. 'Pantheon' would be the realm of *l'imaginaire*. It is within that realm that poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides would negotiate between panhellenic personae of deities and heroes, that is, the "composite deities of epic poetry,"[7] and local divinities of the same name, detectable in local narratives and in cultic settings. In that imaginary realm, deities can flit in and out of the picture with ease, as might be expedient under specific historical circumstances. In a given location, some deities may have thus figured in local songs and stories,

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place . . . Each of these elements—name, epithet, and locale—is of critical importance for imagining the conception a Greek worshipper would have of this or any other god."

[6] Although Parker 2003 does not make the distinction in the same terms as I do ('pantheon' vs 'cult system') he articulates 'cult system' in the same way, that is, the physical articulation of worship in cult installations used in ritual: "In Greece, divine functions do not float in the air; they are fastened to particular altars and images and shrines. At least one more principle is therefore needed in order to understand the cult system that actually exists in Greece . . . Cult epithets . . . also differentiate cult sites on earth from one another." Cf. Jost 1992, 35–36, where 'pantheon' signifies 'cult system.'

[7] Mikalson 2010, 35.

and therefore been present in the orbit of local imagination, but may not have been worshipped in local cults.[8] At the same time, some local cults may not have been accompanied by mythical traditions, and were known to locals only through concrete and specific forms of ritual rather than through myths. A pantheon would represent an integrated cognitive picture of the local world of the gods, to which traditional narratives and cultic realia made their relative contributions. As a locus of cognitive dimension, 'pantheon' would be conceivable in dissociation from cults, while a 'system of local cults' would refer only to deities known through cultic practice. A local pantheon may therefore often have a larger membership than a local system of cults.[9] The discursive aspect of 'pantheon' in contrast to 'system of cults' is illustrated by the fact that we can describe a Homeric pantheon, but not a Homeric system of cults.

6.2 Social Roles of Deities

Herodotus 2.53 called them *timai* and *tekhnai*, "honors" [areas of influence] and "special skills," of the gods. Gods are specialists in certain arts and as people do in society, so gods also are experts in and practice a certain type of trade.[10] Marriage, technology and crafts, trade, sports and hunting, agriculture, health and personal fate are some of the areas of human concerns where gods have their works and honors.[11] While all scholars recognize the correspondence between areas of human interests and divine 'spheres of activity,' more sociologically oriented historians articulate divine activities as specialized roles or functions that ensure the proper working of

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[8] Parker (2003, 176) gives an excellent example of Hermes Dolios, "who is often spoken of and invoked in Attic drama. In form and function Hermes Dolos certainly sounds like an instance of the 'cultic double name': the epithet serves not to honour the god, but to identify a relevant aspect of his personality. Yet no cult of Hermes Dolios is attested in Attica. It looks as if in Attica Hermes Dolios existed only in speech. But he was surely still a real power."

[9] Cf. Parker 2011, 98: "The divine world as perceived by a Greek was never limited to the gods actually worshipped."

[10] Cf. a "socio-morphically differentiated Greek pantheon of gods" (Bendlin 2000). Vernant 1980, ix: "a divine society with its own hierarchy, in which each god enjoys his own particular attributes and privileges, bearing a more or less close, more or less direct relation to the structure of human society."

[11] Cf., e.g., Mikalson (2010, 47) who lists the areas of life, in which a Greek sought help from his deities: "1) fertility of crops, animals, and human beings; 2) economic prosperity; 3) good health; 4) safety, particularly in the dangers of war and seafaring."

the social universe, that is, divine functions correspond to human needs.[12] In this section, I discuss the methodology of identifying the functions of a particular deity in a local system of cults,[13] evaluating the influence of various types of data and of the prevalent interpretive paradigms.

6.3 Determining Social Roles of a Local Deity

Our categories of analysis encompass all data pertaining to the representation and worship of a deity: name; cultic epithet; myth (*aetion* or another); visual representation (i.e., indicative attributes), including cult statue; setting of the sanctuary in the landscape; the sanctuary's attributes (type of altar, temple/no temple, water/spring, etc.); votive gifts; rituals and religious procedures (public sacrifice and feasting; private supplication; incubation for healing or instruction; oracular consultation; service of a deity, e.g. at Brauron). Brelich draws up a similar list that helps to determine the Wirkungssphäre der Gottheit, "deity's sphere of activity."[14] Each of

[12] The use of the term 'function' usually betrays a functionalist approach to religion. Whether used unwittingly or with the full awareness of its implications, the term is widely used in contemporary scholarship. E.g., Mikalson 2010, 49–50: "we must remember that each of these deities, god or hero, would have had a specific function to fulfill in our Athenian's life," and "what seems a constant is the needs for which Greeks turned to their gods. We should assume that the pantheon worshipped by each individual was believed to fulfill those needs, however these gods and heroes might be named and worshipped in his city-state and locality, however, their roles might be assigned, and whatever stories were told of them in their cult myths." Cf. Parker 2011, 77: "The relevant criterion is what the 'god' does, not what he is." Also in Parker 2011, 85: "But regular cult should have respected the notion of a division of functions (not necessarily the same in every community)," and 86: "In the Greek conception, therefore, individual gods had a portfolio of exclusive functions." Portfolio of functions is John Davies' 1997 definition.

[13] Jan Bremmer (1994, 21), for example, suggests that we may divide Greek deities into 'orderly' and 'disorderly' on the basis of their relationship to social order. Zeus, Apollo, Athena and Artemis are "at the centre of social order;" Poseidon, Ares and Aphrodite, although "necessary for the survival of the polis," according to "the location of Poseidon's sanctuaries and the deviant nature of the sacrificial victims of Ares and Aphrodite" are "more at the margin of the social order." In addition, Demeter and Dionysos "were seen as different and occupying an 'eccentric' position in the pantheon." I question such universal categorizations (see Polinskaya 2003 and 2005). See also Versnel 2011, 145 n. 433.

[14] Brelich 1960, 129–130: "The names of gods, then their epithets and attributes, as well as the multiple aspects and functions of the deity determine that deity's personality. The cult is, however, endlessly specific, e.g., with regard to the location and type of the cult place, the time reserved for the cult in the annual calendar, in the run of a month and day, the type of the victim, its sex and color, priesthood belonging to the cult, then above all the various rites, dances, pantomime, games, processions, pilgrimages and other types of sacred activities. Thus, the cult, which is different for each individual 'great' deity within its pantheon, characterizes the complex divine personalities in a much richer way. The

these correlated areas of manifestation of a deity has many aspects that often become the focus of separate studies, but the discussion that follows here has one aim only—to determine how each of the correlatives is used to arrive at the social functions or the sphere of action of a deity in a local cult.

6.3.1 *Name*

In our study of the Aiginetan cults, this datum becomes particularly important in the discussions of Damia and Auxesia (7.10) and Asklepios (7.8). In an overwhelming number of cases, the name of a deity is not a reliable indicator of a deity's function (see also above 1.4). In other words, the name alone, if that is all the evidence we have, tells us nothing certain about the role of a deity in a given locale.[15] Perhaps the only consistent exception is the cult of Asklepios, which is invariably connected to healing. Asklepios is arguably the most homogenous figure of Greek religion.[16] Even if all the evidence we have is that there was a cult, or sanctuary of Asklepios, we may be confident that it had to do with healing, at least in the Classical period. Health or sickness are primarily concerns of individuals, and from the late 5th century onwards Asklepios is the premier divinity to handle personal health cases.[17] Health crises such as a plague affecting the whole community trigger a different kind of thinking (e.g., when the cause of plague is pollution, the presence of a patricide, as in the case of Oedipus; or a plague is the result of the sacrilegious treatment of Khryses by Agamemnon in the *Iliad*) and might require a different, non-medical remedy, and hence the interference of another deity, likely to be different in different locations, for example, Apollo.

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cult highlights their differences from each other and at the same time . . . their mutual ties, into which deities enter in the organically united groups in the pantheon."

[15] Burkert 1985, 182: "One very conspicuous peculiarity concerns the divine names: it is not only the modern historian who expects divine names to enshrine some meaning . . . By contrast [with Roman], the names of the Greek Gods are almost all impenetrable . . . the names of heroes are either, once again, to a large extent encoded . . . or else simply inexplicable like Achilles or Odysseus. Clearly the object is to make the individuality of a person, especially a person not physically present, stand out more memorably by giving him a striking name . . ." Cf. Nagy 1999 on the name of Achilles. See also Graf 1996.

[16] Burkert 1985, 214. Cf. Versnel 2011, 400–421.

[17] Heroes and some other gods besides Asklepios are attested as doctors: e.g., hero doctor in Attica (Kearns 1989, 172) and Apollo Iatros in several Greek settlements of the Northern Black Sea (Ustinova 2009).

6.3.2 *Epithet*

Cultic epithets come in many different shapes and forms and have many different uses.[18] Depending on the type, epithets represent a spectrum from the entirely useless to the entirely useful for the purpose of determining the social function of a deity. Cultic epithets more often than poetic, although there is an overlap between them, can be subjected to scrutiny in search for the social role of a deity in a local context.[19] The interpretation of cultic epithets is particularly poignant in the understanding of the roles of Apolline cults (see 7.6.2, 7.6.5–7.6.8) and of Zeus (7.20.5 and 7.21) on Aigina. Numerous attempts have been made to determine the meaning of particular cultic epithets, either on the panhellenic or regional level, but only strictly local studies have any hope in matching the epithet with local meaning. Some epithets are simply unintelligible.[20] In other cases, the local implications of cultic epithets, for example, of Apollo as Delphinios or Pythios cannot be securely linked to seemingly obvious referents, such as dolphins, and Pytho/Delphi, due to the fact that some local cults of Pythios predate the rise of the Delphic oracle, and in some cases, dolphins are nowhere to be found around the cults of Delphinios.[21] We must conclude that such epithets as Delphinios and Pythios possibly do not

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[18] Cf. Parker 2003; Mikalson 2010, 32–36 (p. 34 on epithets as indicating functions).

[19] There is certainly a connection between poetic and cultic epithets, some taking their origin in the other, but the purpose of epithets in poetry is entirely different from the role of cultic taxonomies and hence cannot be reliable for the establishment of a deity's function. Bruchmann (1893) collects epithets from the literary sources. Further lists are in *RE* (the epithets are given in Greek and placed alphabetically among the German entries) and Farnell 1896–1909.

[20] "Some [epithets] are unintelligible and for that very reason have an aura of mystery; others result from the fusion of gods who at first were independent—Poseidon Erekhtheus, Athena Alea . . ." (Burkert 1985, 184).

[21] Fritz Graf 1979 argues that Delphinios does not have a connection to the sea, but rather oversees integration of young males into the social body of citizens, mainly through various rituals of initiation. Rather, in every location, Delphinios is likely to mean something locally specific. Although he cites the Aiginetan evidence, it does not wholly support his case: the Aiginetan temple of Apollo was not located in the "most prominent part of the city," as previously thought, but was rather in the vicinity of a harbor. Making a point that the temples of Delphinios were not near the sea is one of Graf's arguments against the marine function of this Apollo. In a recent PhD dissertation at KCL (2010), "The navy in classical Athens: evidence from Athenian religion," Chryssanthi Papadopoulou unambiguously demonstrates that Apollo Delphinios was a patron of the Athenian navy. The Milesian Delphinion was also in the immediate proximity to the harbor, even if it was also located directly north of the agora: Herda 2011, 70. We would be wise not to reject the possibility of local functional variation even for the cult epithet Delphinios.

designate a common panhellenic function, and hence are unreliable indicators of the social function of a local deity.

At the same time, other epithets might seem semantically, and so functionally, more transparent:[22]

> Zeus as rain god is *ombrios* and *hyetios*, as center of court and property *herkeios* and *ktesios*, as guardian of the city is *polieus*, as protector of strangers *hikesios* and *xenios*, and as god of all Greeks is *panhellenios* . . . As helper Apollo becomes *epikourios*, and as averter of evil *apotropaios*. Athena protects the city as *polia*s, oversees handicrafts as *ergane*, joins battle as *promachos*, and grants victory as *nike*.[23]

When epithets refer to landscape features, such as Zeus Akraios, Aphrodite Epilimenia, they might be indicative of a social function, even if indirectly: a mountain top Zeus is primarily a weather god, and a coastal location may indicate a concern with the sea and seafaring. Epithets that designate the geographical location of a prominent cult, for example, Apollo Didymaios, Apollo Delios, Hera Argeia, tell us nothing about the function of a deity, unless the local reference is to a cult whose social function is well-documented via other types of evidence.[24]

In those cases when epithets derive from rituals, which are in themselves denominative, for example, Hydrophoros, Daphnephoros, the social meaning of cult is unobtainable from the epithet alone unless the meaning of the local festival is known from other types of local evidence. By contrast, the character of the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros (see 7.11 for the Aiginetan cult), and hence the semantic value of her epithet, are unusually, perhaps uniquely, uniform across the Greek world.[25] In this singular case, even the epithet that apparently derives from a ritual, is informative. Characteristically, such epithets as, for example, Polias, which seem to be most directly pointing to the social function of a deity, are often equally capable of designating either a broad social function of a patron deity of the whole community, or a rather narrow function of a defensive deity

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[22] Cf. Versnel 2011, 61: "Epithets, as far as they are transparent, generally refer to specific functions, qualities, rituals, genealogy, and above all places of origin and residence."

[23] Burkert 1985, 184. Cf. Parker (2011, 285–286) on Athena Polias of Cos where the epithet Polias "hides" her agricultural function, which is, however, "revealed" by the type of sacrifice (a pregnant ewe) offered to her.

[24] Cf. Brulé 1998.

[25] Burkert 1985, 242–46; Stallsmith 2008, 2009.

of the citadel.[26] Overall, epithets can be extremely helpful or entirely useless at indicating a social role of a deity in cult.

6.3.3 *Visual Representations*

Identification of social functions of deities on the basis of iconography depends on the conventional (scholarly) assignment of meaning to particular attributes of representation, and is potentially unreliable. The assignment of meaning largely relies on a composite database, conventional and panhellenic. Even when the meaning can be obtained from verifiable ancient sources, it is all too often uncritically extended beyond the original chronological and geographical boundaries. The presence or absence of a beard, nudity, the seated or standing position, type of dress or hair style, the nature of accompanying objects (e.g., torch, helmet and shield, *kerykeion*, pomegranate, etc.)—all of these are conventional indicators of identity and of social function of a deity in iconographic studies. Yet conventional meanings are highly questionable in local contexts, not least because even in the panhellenic context they usually connote a whole field of related meanings rather than something entirely specific. So, a torch in the hand of a female figure might identify a deity as Artemis, Demeter, Kore, or Hekate; a pomegranate depicted in the hand of a local statue might symbolize erotic love, death, or rebirth, postmortem existence in general, as well as all or none of the above. Sourvinou-Inwood's study of the iconographic details on the terracotta votive plaques in the cults of Aphrodite and Persephone at Lokroi is a powerful testimony to the necessity of deriving the meaning as much as possible from the local context itself rather than from conventional paradigms, or external comparanda.[27]

6.3.4 *Topography of Sanctuary (see also 3.1.4)*

The placement of sanctuaries in the natural and social landscape of ancient Greece holds a firm position in studies on ancient Greek cults. Since Philippson's and especially Scully's pioneering work, a number of postulates have been established and largely accepted by scholars. First, the

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[26] "There are no epithets that unequivocally designate a tutelary divinity" (Cole 1995, 301–5).

[27] Sourvinou-Inwood 1991. On the difficulty of decoding divine iconography, see references to recent works helpfully assembled in Versnel 2011, 41 nn. 63–68, of which Metzger 1985 and Mylonopoulos 2010 are especially useful.

placement of sanctuaries in the landscape is not random or accidental.[28] Second, there is rarely a single cause for the choice of place for a sanctuary. Even when the choice can be linked to the "inherently numinous quality of places" (mountaintops, caves, springs, groves),[29] other additional reasons must be sought, for not every mountaintop and not every grove of trees hosted a sanctuary, but only some of them. Third, some scholars argue that there is a panhellenic correlation between certain types of landscapes and certain divinities.[30] This type of argument relies on the notion of a panhellenic divine personality, which should be presumed stable across the various socio-territorial and geographical units of ancient Greece. In contrast to the scholars who argue for a panhellenic stability of associations between particular types of landscape and particular deities, other historians of Greek religion demonstrate that if such associations exist, they are intelligible only in local contexts, that is, in specific local combinations of both natural and socio-historical circumstances.[31]

Many of the naturally or socially marked spatial locales have by now become indicative of particular paradigmatic meanings, which by their nature, once established, are often used without scrutiny. It is easy to illustrate some such paradigmatic ascriptions of meaning linked to the placement of sanctuaries in the landscape. Deities placed on the acropolis are considered, city-gods par excellence, a connotation derived from social structural theory (see 3.3.6). The placement of sanctuaries in relation to town, for example, the urban vs. extra-urban, so that the urban signals normality, order, and primary civic function of a deity, while extra-urban placement signals some deviation from the norm and civic order (see 3.3.5) are sometimes taken to indicate the nature of cult.[32] Deities in the marshes or on the coast, for example, Artemis, are labeled 'marginal,' or 'liminal,' triggering the associations built into the initiation paradigm (see 3.3.3). In a similar vein, deities placed at borders, or thresholds of any kind are also seen as 'marginal,' equally evoking the transitional

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[28] See Scully 1962, 3.

[29] Jameson 2004, 147.

[30] Scully 1962; Polignac 1995.

[31] Jameson 2004; Jost 1994. Cf. Scully 1962, 3–4: "So each Greek sanctuary necessarily differs from all others because it is in a different place, and each varies from the others in certain aspects of the forms of its temples and in their relation to each other and to the landscape. This had to be so, because Apollo at Delos, for example, was not exactly Apollo at Delphi, nor Hera at Paestum Hera at Olympia."

[32] For critique, see Polinskaya 2005.

phase of the initiation paradigm.[33] Placement in a cave is considered a chthonic feature, and triggers the application of the Olympian-Chthonian paradigm (3.3.4). Examples can be multiplied, but the point should be clear, namely that, as many other analytical categories, the interpretation of sacred topography in modern scholarship suffers from a baggage of ready-made connotations that can obscure or distort the interpretation of any particular local case, unless thoroughly tested against the local evidence.

Another way to understand the placement of sanctuaries is to study them in the context of a broader social landscape that shows such sets of social data as settlement structures, networks of roads, sources of materials, position of harbors, markets and trading routes via land and sea. Various digital mapping techniques using survey data allow us such concomitant visualization of different sets of data.

6.3.5 *Attributes of Sanctuary*

Sanctuary types in ancient Greece present a wide spectrum of possibilities: open air, hypaethral, shrines, often without any architectural or natural features apart from a *peribolos* wall; *temenê* planted with trees; *temenê* with altars; sacred groves; caves, natural or modified; *temenê* with a temple and altar; springs, or pools of water, with or without an adjacent altar, etc. A great variety of natural landscape features and man-made structures came to serve as sanctuaries in ancient Greece. Although most scholars today recognize the danger of assigning any particular arrangement of sanctuary to any particular deity, some paradigmatic notions are regularly applied. Full-scale arrangements with *temenos*, temple, altar, and perhaps additional buildings (e.g., lodging facilities, athletic facilities, theatres, treasuries, priests' houses, *adyta*) are mostly expected of the Olympian deities (see above on the Olympian-Chthonian paradigm). *Temenê* without temples, but sometimes with an altar, or trees, or a combination of these, are more often expected of heroes. A tomb is always indicative of a hero cult, but if Callimachus is right, Cretans claimed to have had the tomb of Zeus.[34] Cave- and spring-shrines are associated with Chthonic deities, Nymphs, or heroes. Also, the presence of water is often associated with oracles, healing, or Underworld. The type of altar, whether *bômos* or *eskhara*, regularly triggers the Olympian-

[33] See Polinskaya 2003.
[34] Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus* 8–9.

Chthonian paradigm; and the type of cult statue, aniconic as opposed to anthropomorphic, wooden as opposed to bronze or marble, often suggests to scholars the age of cult. Aniconic or wooden images also used to be considered more ancient, which sometimes often suggests to scholars "more primitive," evoking the evolutionary paradigm.

Thus, the ascription of meaning to sanctuary types often derives from the Olympian-Chthonian, or evolutionary paradigms, and is transferred onto the character of deities worshipped at these sanctuaries. In such modes of thinking, local cases inevitably result in the "exceptions to the rule" argument, but they are better seen as rules unto themselves shaped by local social factors.

6.3.6 *Votives*

Votive dedications have a broad spectrum of meanings and target domains. They either

- reflect ritual (sacrificial animal, e.g., pig, bull, or sheep)
- represent worshipper (votive statues, figurines)
- represent deity (votive statues, figurines)
- represent desideratum (e.g., body parts to be healed)
- constitute personal items offered as gifts (armor, jewelry, clothes, attributes of trade—musical instruments, medical instruments, writing implements, etc.)
- constitute valuables (of precious metals, art objects, coins,—for public display and social competition) offered as gifts[35]
- represent implements of ritual activities, such as dining: pottery, utensils

Van Straten proposed a similar classification of motifs represented by votives: participants and concomitants (God, man, prayer, sacrifice), occasion (initiation, course of life, contests, work, disasters and dangers, illness), desired effect.[36] Since votive objects contain a potential for multiple meanings, their interpretation is very problematic. Even identification of the cult's addressee on the basis of votive statues or figurines is unreliable, as statues of various gods can be dedicated in any sanctuary.[37] Not

[35] Linders 1987; Langdon 1987.
[36] Van Straten 1981.
[37] Alroth 1987.

only the types, but also the quantities are significant. If certain types of votives predominate in assemblages, scholars consider them indicative of the dominating concern of worshippers, and hence of the social functions of a deity. Some votives, such as pottery and valuables, are of little use for the establishment of a deity's functions, others have higher potential: desiderata such as body parts fashioned out of clay or metal or depicted on votive reliefs in healing cults, may give direct indications of the worshippers' concerns and hence of the deity's Wirkungssphäre. Personal items might be indicative as well, as they often give indication of genders and social occupations of worshippers. At the same time, votive figurines representing deities entail the same uncertainty or ambiguity of interpretation as other visual representations of deities, as identifications often rely on established panhellenic paradigms. The Aiginetan material, where we have it (mainly from the Aphaia and Kolonna sites) aptly illustrates the difficulties, and also the potential of votive data in suggesting the scope of social roles of deities.

6.3.7 *Rituals*

Ritual arguably constitutes the most central means of communication in any religious cult. Rituals are variously classified, and the typology is well established in the field of Classics, so that scholars search textual and archaeological data for indicators of the type of ritual on the basis of established paradigms of panhellenic, if not wider cross-cultural significance. Sacrificial rituals in particular have received much attention in the scholarship on Greek religion.[38] The manner of sacrifice (blood, burnt, unburnt, holocaust or shared, libation, incense burning, and so on), the timing, status (public or private), open or secret settings are all signals for identifying types of rituals, and hence the nature of deities. Once again, the particulars of rituals may signal distinctions that work along the Olympian-Chthonian, or Initiation paradigm. For example, typically before any specific local circumstances are considered in a particular case, holocaust sacrifice is commonly seen as Chthonian, and rituals involving role reversal or cross-dressing as initiatory. While some scholars battle the established paradigms,[39] by and large the latter continue to determine interpretive methodology. Among the Aiginetan religious data, explicit textual evidence on ritual is limited, and yet, there are informative

[38] Burkert 1979, 35–58; Rappaport 1999. The overall bibliography is vast.

[39] E.g., Ekroth 2002 has shown that ritual helps little in supporting the Chthonian-Olympian distinction.

references to choral performances in honor of local deities (Aiakos, Damia and Auxesia, Aphaia, possibly nymph Aigina), and the archaeological, as well as textual evidence of ritual dining, as well as of sacrifice (on altars, ground-level platforms, and pits in the ground). These particular cases will give us an opportunity to test how much panhellenic paradigms prove illuminating or obstructive for our understanding of local meanings.

6.3.8 *Worshipping Groups*

In many cases, the evidence for particular cults, or for particular rituals within a cult, clearly indicates the intended demographic, social, or status group of worshippers. The most explicit evidence comes from inscribed *leges sacrae* that often specify which groups are allowed/not allowed to participate in a ritual, or enter a sanctuary. Prohibitions and limitations of access commonly have to do with gender, marital, or civic status. When known, prescriptions concerning the status of worshippers can help with identifying social functions of deities. For instance, prohibition on male participation in the Thesmophoria marks the cult as specifically female. Conversely, specification of male kinsmen as participants in a ritual points to a deity's tutelage over patrilineal kinship ties. When youths and maidens perform choral songs in honor of a deity, we might expect that the deity in question would be concerned with the well-being of these age groups, among other things.

6.3.9 *Conclusions*

Considering the variety and the specific nature of evidence on local religious life in ancient Greece,[40] the first principle, then, should be to consider all types of available evidence together in order to suggest the function of a local deity. Considered separately, each type of evidence is bound to produce a distorted picture, as a number of interpretive possibilities in each case often result in an arbitrary choice of one over others. There are many hermeneutic difficulties in trying to distill the function of a deity from a particular generic type of myth, or from a set of

[40] To summarize what has been said earlier: in local cases, we have to analyze textual evidence of heterogeneous nature: direct ancient "documentary" testimonies about a local cult (e.g., Pausanias' remarks on the role of some local shrine that he visits), mythological evidence preserved in literary or "historical" (Herodotus is both literature and history) accounts; visual representations; inscribed dedications often recording informative epithets; archaeological evidence, including architectural remains, sanctuary furnishings and dedicatory material.

iconographic features alone, or from a layout of architectural remains. The nature of the evidence has to be accounted for in every case, and then the results of analysis of each type of evidence should be joined together.[41]

The second principle presumes that the function of a deity in a local system of cults cannot be determined in isolation from other deities.[42] While the first step should always focus on one religious figure, and on all we know or can learn about it, the second step should be to see if we can determine the connections of this figure to other figures worshipped by a particular community in a particular place. Such connections may point to the spheres of influence shared by several divinities who thus form a group characterized by one common feature—a shared function. The opposite is also possible: connections may play out in a local myth as conflict, and then a myth serves to outline the differences, i.e., the borders between respective spheres of influence.

The real stumbling block in the process of determining the function of a local deity is that one has to go back and forth between the local and the external (regional, and panhellenic, literary and cultic) knowledge. How much can one use any 'outside' knowledge before one would effectively compromise the alleged 'local' perspective of one's approach?[43] It is likely that the danger of compromise would vary from case to case. My opinion is that such 'work with the dictionary' (checking for meanings attested elsewhere) is unavoidable, and is simply the result of the fragmentary state of our sources. Ideally, if we could interview local ancient informants, we would access the local meanings directly. Denied the pos-

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[41] Sourvinou-Inwood (1991, 217) calls separate sets of evidence "grids," and also argues for their separate investigation followed by the analysis that "allows cross-checks between grids."

[42] The famous case study which strives to abide by this principle is Sourvinou-Inwood's "Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A Model for Personality Definitions in Greek Religion." Unfortunately, Sourvinou-Inwood addresses only a small group of deities in the Lokrian pantheon (primarily just two: Persephone and Aphrodite), as opposed to looking for the role of Persephone in the local pantheon as a whole. Even if we agree that Persephone had all the functions revealed by Sourvinou-Inwood associated with her at Lokroi, we do not learn from Sourvinou-Inwood's study whether they were hers alone, or some other deity in the local pantheon was concerned with all or some of them as well, although we do learn how Persephone's and Aphrodite's spheres of influence helped differentiate their respective 'personalities.'

[43] In spite of vigorous denouncement of the contaminating influence of the panhellenic perspective on our understanding of local divinities, Sourvinou-Inwood cannot help but rely on panhellenic assumptions or otherwise generalized ideas about the meaning of visual symbols and iconography. Reaching for the meaning of iconographic elements on the dedicatory plaques, she is bound to appeal to "the Greeks in general," "the Greek mentality" (1991, 159), and such.

sibility of time travel, we are bound to use the information that we have. The greatest challenge for local studies is precisely the absence or fragmentary state of local sources, as a result of which we have to search in the virtual dictionaries of Greek culture to gain at least a glimpse of possible interpretations. I accept that searching the 'dictionary' in this sense is legitimate and in fact necessary; what is not legitimate, however, is to proceed to the stage of making conclusions: we can keep some possible interpretations (shown to be true in other better documented contexts) in mind, but we cannot draw finite conclusions about our local case on the basis of the 'outside' data.[44]

Finally I wish to emphasize that designating a Greek religious datum as 'local,' I do not mean to say that we are in each case dealing with an absolutely idiosyncratic phenomenon, for which there was nothing resembling it anywhere in the Greek world. On the contrary, there were numerous cults of homonymous deities in different locations of Greece where many of their functions were similar. Thus, 'local' in my vocabulary does not stand for 'absolutely unique.' Rather, and this is the third principle of my approach: I understand 'local' as a relative term:[45] what makes a particular cult 'local' is its special and marked position in the overall system of local cults, and not some absolute sense of uniqueness. It is this contextual, socially-bound meaning of 'local' that we must aim at in studying the functions of local deities.

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[44] Parker (2011, 226 n. 6) alerts us to the pitfalls of the practice: "Seeking parallels for ill-known local cults from others better known elsewhere in the Greek world, such local studies have, paradoxically, a built-in tendency to normalize and homogenize."

[45] It is appropriate to refer to Goldhill's insightful essay (2010) once again.

PART TWO

THE AIGINETAN SYSTEM OF CULTS

CHAPTER SEVEN

AIGINETAN DEITIES AND CULTS: SYNCHRONIC ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ROLES

7.1 The Subject and Presentation

7.1.1 *Aiginetan Deities: Order and Number*

The concordance of evidence for the group of deities discussed in this chapter is presented for an easy overview in Appendix 1. To avoid imposing an a priori etic hierarchy by discussing Aiginetan deities in the order of presumed significance to ancient worshippers (e.g., "Olympian" or "poliad" first, and heroes, Nymphs and alike later), I instead use impartial alphabetical order. If any hierarchy of relative "importance" within the local group of deities should arise from the evidence, I will come back to its evaluation in chapter 8. Another principle of selection in this chapter is chronological: the focus is on those deities whose worship on Aigina is attested in the second half of the 5th century BCE. My synchronic analysis is anchored in this specific period. The evidence for the worship of the same deities in the later and earlier periods is also presented in Appendix 1 and comes into discussion where necessary. Altogether, more than twenty cults are discussed in this chapter. Homonymous deities worshipped under different cultic epithets (e.g., Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Pythios) count as distinct cults. Apollos are grouped together in one section for ease of discussion, not to suggest a priory conceptual or theological unity. At the same time, Damia and Auxesia, as well as Aiakos and Aiakidai count as single cults, in spite of the fact that two or more divine figures are being worshipped together. About sixteen cults are securely attested in the 5th century testimonia. The remaining cults (Artemis, Hekate, Kybele, Pan, Thebasimakhos) might have been active in that period, but direct evidence for them is lacking. The case of Athena remains uncertain. In 8.1, Aiginetan deities will be sorted differently: into two groups, according to the ascertainability of their social roles. Finally, while not included in Appendix 1, additional evidence pertaining to religious life on Aigina in later periods (Hellenistic and Roman) and concerned with the deities that are not attested before then is discussed in chapters 7.2–7.20 and 10.2–10.3 where appropriate.

7.1.2 *Aiginetan Deities? Errata and Dubitanda*

Before we can proceed to the study of securely attested deities, we need to comment on several others that have been attributed to Aigina due to errors or misinterpretation in the ancient and/or modern discussions.

Alkmaion (One of the Epigonoi)

On the basis of Pindar (*P.* 8.56–60), some scholars mistakenly postulate a shrine of a hero Alkmaion on Aigina:

> χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός
> Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ,
> γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν
> ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ᾽ ἀοίδιμον,
> μαντευμάτων τ᾽ ἐφάψατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις.
>
> I too am glad
> to pelt Alkman with wreaths and sprinkle him with song,
> because as my neighbour and guardian of my possessions,
> he met me on my way to the earth's famed navel
> and employed his inherited skills in prophecy (Trans. W. H. Race)

The understanding of this passage depends on the interpretation of the poetic "I," that is, on whether the 'first person' represents Pindar, the Aiginetan chorus, or the latter "imitating the victor"?[1] The 'first person' of the ode speaks of Alkmaion as "my neighbor and guardian of my possessions" (γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν). Such a highly characteristic description of Alkmaion's role presents him as an instance of 'neighbor-hero,' *geitôn heros*, as defined by Rusten.[2] This should be a reference to a concrete geographic location where Alkmaion would have had a shrine neighboring that of the epinician "I." On Aigina, there is no evidence of any kind, literary, epigraphic, or archaeological, that could indicate a connection of Alkmaion to Aigina.

Lefkowitz convincingly articulates the problem of postulating an Alkmaion's shrine on Aigina on the basis of *Pythian* 8: the passage in question is one among many where Alexandrian commentators display a tendency to hypothesize a cult behind any epinikian invocation of a mythical figure or personified abstraction, most of the time without proper knowledge of cultic reality, and often of geography. In addition, they "seem also not to

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[1] This is, as Lefkowitz (1991, 82) notes, one of two mutually exclusive explanations offered by scholiasts.

[2] Rusten 1983.

have had a general understanding of the nature of hero-cults on the Greek mainland." Lefkowitz rejects "the speaking role of the chorus in *P.* 8" as "another criticial fiction" and argues in favor of understanding the "I" of the ode as Pindar himself, and of localizing Alkmaion's shrine in Thebes: there, "his father, Amphiaraos had disappeared into the earth, and he himself had been victorious."[3] In addition, the intimation in lines 59–60 of a prophecy received by the "first person" of the ode from Alkmaion on the way to Delphi would better fit a scenario of personal revelation. A motif of such epiphany is typical in stories of individual, not group encounters (cf. Hesiod's encounter with the Muses; Pheidippides' encounter with Pan). The 'first person' in this passage is, therefore, most likely the poet, and the herôon of Alkamaion mentioned in this ode should be sought in Thebes, the native city of Pindar.[4]

Hera

In Erica Simon's *Die Götter der Griechen*, we read: "Auch auf den Inseln Aigina und Samos brachte man der Hera Hekatomben dar."[5] Simon's opinion, as well as that of other scholars,[6] comes from Σ Pind. *P.* 8.113c:

> Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον: ὡς καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἡραίων ἀγομένων κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Ἄργει ἀγῶνος· ἄποικοι γὰρ Ἀργείων. Δίδυμος δέφησι τὰ Ἑκατόμβαια αὐτὸν νῦν λέγειν ἐπιχώριον ἀγῶνα Αἰγινητῶν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.
>
> Just so the Heraia are conducted on Aigina in imitation of the contest at Argos because [Aiginetans] are the *apoikoi* of the Argives. But Didymos says that this local contest of Aiginetans they now call Hecatombaia on account of common ancestry [*syngeneia*].

The original passage in Pindar, *P.* 8.78–80, is the list of victories won by the Aiginetan athlete Aristomenes:

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[3] Lefkowitz 1991, 84–85.

[4] Cf. Lefkowitz 1991, 87–88: "The scholia of the Alcmeon passage, like the scholia on *P.* 8 in general, thus prove to be a historical document not of the mechanics of choral performance, but of the methods and capabilities of Hellenistic scholarship. We cannot cout on the commentators for reliable information about the cult of Alcmeon in Aegina or about the role of the choral speaker any more than we trust their suggestions on the ode's opening line about 'political disturbances' and the Persian Wars. Their hypotheses about the Alcmeon passage would need to be verified by external evidence before we can take them seriously."

[5] Simon 1980, 44 with reference to Zancani-Montuoro & Zanotti-Bianco 1954.

[6] E.g., Ringwood 1927, 61–62; Nilsson 1906, 46; Calame 1997, 100 n. 31; Weilhartner 2010, 371–372: Hekatombaia and Heraia.

ἐν Μεγάροις δ' ἔχεις γέρας,
μυχῷ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος, Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον
νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὦ Ἀριστόμενες, δάμασσας ἔργῳ·

It is the adjective ἐπιχώριον that has confused both the ancient scholiasts and modern scholars. The adjective means "native, local." The scholiast decided that Pindar spoke of "a local [to Aigina] *agôn* of Hera," but we have no knowledge of a Hera's cult on Aigina at any point in history. This scholion is the only reference, and it would not be the first erroneous one among Pindar's scholia to be noted.[7] In our case, Pindar most likely refers not to an Aiginetan *agôn*, but to the famous regional *agôn* of Hera, the one at Argos. "The local agôn of Hera" is a paraphrase for the Argive Heraia.

The use of paraphrase as a reference to place is very common in Pindar, and he often uses cultic references when he wants to give an indirect, paraphrastic, description of a location, that is, he refers to a famous local cult as a trademark for that locality. In *Nemean* 10.35–36, Argives are not named directly but referred to as: Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν, "the brave people of Hera." We know the reference is to the Argives because the victor of the *Nemean* 10 is an Argive. So, in an analogous way "the local agôn of Hera," and "the brave people of Hera" could both refer to Argos. The island of Aigina is often identified indirectly through a cultic reference ("the well-fenced sacred grove of the Aiakidai", or "the shining star of Zeus Hellanios"). Other places, e.g., Thebes, are referred to as "the tomb of Ioalaos" (*O.* 9.98–99) because the games Iolaia were celebrated there. In a similar vein, "the local agôn of Hera" most likely invokes the Heraia at Argos.

In addition, the silence of other Pindaric *epinikia* on the subject of Heraia is significant. In the thirteen surviving *epinikia* that Pindar wrote for Aiginetan athletes (the largest number of odes written by him for athletes from any single Greek city), he nowhere else mentions the Heraia. Also, when prompted about athletic contests known on Aigina, other Pindaric scholia provide two names: the Delphinia and the Aiakeia. If Heraia had been another important competition on Aigina, I expect that some other of the Aiginetan athletes celebrated in the twelve fully preserved Pindar's *epinikia* would have been mentioned as victorious in these presumably local games, but *Pythian* 8 remains the sole reference. Both scholia to *P.* 8.113c focus on the reason why Aiginetans would have the same games as Argos: (a) Aigina was settled by the Argives; (b) Argives and Aiginetans

[7] On problems with the scholia, see Lefkowitz 1991, 147–160.

are blood relatives. It seems to me that (a) relies on (b) and shows how the later scholiast misinterpreted Didymos' remark. As a result, we have a chain of misunderstandings, which brought into existence, in scholars' minds, an *agôn* and a cult of Hera, which most likely never existed on Aigina,[8] therefore, Calame's attribution of the representations of maiden choruses on some Aiginetan vases to the Heraia should be corrected (see further discussion in 7.3.4).[9]

Nymphs

In Furtwängler's publication of the Aphaia temple, a number of illustrations refer to a sanctuary of the Nymphs (Pls. 12.1, 16.4, 24.2, 24.3), but without any further explanations. Welter published photographs of several architectural members of this alleged sanctuary, and in a catalogue of deities worshipped on Aigina listed sub "Nymphen" an inscription said to be at the Aigina museum, but in a later edition of the same book this reference disappeared.[10] The architectural remains discovered by Furtwängler were of Hellenistic date. It would appear that the conclusion about the identity of the shrine was based entirely on the speculation about its location and on the nature of the site: cavity in a riverbank framed by columns (see Fig. 1). The location of this riverbed is north of the hill surmounted by the sanctuary of Aphaia (see Map 1). Whether the cavity framed by columns was a shrine at all is not certain. We must also note that *IG* IV^2 publishes an inscription (1069) reported by Thiersch in his unpublished manuscript (part II of his 1928 essay): a small marble block built into the eastern wall of a collapsed house in the village Pagôni, inscribed *Nymphân*, and dated to the 6th or 5th century BCE. According to Thiersch, the inscription predated the Athenian *horoi* from Aigina (*IG* IV^2 792–804), that is, it was at least of the 5th century. Thiersch's opinion on the date would have been based exclusively on the letterforms, which is an unreliable criterion. The fact that the inscription seems to have reflected the Doric dialectal form

[8] See also Polinskaya 2002, 404 n. 17.

[9] Calame 1997, 100, n. 31: "It seems that the three early archaic (8th–7th cent.) representations of female choruses found at Aigina, one of which (A1) shows a chorus of nine women led by a player and a citharist, should be related to the Heraia." The vases in question: A1 (Berlin 31573, Staatl. Museen, *CVA* Deutschland 2, pl. 46–47 = Tölle 126); A 48 (Berlin, Staatl. Museen, *CVA* Deutschland 2, pl. 85 = Tölle 129) and Aig. Mus. inv. 1750 (Kraiker 1951, 30, no. 68, pl. 5 = Tölle 128). The latter example is, however, a Geometric vase of Argive production. For some reason, Calame does not cite A2, also from Aigina (Berlin, Staatl. Museen, *CVA* Deutschland 2, pl. 48 = Tölle 127).

[10] Photographs: Welter 1938b, 525, fig. 40 and fig. 41; inscription: Welter 1938c, 122 (no longer listed in the later, Greek edition, of the book: Welter 1962, 96).

of the Gen. plural might be a useful indicator, and yet in the absence of the stone and the impossibility to verify the reading, we have to be cautious in assigning too much weight to Thiersch's report. Pagôni is located about 2km southeast of Aigina-town, and hence in quite a different place from the shrine of the Nymphs surmised by Furtwängler north of Aphaia. At present, the evidence is too inconclusive to postulate a cult of the Nymphs on Aigina in the Archaic or Classical period. This is a separate case from the worship of the nymph Aigina.

Themis

Another Pindaric scholion (to *Olympian* 8) suggests that Themis Soteira was worshipped on Aigina: Σ Pind. *O.* 8.28c. ἔνθα σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις: ἐν ᾗ Αἰγίνῃ ἡ Θέμις ἡ τοῦ Διὸς πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται καὶ θρησκεύεται.

This scholion comments on the lines 17–27 that describe Aigina as a land hospitable to strangers:

> . . . δολιχήρετμον Αἴγιναν πάτραν· (20)
> ἔνθα σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου
> πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις
> ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων. ὅ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλᾷ ῥέπῃ,
> ὀρθᾷ διακρῖναι φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρόν
> δυσπαλές· τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ (25)
> τάνδ' ἁλιερκέα χώραν (25)
> παντοδαποῖσιν ὑπέστασε ξένοις
> κίονα δαιμονίαν . . .
>
> in the wrestling match
> he proclaimed long-oared Aigina as his fatherland,
> where Themis, the saving goddess
> enthroned beside Zeus, respecter of strangers, is
> venerated
> most among men, for when much hangs in the balance
> with many ways to go,
> deciding with correct judgment while avoiding
> impropriety
> is a difficult problem to wrestle with. But some
> ordinance
> of the immortal gods has set up this seagirt land
> for foreigners from all places
> as a divine pillar . . . (Trans. W. H. Race)

If it were not for the scholion we could unreservedly take a reference to Themis along with Zeus Xenios, as a poetic paraphrase signifying justice

to strangers. The scholion suggests that we should take Pindaric lines literally. The use of the same phrase in the context of another Pindaric ode, however, militates against trusting the scholiast's suggestion. *Olympian* 11.8 reads: ξενίου Διὸς ἀσκεῖται θέμις. Θέμις in this context is an attribute of Zeus, and is used in an abstract sense, not as a personified deity. In fact, in the rest of scholion *O*. 8.28c, we encounter the same paraphrase: φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἐξόχως τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ξενίου Θέμιν, where Themis is understood as an attribute of Zeus, not as a separate deity.[11] Because it appears that the phrase is a poetic formula referring to the practice of just conduct towards strangers and because it is used in different Pindaric odes with reference to different Greek locales, Aigina and Rhodes, there is no basis for taking it as evidence for the cultic worship of Themis on Aigina.

[S]trobia/[Ma]trobia/Biastos

The cultic existence of [S]trobia, alias [Ma]trobia, alias Biastos, is almost entirely a product of imagination on the part of frustrated epigraphists faced with a unique inscribed silver stater, an Aiginetan 'turtle:' *SEG* XXXVII 252 (= *SEG* XL 300). Ashton reads the inscription: Μ⟨α⟩τροβίας τοὶ στατῆρες *h*ιαροί, τὰ λύτρα.[12] Manganaro reads: Στροβίας τοὶ στατῆρες *h*ιαροί, τὰ λύτρα.[13] Bicknell offers another reading: Ṣ ΤΑ *c* ΒΙΑΣΤΟΙ ΣΤΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΗΙΑΡΟΙ ΤΑ ΛΑΤΡΑ. "Sta- for Biastos, sacred staters, the payment." Biastos in the dative, he proposes, is a "hero or minor deity."[14] The stater is Aiginetan, but they were commonly used outside of Aigina, and since the findspot is unknown, no matter who the recipient of the "sacred staters" was, we have no evidence connecting them, or the figure they are dedicated to, securely to Aigina.

In a recently published volume of testimonia for Aiginetan historical and mythological realia, Weilhartner chose to list "Deities, Personifications, and Heroes" ("Gottheiten, Personifikationen und Heroen") under

[11] Σ O. 8.28c: ἐπαινεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς φιλοξένους, διὰ τὸ παρὰ τῷ πλῷ κεῖσθαι καὶ πολλοὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα ἐξόχως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἴπῃ τὴν Θέμιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἕνεκα φιλοξενίας παρ' Αἰγινήταις· ἐπειδὴ τὸ κεκριμένον τῆς πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀξίας αὐτοῖς προσμαρτυρεῖ. τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα ἀξιώματος ἄξιον, τὸ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἑκάστῳ τὴν πρέπουσαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἑκάστῳ ἀποδοῦναι τιμήν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἐξόχως τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ξενίου Θέμιν.

[12] Ashton 1987.

[13] Manganaro 1990, 421–22.

[14] Bicknell 1990, 223–4.

one title,[15] which conveniently freed him from the necessity of deciding who is who in that group. Indeed, the likes of Angelia (Pind. *I.* 8.65–88), Arete (Bacch. 13.182–192), Kharites (Pind. *P.* 8.18–39 + Σ *P.* 8.22 (30–31); Pind. *N.* 5.41–54 + Σ *N.*5.51–54 (94d); Pind. *I.* 5.17–22 + Σ Pind. *I.* 6.57–70; Pind. *I.* 8.1–5 + Σ Pind. *I* 8.15a(32a)), Eileithyia (Pind. *N.*7.6–10 + Σ *N.* 7.1(1a)), Eukleia (Bacch. 13.182–192), Eunomia (Bacch. 13.182–192), Hesychia (Σ Pind. *P.* 8.1(1a–b), Kleio (Pind. *N.* 3.64–84), Moira (Pind. *N.* 7.58–70), and Nike (Bacch. 12.4–7; Pind. *N.* 5–41–54 + Σ), can be viewed as poetic personifications, or as divine figures, without a local cultic presence. The lack of any additional data, besides those Pindaric references, prevents us from determining whether any of these figures, invoked and addressed in the Aiginetan *epinikia*, were indeed worshipped on Aigina. Kharites and Eileithyai were at least widely represented in cults in other parts of the Greek world.

7.2 Aiakos and the Aiakids

7.2.1 *Aiakos and the Aiakids: Together and Apart*

The worship of Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina is attested in various textual sources, but no archaeological material associated with these heroes has been uncovered on the island so far.[16] We are therefore bound to form our understanding of the social roles of Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina on the basis of literary evidence alone. I begin with a brief overview of the evidence.

The mythological record portrays Aiakos as a son of Zeus and of the nymph Aigina. Such parentage introduces the first notable complexity in our understanding of Aiakos' nature: he is a scion of two immortals, but is not recognized in the mythological record as an immortal or a *theos*. A scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 5.94 (=53–4) calls the sanctuary of Aiakos a *herôon*. Pindar's phrase "Aiakos and his children" (*I.* 5.35) comes in a string of examples that explicitly refer to heroes (line 26: ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ

[15] Weilhartner 2010, 371.

[16] The known representations of Aiakos are of non-Aiginetan provenance: on vases (3 examples, all late 4th century), on the façade painting of a Macedonian tomb in Lefkadia (early 1st cent.), and on a coin (Pergamon, 2nd cent. BCE). Aiakos is recognized as a bearded old man, often seated on a throne, and sometimes leaning on a knobbed staff: see *LIMC* I, 311–312, s.v. Aiakos, nos. 1–4 and 6. An image of a bearded male head on an Aiginetan coin of the 2nd cent. CE has also been variously interepted as Zeus or Aiakos: *LIMC*, s.v. Aiakos, no. 5; see also discussion of coins in Thiersch 1928, 142–150.

πολεμισταί), and Pindar's *Nemean* 5.12 unambiguously calls Aiakidai heroes (ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέν- | τας καὶ ἀπὸ χρυσεᾶν Νηρηιδων | Αἰακίδας ἐγέραιρεν), while a scholion to this verse gives an extended explanation (see Appendix 5 for text and translation). Pausanias, however, avoids such characterization and obliquely refers to the sanctuary of Aaiakos as "what is called the Aiakeion," describing an open-air enclosure marked by a wall with a decorated portal, and planted with olive trees inside. Such an architectural set-up is often attributed in modern scholarship to heroes, but we must be cautious in being dogmatic here: the Greeks themselves may have had a more flexible notion of what was appropriate to a deity or a hero in each particular case, or in fact whether a figure of worship was one or the other.

The only architectural feature inside the enclosure was a low altar, not far above ground.[17] Finally, the sanctuary was believed to contain Aiakos' tomb: "that this altar is also a grave marker (*mnêma*) of Aiakos is told in secret" (Paus. 2.29.6–7).[18] The latter testimony is the only one mentioning a tomb. Pausanias does not explain why such an ordinary sort of information, that a hero's shrine contains his tomb, should have been a secret (from whom?), but perhaps here we detect a reflection of ambiguity with respect to Aiakos' divine status: somewhat more than a hero, but not quite a god. Unlike Herakles or Achilles, Aiakos is never described as *hêrôs theos*,[19] and yet if he was unambiguously a hero, it would be only natural to openly display his tomb. Since this knowledge was communicated with a pious pretence to secrecy, in which nonetheless even a tourist Pausanias was invited to participate, it suggests that in the Roman period Aiakos' mortality and his claim to continued existence (e.g., as the Judge of the Dead in Hades) may have been perceived as somewhat at odds.

There are two groups of Archaic/Classical Aiginetan myths that pertain to Aiakos. One group of myths outlines a sphere of influence that is that of Aiakos alone. He appears in these myths as a son of Zeus, a ruler of Aigina,

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[17] Βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Ekroth (1998), conducting a study of altars in hero cults, came to the conclusion that a variety of altars were used in the Archaic and Classical periods, and that the prevalence of a type such as *eskhara*, a low, sometimes hollow altar for the pouring of liquids, well attested in textual sources, might be reflecting a change that took place from the late Hellenistic period onwards.

[18] ὡς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμὸς εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. This does not suggest a mystery cult, however, qua Burnett 2005, 17: there is no evidence of any secret rites.

[19] Herakles: Pind. *N.* 3.22; Achilles: see Hommel 1980.

and a man famous for his just and pious character.[20] Another group of myths highlights the role of Aiakos as the father of Peleus, Telamon, and Phokos, and the progenitor of the Aiakid clan. In textual sources, the term 'Aiakids' was broadly applied to several generations of the descendants of Aiakos.[21] Sons (Peleus and Telamon), grandsons (Achilles and Ajax), and a great-grandson (Neoptolemos) of Aiakos are all called *Aiakidai* in ancient sources.[22] Besides common descent, at least one son also shares the distinctive personal characteristics of the father: according to Pindar *Isthmian* 8.40, Peleus was selected as a groom for Thetis because he was reputed to be the most pious (εὐσεβέστατον) man in Iolkos.[23] Likewise, Aiakos'supplication to Zeus for the cessation of drought succeeds because of his reputation for piety, not only because of his *syngeneia* with Zeus (διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, Isocr. 9.14–15). In Homer, Peleus is a "ruler of many Myrmidons" (*Il.* 16.15), and an "aged horseman, a noble counsellor among the Myrmidons, and their speaker" (γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς | ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουληφόρος ἠδ' ἀγορητής, *Il.* 7.125–6). Aiakos is also described as "best in counsel" (Pind. *N.* 8.7–8). Thus, because the persona of Aiakos is entirely undeveloped in Homer, it is possible that at least some of his personal characteristics as highlighted in the later tradition were lifted from his son Peleus' characterization.

Mythological associations between Aiakos and his descendants apparently had a counterpart in the cultic sphere. Pindar's *Isthmian* 5 for the Aiginetan Phylakidas presents a telling testimony. Lines 24–38 refer to legendary heroes who made a name for themselves as good competitors (ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταί) and are now revered in cult. Among such heroes, Pindar mentions Oineïdai (sons of Oineus) in Aitolia, Ioalaos in Thebes, Perseus in Argos, Kastor and Polydeukes in Sparta, and "Aiakos and his children" (Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε) in Oinona, that is, Aigina. In what follows, I will explore the possibility that the association of Aiakos and the Aiakids went beyond literary context, and was mirrored in the cultic

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[20] Offspring of Zeus: παῖς Διὸς (Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b), Διὸς ἔκγονος (Isocr. 9.14), Αἰακὸν βαρυσφαράγῳ πατρὶ κεδνότατον (Pind. *I.* 8.22). Justice and piety: εὐσεβεία (Isocr. 9.14). King and ruler: βασιλεύς (Pind. *N.* 8.7), βασιλεύς χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος (Pind. *N.* 8.7–8) and πολίαρχος (Pind. *N.* 7.85).

[21] The term was even more broadly applied to various branches of the Aiakid family adopted by different Greek communities as their mythological ancestors (see e.g., Hiller 2009), but the scope of the present study is limited to the Aiginetan Aiakids.

[22] Homer calls both Peleus (*Il.* 16.15) and Achilles (e.g., *Il.* 11.805) the Aiakids. Pindar (*N.* 7. 44–46) uses "Aiakidai" as a clan-name, calling even Neoptolemos, a great-grandson of Aiakos, an Aiakid.

[23] See *HE* II, 637–639, s.v. Peleus (by I. Polinskaya).

sphere. I will argue that the Aiakids were worshipped on Aigina as a group rather than as individual heroes, and as a group had distinct cultic roles. Additionally, I will analyze the testimonies of Pindar and Herodotus, as well as other evidence, showing that the Aiakids were worshipped jointly with their progenitor Aiakos, and were most likely honored together in the same sanctuary and during the same festivals, at least by the late Archaic period. In chapter 9, I present a hypothesis that in the early Archaic period, Aiakos was worshipped on Aigina alone, while the religious association with the Aiakids was a later development. In this chapter we focus on identifying the social roles of Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina in the 5th century BCE.

7.2.2 *A Sanctuary or Sanctuaries?*

A scholion to Pindar refers to a *herôon* or *temenos* of Aiakos.[24] Pausanias (2.29.7–8) visited what he called τὸ Αἰάκειον, and he described the architectural reliefs on the gates of the Aiakeion, which were, it seems, the only ornamentation of the precinct. The peribolos was made of white stone, which some scholars interpret as marble,[25] while others more cautiously translate literally "white stone."[26]

According to Pausanias 2.29.6–7, the Aiakeion was located in "the most prominent part of the town" (ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον),[27] which was apparently between the "harbor where most ships anchor" and the Hidden Harbor (see Map 2, Figs. 2 and 3, and

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[24] Cf. Σ Pind. *N.* 5.94 (=53–4): Αἰακοῦ ἐν τῷ ἡρώῳ and ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Αἰακοῦ.

[25] Marble was apparently often described in antiquity as *leukos lithos*: see Jockey 2006, 15.

[26] Cf. Stroud (1998, 2) for whose argument about the Athenian Aiakeion imitating the Aiginetan, it is particularly fitting to apply a strict literal reading as "white stone." Such reading allows to interpret Pausanias' description as a reference to limestone, more specifically, Aiginetan poros, with which I fully agree. So, also Fearn 2007, 89. Indeed, all Archaic monumental structures on Aigina were built of the local poros stone, and only decorative sculptural elements of temples may have used marble (so on Kolonna, fragments of pedimental scultpture assigned to the late Archaic temple of Apollo, are of marble, while the rest of the temple is limestone: Walter-Karydi 1987, 132 (see further discussion in 7.6.4) Because most sculptures found on Aigina, including the Aphaia pediments, were made of marble, which was a more flexible and durable carving material, we could theorize that the sculpted portal of the Aiakeion could have used marble as well, while the rest of the peribolos could have been built of poros. Both marble and poros, however, can be described as white, and so we are without a conclusive supposition on what type of stone Pausanias saw.

[27] See section 7.6.3 for further discussion of this expression. Here, it would suffice to note (contra Walter 1993 and Fearn 2007, 89) that *epiphanestatos topos*, "the most prominent place," does not refer to the highest or even just to a high ground, but to the "most

Appendix 2 for the discussion of topography).[28] The same expression, "the most prominent part of the town," was used in a first-century BCE Aiginetan inscription, where a long-standing misreading of line 37 (*IG* IV 2, now corrected in *IG* IV^2 750) placed an Apollonion in that location. Since the sanctuary of Apollo was assigned to the Kolonna hill (see Map 2 and Fig. 3) on other grounds, most scholars attributed the Aiakeion to the Kolonna as well, assuming that both sanctuaries were located in "the most prominent part of the town."[29] This is certainly mistaken both on the basis of Pausanias who places the Aiakeion and the Apollonion in different places, and on the basis of *IG* IV^2 750 that does away with the reading *Apollonion* in line 37 in conjunction with "the most prominent part of town" (see further in 7.6.3). The "most prominent part of town," according to Pausanias, was in the vicinity of harbors, apparently along the way, from the "harbor where most ships anchors" to the Hidden Harbor,[30] and we can expect that several religious structures may have been located there, although Pausanias mentions only a tomb of Phokos near the Aiakeion.[31]

Earlier scholars also tended to think that during Attalid rule on Aigina, Aiakos was made s*ynnaos*, 'sharing a temple,' with Attalos, and that both had a common sanctuary on Kolonna.[32] This hypothesis is based on the information provided in an honorary decree for Attalos I, dated to

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important" location, which could be on level ground and at the same elevation as other features of local topography.

[28] Walter (1993, 54) and Walter-Karydi (1994, 132) correctly, in my opinion, place the Aiakeion in that general area.

[29] Felten 2007b, 27 and 29: "king Attalos, through his ancestor Herakles a descendant of Zeus like Aiakos, received a cult together with his relative—certainly on the Kolonna hill, and there survive the foundations of three cult buildings and an altar of this period west of the Apollo temple." Welter (1938c, 52) provides no explanation why he identifies as the Aiakeion a structure with a wide propylon, cut into a terrace, to the southeast of the Kolonna temple. Athanassaki (2011, 275–293), whose interpretations depend on the assumption of proximity between the sanctuaries of Aiakos and Apollo, relies on this earlier scholarship. See also 7.6.3 on the location of an Apollonion.

[30] E.g., on Thasos, there were two harbors, a commercial and a military, the latter equipped with shipsheds, and similarly to the one on Aigina called *kleistos limên*, "closed harbor" (Ps. Skylax *Periplous* 67), and the agora lay immediately to the southeast of the military harbor: see Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 53–57.

[31] In other locations in the Greek world, we occasionally find *agorai* among public spaces described as "epiphanestatos tês poleos." An *agora* often accommodated multiple religious structures, e.g., in Athens: those dedicated to Apollo Patroios, Hephaistos and Athena, Mother of the Gods, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, and other deities (Travlos 1971, 96–99, 261–273, 352–356, 573–575); Zeus Agoraios on Thasos (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 76–77). Hêrôa in agoras: e.g., Theagenes on Thasos (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 73–76); the hêrôon of 'Those in Thebes' in Argos (Pariente 1992; Hall 1999, 52–55).

[32] See n. 29 above.

210–200 BCE (*IG* IV^2 747).[33] The decree was found in Athens, but is deemed to originate in Aigina. Line 11 mentions making someone *synnaon* with someone, while line 17 refers to *syngeneia*, kinship, of Herakles (whom Attalids considered their heroic ancestor) and Aiakos. The main obstacle to the hypothesis of a common sanctuary of Aiakos and Attalos is the use of the term *synnaos* in the inscription, for, unless the term was used very loosely, it could not refer to the Aiakeion, which contained no *naos*. If, however, a brand new temple was built for Attalos in the late 3rd century BCE, then perhaps Aiakos could have been made Attalos' *synnaos* there, but we are going too far into the realm of conjectures here. Suffice it to say, however, that if indeed the religious innovations, which the decree seems to have been instituting, were to make Attalos *synnaos* with some deity on Aigina, on the basis of Herakles' kinship with Aiakos (both being sons of Zeus) and in a pre-existing local sanctuary, then Zeus would be a better candidate than Aiakos, especially since the Attalids were most likely behind the Hellenistic renovations at the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina. In other words, there is no good ground for suggesting that Aiakos was ever made to share his *temenos* in the "most conspicuous part of town" with Attalos.

A final remark on the location of the Aiakeion: recently David Fearn proposed that "the Aiakeion was built on the precise spot where Aiakos made his prayer to Zeus to bring the drought to an end," basing his opinion on the reading of Isocrates 9.14–15.[34] Isocrates, however, most unambiguously refers to the sanctuary of Zeus, not of Aiakos, as the structure founded on the very spot where Aiakos had prayed: "Having gained their desire, they were saved and established in Aigina a sanctuary common to all the Greeks on the very spot where he [Aiakos] had made his prayer." "A sanctuary common to all the Greeks" is a reference to the shrine of Zeus Hellanios and an aetion for the origin of the epithet Hellanios—a *hieron* "common to all Hellenes" who came to plead with Aiakos. Thus, the reference in Isocrates is to the foundation of the sanctuary of Zeus and does not help us to anchor the position of the Aiakeion.

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[33] An excellent photo of this inscription is in Walter-Karydi 2006, 41, fig. 22.

[34] Fearn 2007, 104. This misreading is important for Fearn because he seeks to connect the origin of the Aiginetan water supply with Zeus and Aiakos, on the one hand, and to tie the Aiginetan aqueduct with an Aiginetan agora, on the other, so that the latter becomes the site of both the Aiakeion and the Asopis spring. This complex hypothetical construction has too many structural faults to remain standing.

The reliefs of the gateway of the Aiakeion[35] illustrated an episode from Aiakos' life that commemorated Aiakos' personal achievement—his success in supplicating Zeus for the cessation of a devastating drought: ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες. A marble panel in high relief (Aigina Mus. 752), dated to ca. 490 BCE, has been tentatively attributed to the Aiakeion.[36] It depicts two overlapping chariots (only the legs of a man standing in the box of a chariot are visible, and another chariot box overlaps the first in the foreground). The subject of this panel (charioteer) does not seem to match the theme of the Aiakeion's reliefs, where we would not expect "those sent to Aiakos" to be arriving in chariots. A charioteer would better fit an athletic or a polemic context.

According to Pausanias, of all the Aiakids, only Phokos was honored close to the Aiakeion (παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φώκου τάφος ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπῖδι, ἐπίκειται δέ οἱ λίθος τραχύς).[37] On the basis of Pausanias' description, Jarosch-Reinholdt recently expressed an opinion that "a rough stone" that topped the grave of Phokos, as well as the alleged grave itself, may have been an actual grave of the Protogeometric period, because "such unhewn stone stelae . . . can be generally demonstrated only in connection with Protogeometric and with not very late Geometric burials."[38] It is too hazardous to propose such specific archaeological interpretations on the basis of ancient textual descriptions, which cannot be expected to be technically precise and especially when they mention such surface remains as rough stones. A stone, being a portable object, could have rolled down or been pushed out of the way in the process of some construction on the site in an earlier period. Having landed on a small rocky

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[35] Thasos, with its uniquely well preserved city wall with gateways decorated with reliefs offers possible parallels: the gate of a goddess in chariot (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 95), the gate of Hermes (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 98–99), the gate of Silenus (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 121–123), the gate of Herakles and Dionysos (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 129–132), the gate of Zeus and Hera (Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 132–139).

[36] Walter-Karydi 2006, 44–45, fig. 24.

[37] Although it is not inconceivable, there is no evidence that the grave of Phokos was a shrine or that it was located "in the centre of town," contra Kowalzig 2007, 203. The locations of the Aiakeion and Phokos' grave are not established, except for a reference in Pausanias "in the most prominent part of town." Goette 2001 does not cite any ancient evidence or modern opinion, but he must be relying on Welter 1938c, 52, when he refers to "a circular building made of spolia, which is known as the heroon of Phokos," located to the west of the temple on Kolonna.

[38] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 66: "solche unbehauenen Steinstelen . . . sind im allgemeinen nur im Zusammenhang mit PG und nicht allzu späten geometrischen Gräbern nachzuweisen."

outcropping covered with earth, it could have later inspired an association with a story of Phokos' death. In other words, the monument may have never been a grave of any period. An aetion usually appears to explain something that already exists and may have nothing to do with the original nature or purpose of the object or matter it explains. Thus, an idea of a specifically Protogeometric grave underlying what was known as a grave of Phokos in the 2nd century CE is unfortunately nothing but fanciful. There are minimal references to Phokos in the local Aiginetan tradition, as we know it from our sources, suggesting that he played a lesser role in the Aiginetan ideology than the other Aiakids.[39] To return to the Aiakeion: in the only surviving witness account of the sanctuary, that of Pausanias, the Aiakeion seems to be void of the Aiakids.[40] Pausanias also mentions no cult statues of any kind associated with the Aiakeion.

At the same time, a reference in Pindar (*O.* 13.109) strongly suggests that the Aiakids were worshipped together with Aiakos in the same *temenos*: the phrase Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εὐερκὲς ἄλσος, "a well-fenced grove of the Aiakids" in line 109 is a topographic paraphrase for Aigina-island. This phrase contains a reference to trees and to a fence, or wall (ἕρκος), and these two

[39] A telling example is Bacch. 13.94–120 where the praise of Aigina is linked to the union of Aigina and Aiakos and their progeny, Peleus and Telamon with their heroic sons, Achilles and Ajax. Phokos is not mentioned at all in this heroic pedigree that brings glory to Aigina. Explanations that rely on myth-historical symbolism are not appropriate: cf., McInerney 1999, 142–143 ("The offspring of Aiakos personified an elemental opposition of earth and sea along the same lines as the Athenian legend of the competition between Athena and Poseidon for the control of Attica"); Kowalzig 2007, 185, n. 15 ("Phokos by virtue of his name does not remain a local"). There is an undue reliance on the meaning of the hero's name, *phôkos*, "a seal," as a means of explaining him as a "seal-like monster," and then interpreting a conflict between him and his-half brothers Peleus and Telamon (sons of Erdeis/variant of Endeis—a land deity) as a struggle between "earth and sea" (Burnett 2005, 17–18). Also far-fetched are purely ideological and political explanations: "That the Aiginetans hung on to Phokos, but sent the other two back to the places of their mythical origin, could suggest Aiginetan involvement in what may have been competing claims to Delphi during the 'Sacred War'" (Kowalzig 2007, 203). This would suggest that the only known Phokos in Phocis was the Aiginetan one, and the Aiginetans used their local myth to exert an ideological pressure at Delphi, but in fact different heroes by the name of Phokos were known in Phocis and at different times were linked to Aigina, Corinth, or Thessaly and served different ideological purposes for different Phocian communities (see McInerney 1999, 127–147). McInerney (1999, 145) even suggests that the process of borrowing might have been the reverse: the original Phokos was a local "mythological character" of the Parnassos region "who was carried from there to Corinth and Aigina." Not likely, in my mind.

[40] The only other topographic reference associated with an Aiakid is a mole (χῶμα) in the Hidden Harbour of Aigina. Pausanias (2.29.10) relays local lore about its origin: it was reportedly a foothold built by Telamon to plead his innocence before Aiakos in connection with the murder of Phokos.

details match exactly Pausanias's description of the Aiakeion: a fenced-in grove of olive trees: τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαῖαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ.[41] Pausanias notes the old age of the trees. Olive trees survive millennia,[42] and it is conceivable that Pausanias could see in the 2nd century CE the same trees that grew inside the Aiakeion in the 5th century BCE.[43] The grove could also have been periodically replanted or supplemented with new trees if the older died. Thus, although there is no direct textual evidence that Aiakos and the Aiakids shared a precinct, it is more than likely, especially when we consider the evidence for their images.

7.2.3 *Cult Images*

There is no agreement among scholars as to whether there was a cult statue of Aiakos on Aigina.[44] Textual and iconographic evidence suggests that Aiakos was represented in statuary form as a seated old man. In *Nemean* 8.13–16, Pindar paints a scene of supplication that can easily be a reflection of cultic practice on Aigina: "As a suppliant I am clasping the hallowed knees of Aiakos, and on behalf of his beloved city and of these citizens I am bringing a Lydian fillet embellished with ringing notes, a Nemean ornament for the double stadion races of Deinias and his father Megas" (Trans. W. H. Race). I take the act of clasping the knees of Aiakos in supplication, whether literal or metaphorical in the case of performance of *Nemean* 8, as drawing on the historical Aiginetan practice of worshipping Aiakos. The reference to knees must mean those of a cult image. It is not difficult to imagine a seated figure in the pose of a ruler/king/father figure.[45]

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[41] Trees inside *temenê* are a familiar phenomenon: e.g., an olive tree in the Erechtheion on the Athenian acropolis, an oak in the Dodona sanctuary, cypresses at the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea.

[42] Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 4.13.5 mentions 200 years as a typical age; Pliny the Elder tells of a Greek sacred olive that was 1600 years old; Rackham and Moody (1996, 80–81) cite a Cretan olive that dates back to Hellenistic times, based on the count of tree rings. See also Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 38; Foxhall 2007, 5.

[43] Such ancient olive trees can be observed on Aigina today in the area of Eleonas, a small inland glen separated by a mountain ridge from the sea and the village of Marathonas on the west coast of the island.

[44] E.g., Walter-Karydi 2006, 5: "There was no cult statue." Stroud (1998, 87–88) is of the opposite opinion.

[45] Later Classical and Hellenistic visual representations, of which there is only a handful, sometimes represent Aiakos as a seated bearded old man holding a staff: e.g., *LIMC*, s.v. Aiakos, nos. 2, 3, 4 (Aiakos seated, as a Judge of the Dead in the Underworld), and no. 6 (AE coins of Pergamon, 1st cent. CE, *Rev.* inscribed AIAKOΣ. Aiakos is a fully dressed bearded figure, seated on a throne to the right.)

While in Pindar's *Nemean* 8.13–16, we have only a probable reference to a cult statue of Aiakos, Herodotus provides us with much more solid evidence for the existence of cult images and at the same time supports the notion of a joint cult for Aiakos and the Aiakids. In describing preparations of the Greek army for the Battle of Salamis, Herodotus 8.64 records the decision to summon the local heroes of the Saronic Gulf, Aiakos and the Aiakids, for help in the imminent battle: "Then the day came, and at sunrise there was an earthquake on the land and the sea. It seemed good to them [Greeks who assembled for the battle of Salamis] to pray to the gods and to invite the Aiakids to be their allies (ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους). Since this seemed to them the best course, they did so. Having prayed to all the gods, from the place where they were, they summoned Ajax and Telamon from Salamis, and for Aiakos and the other Aiakids they sent a ship to Aigina."[46] We should note that while Ajax and Telamon were summoned from Salamis, a separate ship was sent to Aigina for "Aiakos and the other Aiakids." The latter must be Peleus and Achilles (see further evidence below). We have a direct testimony in this instance that the images of Aiakos and the Aiakids traveled together.[47]

The images of Aiakids (and perhaps Aiakos, although this is not clear) traveled outside of Aigina on another occasion as well, summoned by Thebans for help in the battle against the Athenians, also described by Herodotus (5.80–81) (see discussion in the section that follows). From the two episodes described in Herodotus, we must conclude that these images were portable, of manageable size and weight, hence, possibly made of wood.[48] Since no separate cultic establishment for the Aiakids

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[46] ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιέουν ταῦτα. εὐξαμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Ζαλαμῖνος Αἴαντα τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν. On the morning of the battle, as the Greeks embarked on their ships (8.83), a trireme that had been sent to fetch the Aiakids, arrived. Later on, Aiginetans claimed that the ship with the Aiakids was the one that started the battle (Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν).

[47] Nagy (1994 [1990], 177–178) speculates that it was the bones of Aiakos that traveled, but they had to be images, because the anecdote in Hdt. 5.80–81 would otherwise make no sense: only if Aiakids (and Aiakos) are statues, not relics, could they be "confused" with men.

[48] Stroud 1998, 87–88 (*xoana*, "the well-traveled images of the Aiakidai") and Versnel 2011, 92 ("most probably, *in imagine*"). Nagy (2011, 77) offers a strange alternative: "I argue that 'the Aiakidai' that were present at that earlier event were an ensemble of contemporary Aiginetan aristocrats who were re-enacting, in stylized choral poses, the presence of their notional ancestors, the Aiakidai of the heroic age." Cf. his earlier opinion (1994

is mentioned anywhere in the sources, and Aiakos and the Aiakids act together as religious icons on several occasions, we can be quite certain that they shared a precinct on Aigina. Although we have no evidence of any kind regarding a structure that may have housed their cult statues, we have to assume that there was such a structure since cult images of Aiakos and the Aiakids had to be housed somewhere.[49]

Further confirmation of the joint cult comes from a reference in Pindar. Lines 30–36 in *Isthmian* 5 list several Greek locations where heroes are honored (σεβιζόμενοι), beginning with the Oineïdai in Aitolia (who receive shining sacrifices), Ioalaos in Thebes, Perseus in Argos, Kastor and Polydeukes in Sparta, and finally, "the great-hearted spirits of Aiakos and his children" (μεγαλήτορες ὀργαὶ Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε) on Aigina. Because Pindar unambiguously refers to cultic honors of heroes in this passage, we must take a reference to "Aiakos and his sons" as a testimony of their joint worship. That several generations of a heroic family are worshipped together in one heroon is not that unusual in the Greek world,[50] and it was certainly not accidental on Aigina, since Aiakos and the Aiakids derived their mutual significance from a close association with one another.

7.2.4 *Social Roles: Military Allies*

Herodotus not only provides support for the existence of cult images of the Aiakids, but also of their specific social roles: on two occasions Aiakos and the Aiakids were summoned specifically to ensure military success. Such a cultic role for heroes and gods is attested throughout the Greek world, and described as a military alliance between mortals and immortals, a *symmakhia*.[51] To return to the episode described by Herodotus in

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[1990], 177–178) summarized in the preceeding note. Indergaard 2011, 304: "cult statues of the heroes."

[49] Cf. Stroud 1998, 93: "statues of the Aiakidai were probably kept in the Aiakeion."

[50] E.g., Kekrops and his daughters in Athens. Joint cults of heroic siblings are also common: Dioskouroi, the divine twins, were originally known as Tyndaridai in Laconia (Farnell 1921, 196–198). This is parallel to the Aiakidai, Atreidai, Oineïdai, and Herakleidai.

[51] Spartans sent the Dioskouroi to Lokroi to assist them in their conflict with Kroton. Diod. Sic. 8.32.1–2: Ὅτι οἱ Λοκροὶ ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σπάρτην περὶ συμμαχίας δεόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Κροτωνιατῶν δυνάμεως ἀκούοντες, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτω σωθέντων Λοκρῶν, ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς συμμάχους διδόναι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἴτε προνοίᾳ θεοῦ εἴτε τὸ ῥηθὲν οἰωνισάμενοι προσεδέξαντο τὴν βοήθειαν παρ᾽αὐτῶν καὶ καλλιερήσαντες ἔστρωσαν τοῖς Διοσκόροις κλίνην ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα. We are not told in what form the Dioskouroi traveled to Lokroi, only that once the Lokrians had obtained the desired help, they expressed their gratitude by laying out a couch (*klinê*) for the heroes on the ship and sending them back to their homeland. It would seem

5.80–81: it pertains to the events of the war between Athens and Thebes ca. 508 BCE. The Thebans inquired at Delphi how they should proceed in their dealings with the Athenians and received an oracle that they should entreat "their nearest" for help. The Thebans interpreted "the nearest" in genealogical terms as the sisterhood of Theba and Aigina. They appealed to the Aiginetans for help:

> [the Aiginetans] told them [Thebans], who were asking for military assistance, that they were sending along the Aiakids. When the Thebans had made an attempt relying on the alliance of the Aiakids (κατὰ την συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων, Hdt. 5.64) and were roughly handled by the Athenians, the Thebans having sent the Aiakids back returned them, but asked for men instead.[52]

The ambiguity, which this anecdote plays out, derives from the dual meaning of the term 'Aiakids' in this story: first, the Aiakids of old, the heroes, and second, the contemporary Aiginetans, more distant descendants of Aiakos.[53] The Aiakids are contrasted with men, and the contrast implied is apparently between live men and passive statues. If that is what Herodotus had in mind, we have an ambiguity not only on the anecdotal, but on a deeper theological level as well: was a cult-statue perceived only as a representation of a deity, or was it a deity itself? The gap between the representation of and the deity itself would allow to account for the failure of a statue to bring desirable effects without damaging the reputation of a deity, but the wide-spread Greek practice of using statues with the evident goal of bringing about material results suggests the opposite. It seems the aporia was on Herodotus' mind as well, but he did not attempt to resolve it.

The convergence of several possibilities of interpretation that occur in the process of communication between the Thebans and the Aiginetans is the narratological lynchpin of the anecdote. First, Thebans ask Aiginetans

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most likely that here we are dealing with cult images, as in the case of the Aiakids. On divinities as 'battle-helpers,' see Speyer 1980, and on divinities as *symmakhoi*—references collected in Versnel 2011, 93–4, n. 260, including those pertaining to Hdt. 8.64.2 and Diod. Sic. 8.32.1–2. On "patriotic heroes:" Kron 1999.

[52] οἵ δὲ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν. Πειρησαμένεων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ την συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὖτις οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο.

[53] Nagy (1994 [1990], 176–181) tentatively raises the possibility that Pindar uses the term "Aiakids" in a narrow sense of a "closed and specially privileged group" of contemporary aristocratic families who consider themselves direct descendants of Aiakos, but he concedes that this is a difficult case to press.

for unspecified military help. Second, Aiginetans send back their interpretation: the Aiakids. Third, Thebans accept the interpretation and take to the field relying on the help of the Aiakids. The connection between the military nature of the difficulty that the Thebans were facing, and the response of the Aiginetans indicate the social functions of the Aiakids. The episode shows that both the Aiginetans and the outsiders believed that the Aiakids could bring help in battle. Such cultic function of the Aiakids is parallel to their mythological reputation as great warriors. While Aiakos himself does not appear in myths as a warrior, for the battle of Salamis, he joined the Aiakids in the capacity of a *symmmakhos*.

On the two occasions mentioned, Aiakids are expected to perform in the role of σύμμαχοι. These two cases firmly establish that one cultic function of the Aiakids (and perhaps Aiakos) was military assistance. Of the Aiakids resident on Aigina as cultic figures, Peleus, Telamon, and Achilles, were most likely among the Aiakids who had their images summoned for help in military affairs. We gain this insight from a list of deities in the prayer, which appears in the final lines of Pindar's *Pythian* 8. Pindar calls on "Mother Aigina, Zeus, Lord Aiakos, Peleus and noble Telamon, together with Achilles" to safeguard the *polis* of Aigina.[54] Herodotus 8.64 tells us that Telamon and Ajax were summoned from Salamis to aid in the Battle of Salamis, while a boat was sent to Aigina for "Aiakos and the other Aiakids." The latter must be "other" than Telamon and Ajax, yet Pindar's prayer in *Pythian* 8 on behalf of Aigina includes Telamon, but not Ajax, in contrast to the father and son pair of Peleus and Achilles, who are both addressed in this prayer. This is an indication that Telamon was cultically localized both on Salamis and on Aigina, while Ajax was not.

An intriguing question arises from the evidence we have just discussed. In two instances, Aiakids performed in the capacity of *symmakhoi* on behalf of non-Aiginetans. That is, our evidence preserves the stories of the Aiakids' military performance outside of Aigina, on the international arena, but not on the home front. We never hear that the historical Aiginetans won some battle due to the help of the Aiakids. Perhaps, this odd absence is to be explained by the nature of our textual sources. Herodotus was not interested in local points of view for their own sake, his interest focused on the interaction of various local interests on the international arena, and the way these inter-Hellenic interactions affected the state

[54] Αἴγινα φίλα μᾶτερ, ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ|πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε Διὶ καὶ κρέοντι σὺν Αἰακῷ|Πηλεῖ τε κἀγαθῷ Τελαμῶνι σύν τ'Ἀχιλλεῖ.

of the Greek world in the face of the Persian invasions. We are left to assume that if the Aiakids were willing to help outsiders, they were even more likely to assist their own people, and this is perhaps to be surmised from Pindar's prayer in *Pythian* 8.98–100 to Aigina, Zeus, Aiakos, and the Aiakids (specifically, Peleus, Telamon, and Achilles) to safeguard their native island. For the Aiginetans, an opportunity to demonstrate their power and "blessedness" with divine favors by lending the Aiakids to outsiders may have been as important as the actual benefit of keeping the heroes tied fast to domestic soil (see further 10.3).

The local mythological corpus and the two instances described by Herodotus clearly show that the Aiakids were first and foremost worshipped as warrior-heroes, capable of providing aid in military affairs. This cultic function of the Aiakids is in line with their international fame: when Zeus distributes good things to the mortals, he gives intelligence (*nous*) to Amythaonidai, wealth (*ploutos*) to the Atreidai, and courage to the Aiakids: ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδῃσι, (Hesiod, WM 203). In this context, it can even mean more specifically "strength to avert danger."[55] That Aiakos is summoned along with the Aiakids to assist in the Battle of Salamis should not be necessarily taken as evidence of Aiakos' military functions, but as the indication that he was closely associated with the Aiakids in cult and because he was an *enkhôrios* hero of the Saronic. Of all divine figures, heroes have perhaps the strongest connection to the place of their worship. Any hero is implicitly a patron and a guardian of the area where he resides, or where his bones rest. As the Battle of Salamis was to take place in the Saronic Gulf, it was only logical that Greeks should take care to summon the local heroes, from Salamis and Aigina, to their side, especially after an ominous earthquake on the morning of the battle. Thus, the case of the Aiakids' role in the Battle of Salamis underscores their role as the hallmark heroes of the Saronic, the guardians of their island and their people. The two cases together illustrate the double-sided functionality of Aiakos and the Aiakids as both the local (*enkhôrioi*) of Aigina and the greater Saronic region (Hdt. 8.64) as well as the ancestral (*patrôoi/matrôoi*) divinities for the Aiginetans (Hdt. 5.80–81), (see further in 10.3).

[55] *LSJ*, s.v. ἀλκή II.

7.2.5 *Social Roles: Markers of Aiginetan Identity*

The Aiakids were not simply military assistants to the Aiginetans and other Greeks. They had broader functions on Aigina. Pindar gives us a strong sense that Aiakos and the Aiakids served as representatives of Aigina, as icons of her local identity (e.g., in *P.* 8.21–8; *N.* 3.64–6; *N.* 4.11–13, etc.).[56] He uses such paraphrases as "a tower-crowned seat of the Aiakids" (Αἰακιδᾶν ἠύπυργον ἕδος *N.* 4.11–12) to refer to the island, and throughout his Aiginetan odes he equates contemporary Aiginetans with the Aiakids. The Aiginetans of his day are, in his representation, the direct descendants of Aiakos, and so all belong to the clan of the Aiakids. Aiginetans are the Aiakids. The Aiginetan provenance of the Aiakids was undisputed by the early 5th century, and perhaps earlier (see ch. 10.2 for further discussion), despite the inbuilt potential for multilocality of heroes, whereby Telamon could be worshipped on Aigina and Salamis, and Aiakos—on Aigina, and Athens (although this potential was probably never realized, see 11.4). The Aiginetans as heirs of the Aiakids, therefore, inherit the glory as well as other characteristics of the latter, for example, the reputation for justice and *xenia*, and as Pindar shows, they strive to be worthy of their ancestors in athletic competition, as in other endeavors.

As markers of Aiginetan identity, Aiakos and the Aiakids were predictably of great civic importance on Aigina.[57] The sanctuary, the Aiakeion, was located in "the most conspicuous part of town," according to Pausanias 2. 29.6–7. Such a topographic position might to some extent indicate the civic importance of the cult. Regrettably, in the absence of archaeological evidence, we do not know with certainty where that "most conspicuous part of the town" was, especially since another source (*IG* IV^2 750.36), discussed in 7.6.2, might be claiming it for a different sanctuary or even a secular building. We cannot be sure that the "most conspicuous part of town" was necessarily the town's centre, or the agora,[58] although such conjectures are entirely plausible. Pausanias is strangely unspecific in reference to the Aiginetan urban topography: harbors are the most prominent topographic reference points, the rest of the descriptions are relative to one another, and hence very loosely tied to landscape features.

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[56] See also Walter-Karydi 2006, 40–81.

[57] Walter-Karydi 2006, 80–81; Fearn 2007, 89: Aiakids as an identity symbol for all Aeiginetans; Nagy 1994 [1990], 176–180: Aiakids as aristocratic prerogative/legacy. See also a good concise summary in Hedreen 2011, 348–351.

[58] As Fearn (2007, 105) takes it, and others following Fearn 2007, e.g., Nagy 2011, 74.

Considering the poor state of our knowledge of the Aiginetan urban topography, we should be careful not to be overconfident in our conjectures.

Pindar describes Aiakos as a *poliarkhos* (*N.* 7. 85), an epithet which in the poetic context of myth might signify nothing more than that Zeus had appointed Aiakos to rule Aigina as her first and only king, thus referring to mythological times rather than to the cultic present, and yet the latter possibility is not out of the question. *Poliarkhos* is very much similar to a cultic epithet *polioukhos*, and "ruler of the city" could very well be describing Aiakos' social role as Aigina's patron, progenitor, and identity marker. If this is the purport of the epithet, however, it might seem to impinge on the alleged social roles of Apollo on Aigina, as Walter-Karydi promptly perceives and seeks to clarify: "Of course, the *polis* god Apollo would usually have represented Aigina on document reliefs . . ."[59] Thus, she makes a distinction: Aiakos was a *polis* 'hero,' while Apollo was a *polis* 'god,' but her concern to keep the privileges of heroes and gods apart is unwarranted, as both can potentially fulfill similar functions. Perhaps it is significant, however, that Apollo is not given as much 'poliad' articulation in Pindar's Aiginetan odes as is Aiakos.

A somewhat unexplained awkwardness obtains in this relative silence of Pindar and in his oblique references to Apollo on Aigina, e.g., when he refers to the "*epikhôrios* month that Apollo loved" (*N.* 5.44). Only from the scholia to this phrase we learn about the month Delphinios, sacred to Apollo Delphinions, and about sacrifices to Apollo Oikistes and Domatites. The latter reveal a central communal role for Apollo on Aigina, which we could not have otherwise guessed from Pindar. Here, an unresolved conflict of Aiginetan alternative traditions of origins might be suggesting itself: Apollo does not figure in the Aiakid, and hence the Achaean (in the Homeric sense), stemma of the Aiginetans, while another claim, that of Dorian descent, plays a part in the Aiginetan fifth-century discourse, in which there may or may not have been a role for Apollo (see further in 7.6.5 and 9.2.1). Ancient historiographers were aware of and tried to resolve conflicting traditions of origins, and one such attempt is worth mentioning here. An Aiginetan historiographer of the 3rd century BCE, Theogenes, in his work περὶ Αἰγίνης (Σ Pind. *N.* 3.21) assigns to Aiakos the roles of synoikist and lawgiver who civilized Aigina and provided it with political order: "μεθ' ὧν [reference to Myrmidons, who are understood to be the indigenous population of Aigina] συνοικίσαντα τὸν Αἰακὸν

[59] Walter-Karydi 2006, 41–42.

τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ παραγενομένους, ἐξημερῶσαί τε καὶ νόμους δοῦναι καὶ σύνταξιν πολιτικὴν. Such a totalizing description of Aiakos' roles seems to leave no room for contributions by any other deity, such as, e.g., Apollo. This focus on Aiakos and his role in the creation of the Aiginetan mesocosm might be a product of a particular strand of traditions that de-emphaisized any non-Aiakid alternatives. Whereas even the fifth-century poets, e.g., Pindar, seem to keep the Heraklid and the Aiakid origins of the Aiginetans apart, Theogenes makes Aiakos (not Hyllos, e.g.) the leader of the Peloponnesians who come to settle in Aigina. This is his answer to the dual origin of the Aiginetans as Achaeans, on the one hand, and Dorians, on the other: the Aiginetans are Dorians, but it was Aiakos who led them to Aigina. Since most of Theogenes's work is lost, we have no clue how he could reconcile the indigenous status of Aiakos and his presumed leadership of some group of settlers from the Peloponnese.

In sum, there is no reason to deny Aiakos a comparable degree of 'poliad' importance because he is "only" a hero,[60] or to presume the overriding 'poliad' importance of Apollo only because he is a god and has an urban temple, unlike Zeus whose sanctuary is on a far-off mountain, deep in the island's interior: Aiakos, Zeus, and Apollo, we should rather expect, each played their role in the socio-religious mesocosm of the Aiginetan community, whether as a *poliarkhos, pater* or *oikistes*, and each in his own way, must have expressed pertinent aspects of Aiginetan social concerns.

7.2.6 *Rituals and Festivals*

Several rituals and festivals were associated with Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina. One such ritual was the dedication of victory crowns by athletes. Performers of Pindar's *Nemean* 8 present Aiakos with a gift (lines 13–16): "on behalf of his beloved city and of these citizens I am bringing a Lydian fillet embellished with ringing notes, a Nemean ornament for the double stadion races of Deinias and his father Megas" (trans. W. Race). Even if "Lydian fillet" should be understood in this context metaphorically, it must be drawing on the contemporary custom of dedicating victory crowns to Aiakos, as another Pindaric verse (*N.* 5.94) with accompanying scholion suggests:[61] "together with blond-haired Graces bring to the doors

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[60] Which is not to argue that "*polis* was its hero" (as Hall 1999, 51 rightly critiques).

[61] προθύροισιν δ'Αἰακοῦ || ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν. Σ. Pind. *N.* 5:94e προθύροισι δέ φασιν Αἰακοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἡρῴῳ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ ἐν Αἰγινῃ, οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἀνάκεινται οἱ ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τοῦ Θεμιστίου διπλοῖ στέφανοι. φ. ἢ οὕτως· ἐν Αἰγίνῃ

of Aiakos the verdant wreaths of flowers." A line in the *Nemean* 6.17–18 also refers to the practice of bringing victory garlands, but this time not to Aiakos, but to the Aiakids: "that one, when he was an Olympic victor, was the first to have brought the garlands from Alpheos to the Aiakids."[62] Dedication of victory crowns to Aiakos and the Aiakids must have been an established custom, and we may conclude that the heroes were patrons of athletic endeavors.[63]

The festivals in honor of Aiakos can be also scrutinized as possible indicators of his social roles. We know, mostly from Pindar and his scholiasts, about an Aiginetan festival called the *Aiakeia*. This festival, judging by its name, had to be in honor of Aiakos. It involved athletic competitions of some sort: we hear that various athletes praised by Pindar in the *epinikia* won in the Aiakeia.[64] The fullest information we have is provided by a scholion to *Olympian* 7.86 (=156) with reference to the victorious athlete Diagoras of Rhodes: "and at Pellana, and on Aigina he won six times" (Πέλλανά τ' Αἴγινά τε νικῶνθ' ἑξάκις). I presume, the implication is that the athlete won six times at each: at Pellana, and six on Aigina. Scholia to Pindar (*O.* 7.156b) explain: "on Aigina—the Aiakeia, which others call the Oi[nonaia], a contest with amphoras, which Callimachus mentioned in the *Iamboi*" (ἐν δ' Αἰγίνῃ τὰ Αἰάκεια· οἱ δὲ Οἰ[νώναια]· ἀμφορίτης ἀγών, οὗ Καλλίμαχος μέμνηται ἐν τοῖς ιάμβοις (80 Schneider = 198 Pfeiffer)). Whether Drachmann's conjecture Οἰ[νώναια] is right or wrong, Ἀμφορίτης *agôn* appears to be in apposition to the *Aiakeia*, explaining what the latter means.[65] What the relationship between the Aiakeia and the Ἀμφορίτης *agôn* was requires further consideration.

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Αἰακοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προπύλων ἀνακειμένων αὐτῷ τῶν στεφάνων. Stroud (1998, 93) also takes this reference as evidence for the existence of a cult image of Aiakos.

[62] κεῖνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαις ἔρνεα πρῶτος ⟨ἔνεικεν⟩ ἀπ' Ἀλφεοῦ.

[63] Walter-Karydi (2006, 3–17) envisions a much more elaborate scenario, as part of which victory crowns could have been dedicated by athletes on Aigina, but it is rather hypothetical.

[64] *N.* 5.78 and scholion; *O.* 13.155 and scholion (I do not see any reason to consider the latter scholion spurious.

[65] A scholiast writing about the *agôn* in Pellana, a few lines before our reference, says: 156a: Πελλάνα τε: ἐν Πελλήνῃ τῇ Ἀχαϊκῇ ἐνίκησε. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν Θεοξένια· ἐδίδοτο δὲ ἆθλον χλαῖνα. (156b.) Πελλάνα τ' Αἴγινά τε: πάλιν τὸ ἔγνω νιν· ἐγνώρισε δὲ τὸν Διαγόραν ἥ τε Πελλήνη καὶ ἡ Αἴγινα ἑξάκις νενικηκότα. (156c.) τελεῖται δὲ ἐν μὲν Πελλήνῃ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἀγὼν ὁ καλούμενος Θεοξένια· τινὲς δὲ, καὶ τὰ Ἕρμαια· τὸ δὲ ἆθλόν ἐστι χλαῖνα. From these two successive scholia, it is clear that the appearance of Ἕρμαια in the second one is to be seen as an expansion: "an agôn called Theoxenia, which others also call the Hermaia." If so, then we should take the remark about Aigina in the same way: namely, that "Aiakeia, also called Oi[nônaia], is ἀμφορίτης ἀγών, which Callimachos mentions in the *Iamboi.*" At least, it

Amphiphoritis, an agôn *in Honor of Heroes*

Three additional sources describe the *agôn* Amphiphoritis on Aigina. Etym. Magn. describes it as taking place at the spring Asopis. The name of the spring (Asopis = daughter of Asopos) would have been equated with the nymph Aigina, at least by the late Archaic period. It points us in the direction of Aiakid genealogy on Aigina (see 7.3.2). The same source also explicitly states that the running competition was performed "in imitation of heroes." There is no evidence for the calendric date of the Amphiphoritis in this or in any of our sources.

Another source, a scholion on Callimachus, *Diegeseis in Iambos* 8.21–32 (Frag. 198 Pfeiffer = 80 Schneider) also provides a description of a running competition on Aigina called *diaulos amphoritis*, largely matching the description of Etym. Magn., but adds at the end that the *agôn* is also, or alternatively, called Hydrophoria.

> Ἀργώ κοτ' ἐμπνέοντος ἤκαλον νότου. Ἐπίνικος Πολυκλεῖ Αἰγινήτῃ νικήσαντι διαύλῳ Ἀμφορίτῃ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. τὸ δ' ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο· πρὸς τῷ τέρματι τοῦ σταδίου κεῖται ἀμφορεὺς πλήρης ὕδατος, ἐφ' ὃν δραμὼν κενὸς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν ἀμφορέα ἀνακάμπτει, προφθάσας δὲ νικᾷ. . . . ὁ δ' ἀγὼν Ὑδροφόρια καλεῖται.
>
> Victory ode for Polykleus, the Aiginetan, who won in the double race [called] Amphoritis in his homeland. The competition is this: at the end of the stadium lies an amphoreus filled with water, running towards which empty-handed a contestant picks up the jug and returns, and having outrun [the others] he wins . . . The contest is called Hydrophoria.

This "afterthought" in the scholion, the name of *agôn* Hydrophoria, has prompted numerous scholars to equate *amphoritis* with the Hydrophoria attributed in another scholion (Σ Pind. *N.* 6.44(81b) to Apollo.[66] What is notable here is that the scholiast makes no mention of a spring Asopis, or of any kind of spring. Instead the *agôn* takes place in a stadium, and competitors run to the edge of the stadium to pick up an amphoreus full of water. Apollonios Rhodios (296–193 BCE) describes in the last lines of

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seems that Drachmann is taking *amphoritis* to be in apposition to Aiakeia, since he prints it in lower case, as if it is not the name of the festival, but its type.

[66] Bourboule (1949, 74), as so many others (e.g., Graf 1979, 18) identifies Ἀμφιφορίτης with Hydrophoria and assigns it to the worship of Apollo Delphinios on Aigina. This identification helps her prove the marine nature of Delphinios (see more detailed discussion in 7.6.5).

the *Argonautica* a running competition on Aigina that also involved the carrying of water:[67]

κεῖθεν δ' ἀπτερέως διὰ μυρίον οἶδμα ταμόντες (1765)
Αἰγίνης ἀκτῆσιν ἐπέσχεθον. αἶψα δὲ τοίγε
ὑδρείης πέρι δῆριν ἀμεμφέα δηρίσαντο,
ὅς κεν ἀφυσσάμενος φθαίη μετὰ νῆάδ' ἱκέσθαι·
ἄμφω γὰρ χρειώ τε καὶ ἄσπετος οὖρος ἔπειγεν.
ἔνθ' ἔτι νῦν, πλήθοντας ἐπωμαδὸν ἀμφιφορῆας (1770)
ἀνθέμενοι, κούφοισιν ἄφαρ κατ' ἀγῶνα πόδεσσιν
κοῦροι Μυρμιδόνων νίκης πέρι δηριόωνται.

It is inescapable that Ἀμφιφορίτης described by the Etym. Magn. and the running competitions described by Callimachus and Apollonios are the same. Apollonios' use of the noun ἀμφιφορῆας (line 1770) is likely an allusion to the name of this competition. Once again, Apollonios does not associate the Amphoritis *agôn* with any particular landmark on Aigina.

Apollonios does not specify who of the Argonauts participated in the race for water, but we know from his text (1.90–94) that two of the Aiakids, Telamon and Peleus, were among the Argonauts.[68] There may well have been a local Aiginetan tradition about the return of the Argonauts, which Apollonios utilized, or the story of the Argonauts' visit to Aigina was Apollonios' own mythography.[69] Knowing of the competition in imitation of heroes on Aigina, he may have invented this episode of landing to suggest that the heroes were the Argonauts, Aiakids among them. Thus, he found a convenient way to end the poem: bring his heroes home to mainland Greece via Aigina (which was probably a common route from the Aegean to the Isthmus, Eastern Peloponnese, and Central Greece in historical times), and insert an aetion tying the mythological past with the present (a narratological device much like the one used by Pindar in *Olympian* 8

[67] "And thence they steadily left behind long leagues of sea and stayed on the beach of Aigina; and at once they continued in innocent strife about the fetching of water, who first should draw it and reach the ship. For both their need and the ceaseless breeze urged them on. There even to this day do the youths of the Myrmidons take up on their shoulders full-brimming jars. And with swift feet strive for victory in the race." (Trans. R. C. Seaton).

[68] Of note is an inscription on an Attic skyphos, fr. Vienna, Univ. 53d—*ARV*² 995, 117: Achilles painter; *CVA* pl. 25.1–3, 440 BCE—ΑΙΓΙ]ΝΑ : ΤΕΛΑ[ΜΩΝ or –ΜΩΝΙΟΣ]. Cited in *LIMC* VII, p. 854, s.v. Telamon: F. Canciani says that the image is of an unknown contest.

[69] Bourboule (1949, 76) maintains the local nature of the aetion. Kerkhecker (1999, 201) concedes that priority of composition and hence of influence (Callimachus or Apollonios) cannot be established, but seems to speculate (p. 203) in favor of Callimachus.

when he brings Aiakos back from Troy with the help of Poseidon who is *en route* to his Isthmian sanctuary.

To summarize, we have *Etymologicum Magnum*, a scholiast on Callimachus, and Apollonios describing a running competition on Aigina that involved the carrying of amphorae filled with water. Etym. Magn. connects this competition to the Asopis spring, the scholiast—to a stadium, and Apollonios provides no specific details of the water source. This discrepancy between the sources about the topographic anchoring of the Amphiphoritis *agôn* is potentially important with a view to differentiating it from another *agôn* attributed to the island of Aigina, the Hydrophoria. The latter is mentioned by another scholion (Σ Pind. *N.* 5.81 (144) ἄλλως, μεὶς ἐπιχώριος ὁ Δελφίνιος μὴν καλούμενος, καθ᾽ ὃν τελεῖται Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγὼν Ὑδροφόρια καλούμενος). The scholion in Callimachus [198 Pfeiffer] is the only ancient testimony that equates the Amphoritis *agôn* with the Hydrophoria, but the weight of the evidence is on the side of separating the two:[70] the Amphoritis, as all sources describe, was conducted in the imitation of heroes (Aiakids or Argonauts) and was connected with the Aiakeia. There may well have been another *agôn*, called Hydrophoria, conducted in honor of Apollo, but the probability is very strong that the single identification between Amphoritis and Hydrophoria was the scholiast's mistake: the semantic similarity in the names of the festivals, could have easily led to his confusion, especially if the scholiast was working with and compiling several sources on local competitions on Aigina.

Tying together the various strands of testimonies, we see that Ἀμφιφορίτης was celebrated in imitation of heroes (*Etym. M.*); it was still current in the time of Apollonios; it was also called the Aiakeia (Schol. Pind. *O.* 7.156). The Aiakeia, a festival in honor of Aiakos, judging by its name, was therefore also a festival that celebrated the Aiakids, in which Ἀμφιφορίτης may have been only one of several events. The nature of the competition, namely that it was a footrace, cannot inadvertently indicate the social role of cultic figures in whose honor the race was run: not every running competition, even if young men were its principal participants, is to be seen as initiatory in nature, nor should it suggest with certainty that the deity honored was in charge of initiations.[71] We may observe in

[70] We should certainly keep apart not only Amphoritis and Hydrophoria, but also the Aiakeia and Delphinia (Fearn 2011, 189 briefly speculates the idea): the scholia are unambiguous that the two sets of games were different and separate.

[71] Graf 1979, 18: "Im Wettlauf haben die jungen Männer eine gefüllte Hydria zu holen und zurückzubringen. Der *Agôn*, und ganz besonders der Wettlauf, ist häufiges Abschlussritual initiatorischer Zyklen."

addition that our sources do not mention women as worshippers of Aiakos and the Aiakids, however, there may have been a cultic and/or festival connection between the celebrations in honor of Aiakos and those in honor of the nymph Aigina, Aiakos' mother, where women played a part (see further discussion in 7.3.3).

7.2.7 *Processional Songs for Aiakos—Pindar's* Paean *15 and* Paean *6*

Two additional Pindaric texts indicate a festival occasion in honor of Aiakos. One is a fragment of Pindar's poem that has been until recently classified as *Paean* 15:

> Τῷδ' ἐν ἄματι τερπνῷ
> ἵπποι μὲν ἀθάναται
> Ποσειδᾶνος ἄγοντ' Αἰακ[,
> Νηρεὺς δ' ὁ γέρων ἔπεται[ι·
> πατὴρ δὲ Κρονίων μολ[
> πρὸς ὄμμα βαλὼν χερὶ [
> τράπεζαν θεῶν ἐπ'ἀμβ[ρο
> ἵνα οἱ κέχυται πιεῖν νε̣[κταρ
>
> ἔρχεται δ' ἐνιαυτῷ
> ὑπερτάταν [...]ονα...
>
> On this pleasant day the immortal mares of Poseidon lead... and old Nereus follows. Father Zeus... casting his eye... on the immortal table of the gods, where nectar is poured out to drink. At the end of a year there comes...[72]

In 1992, Ian Rutherford reported his discovery of a marginal title to *Paean* 15 in a papyrus fragment, which allowed him to redefine the song as a *Prosodion* in honor of Aiakos. Together with the third triad of *Paean* 6 (which Rutherford also shows to be a prosodion) this fragment gives us the second example of prosodia to Aiakos. In the monograph on *Pindar's Paeans*, in 2001, Rutherford printed the marginal title as only containing the words *Aiginetais eis Aiakon*, and argued that we have a specimen of a prosodion on the basis of the verbs describing movement and used in the present tense in the fragment. The present tense of the verbs also suggested to Rutherford that the content of the song could not be representing a mythological narrative. It is a "description of a sacred event

[72] P. Oxy. 2441. The edition of the text and the translation are those of Ian Rutherford (1992, 62).

conceived as happening in present time."[73] This observation led Rutherford to suggest that the text we have was a scenario for a ritual drama.

> The sacred event described in *Paean* XV seems to be thought of as a procession with at least two components: the mares of Poseidon leading, bringing someone or other, and Nereus following. Perhaps these mythological figures were represented by statues which were transported in a sacred procession that was believed to reenact the mythical event.[74]

Rutherford speculated four possibilities for ritual processions in honor of Aiakos, each less likely than the other.[75] The figure of Nereus, it seems to me, is a diagnostic element: no other scenario but a *hieros gamos* for one of his daughters, a nymph, could explain his presence in a procession. Bruno Snell suggested three possible restorations for line 3: Αἰακ[ον vel Αἰακ[ῳ Ψαμάθ(ει)αν vel Αἴγιναν vel Αἰακ[ίδᾳ Θετιν.[76] Rutherford discarded the last one as "less attractive" because of the title of the prosodion, that is, in honor of Aiakos, rather than in honor of an Aiakid.[77]

I would argue, however, that the restoration Αἰακ[ίδᾳ Θετιν is the most appropriate in the context, which must be a mythological event—a wedding of Peleus and Thetis. I am not certain, however, that we should envision a ritual re-enactment of that myth. The present tense of the verbs can perhaps be explained as a historical present of the mythological narrative

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[73] Rutherford 1992, 63.

[74] Rutherford 1992, 63–64.

[75] (1) A *hieros gamos* of Aiakos and Psamatheia, mother of Phokos; (2) a Theoxenia feast in connection with a wedding; (3) a re-enactment of the procession (from Aigina town to the Oros) of suppliants that had come to Aiakos in mythological times with a plea for intercession with Zeus; (4) Aiakos' return from the Underworld where he would have spent half a year in the role of the Judge of the Dead: "Perhaps Aiakos was conceived of as spending alternate parts of the year in Aigina and in Hades. His arrival will have been celebrated in the Aiakeia in the games and a theoxenia, which Zeus, as his father, will have been represented as attending, perhaps coming from his outpost on Mt. Hellanicus" (Rutherford 1992, 64–67). Scenarios (3) and (4) have to be ruled out as not fitting a wedding. It is unfortunate, therefore, that they should find a receptive audience among some scholars: Stroud (1998, 88) grants that "Rutherford (1992) has argued persuasively that Pindar Fr. *Pa.* XV (= *POxy* 2441) was written for an Aiginetan chorus to perform at an annual procession in which statues of Aiakos and Nereus were carried on a wagôn from the Aiakeion on Aigina to the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on Mount Hellanios." Fearn (2011, 183) opts for Rutherford's scenario (4) modifying it to "return of Aiakos from overseas," also not intelligible vis-à-vis Pindar's text.

[76] Snell-Maehler 1987–1989.

[77] "In SM's apparatus it is also suggested that the chariot might be bringing Thetis for Peleus, which I find less attractive, considering the title" (Rutherford, 1992, 63). Finding the last restoration less attractive, Rutherford did not include it in the *apparatus criticus* of his 1992 edition, but did print it in the 2001 monograph.

rather than a literal description of the movement of a ritual procession. Before we can discuss the content of the fragment, it might be useful to mention another grammatical and metrical possibility for the restoration of line 3: Αἰάκ[ιδα Θετι, with final iota being long in the Dative sing. of this category of third declension nouns.

A restoration involving the Aiakid Peleus and his bride Thetis fits perfectly well with the details of *Paean* 15. The fragment contains the details that were traditionally associated with the wedding of Thetis and Peleus: (a) Nereus is always present at the wedding, both in myths (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.13.4) and in visual representations, especially on vases;[78] (b) a banquet of the gods on the occasion of that wedding (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.13.5) is universally known in myth and art, and (c) the immortal horses were a gift of Poseidon to Peleus.[79] Because the immortal horses were a gift of Poseidon to Peleus, it would be logical to imagine him driving these horses in a wagon to meet Thetis, rather than vice versa, hence the restoration Αἰάκ[ιδα Θετι would make better sense than Αἰακ[ίδᾳ Θετιν.

Rutherford did not think that the wedding of Peleus and Thetis could be the theme of *Paean* 15 (prosodion for Aiakos) because of the marginal title, which, in his opinion, was to signal a content focused on Aiakos rather than on his son Peleus. Other Pindaric evidence, however, shows that the motif of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis was most appropriate for a prosodion in honor of Aiakos. In the Pindaric corpus, whatever the genre of a particular composition, the structuring and the content of honoring Aiakos derived from the same set of scenario elements: Aiakos' birth from Zeus and Aigina, creation of Myrmidons from ants, building of Trojan walls with Apollo and Poseidon, Aiakos' reputation for piety and justice, his siring of Peleus and Telamon (and Phokos), Peleus' wedding to Thetis, and the birth of Achilles. This is a collection of episodes mentioned by Pindar in the context of praising Aigina and the Aiakids in various *epinikia*. This is what we may perhaps call the Pindaric treasury of Aiginetan heroic lore.

The significance of Aiakos in Pindar is precisely in that he sired the great heroes: Peleus, Telamon, and hence Achilles and Ajax. In that line of events, two amorous unions were especially important: one—between

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[78] *LIMC*, s.v. Peleus, nos. 207, 211, 212.

[79] *Il.* 23.277–278 ἵπποι ἀθάναται; Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.13.5: καὶ δίδωσι Χείρων Πηλεῖ δόρυ μέλινον, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἵππους Βαλιὸν καὶ Ξανθόν. ἀθάνατοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. The difference in the gender of horses (in Pindar, they are mares, and in Apollodorus, they are steeds) does not matter: it seems to be typical of poetic usage that horses are female (*LSJ*, s.v. ἵππος).

Zeus and Aigina, another—between Peleus and Thetis. Other unions, those of Aiakos with Psamatheia and Endeis, and of Telamon with Eriboia (Apoll., *Bibl.* 3.12.7) were not central to the Aiginetan heroic genealogy as played out in Pindar.[80] Pindar recapped the unions of Zeus and Aigina, and of Peleus and Thetis, three times each in his twelve surviving compositions for the Aiginetans. Once, in *Isthmian* 8, the two unions are recounted in quick succession: lines 21–22 and lines 38–48. These two unions seem to be the key elements in the chain of events that brought glory to Aigina and through Achilles to all Greece: *Isthmian* 8, therefore, is an example of representing Greek history from the Aiginetan perspective, and the missing lines of *Paean* 6 may have done the same.

In *Paean* 6, the third triad (a prosodion, according to Rutherford 1992) opens with an invocation to Aigina-island and, as soon as the prosperity (ὄλβος) of Aigina is proclaimed (l.134b), it turns into a story of Zeus' union with Aigina-nymph (ἀνερέψατο παρθένον Αἴγιναν . . . l.136–37, ἵνα λεχέων ἐπ' ἀμβρότων l. 139–140). The connection is logical: Aiginetan prosperity starts from the union of Zeus and Aigina. The mention of Μυρ[μιδον in line 142 seems to suggest that Pindar follows in chronological sequence the mythological history of Aigina: the union of Zeus and Aigina led to the birth of Aiakos, and the creation of people (Myrmidons) for Aiakos to rule over, and then probably the births of Peleus and Telamon, and of Achilles and Ajax, were mentioned next, even if only in passing. In lines 155–6, Pindar is still talking about Aiakos, and this suggests that the storyline did not divert into separate sagas of Peleus or Telamon, but kept focus on Aiakos. The conclusion of the prosodion is the praise of the Aiakids and their homeland (lines 175–76). Thus we can see that a prosodion for Aiakos would naturally allow the praise of Aigina and of the Aiakids, not of Aiakos alone.

It is, therefore, attractive to restore the end of line 3 of *Paean* 15 as Αἰάκ[ιδᾳ Θετιν or Αἰάκ[ιδα Θέτι, as it fits perfectly well with Pindar's pattern of honoring Aiakos: to celebrate the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is a way of honoring Aiakos. This event testifies to the divine interest in the line of Aiakos and results in the birth of a glorious son, an Aiakid (as Achilles is called in the *Iliad*, e.g., 9.191 or 11.805). We may like to ask: in the context of what local festival could these prosodia have been performed?

[80] While these unions may have been important to contemporary Phocians or Salaminians, or Megarians, they are downplayed/de-emphasized in the Aiginetan discourse of the time.

It would seem logical that they should have been part of a festival in honor of Aiakos and the Aiakids, so perhaps, during the Aiakeia or the Oinonaia. If *Paean* 15 was performed at the Aiakeia, the theme of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (even if it could not tell us about the social functions of the cult of Aiakos) would further confirm the hypothesis that Aiakos and the Aiakids were closely associated not only in local myths, but also in Aiginetan cult.

Choral performances in honor of other local deities are known on Aigina, and help build a picture of a wider Aiginetan choral tradition.[81] Choral performances in honor of Aigina and possibly Endeis have been suggested on the basis of Bacchylides 13 (see detailed discussion in 7.3.3). Here, we should note that at least one scholar has proposed that the choral performance in honor of Aigina may have actually taken place at the Aiakeia, and that both took place in the same location, in the vicinity of the Asopis spring and the Aiakeion in the agora of Aigina.[82] The association of the two landmarks with an Aiginetan agora is hypothetical, as we discuss elsewhere (7.3.2 and above 7.2.2), but it is not inconceivable that the performances of choruses of *parthenoi* for Aigina and presumably of male choruses for Aiakos could take place at the same festival. A possible equation of the Aiakeia and the Oinonaia in the scholia points in that direction.

7.2.8 *Aiakos' Mythical Personae: Justice and Piety*

The image of Aiakos has two dimensions on Aigina. One dimension is devoid of any presence of the Aiakids, it celebrates Aiakos on his own merits. This dimension, as I argue further in 10.2, probably represents the earliest stage of his cult on Aigina. The myths that portray Aiakos acting in his own right and being glorified for his own deeds, rather than deriving importance from the fame of his posterity, underscore two points: Aiakos' descent from Zeus; and the fame of his fair justice. In this group of myths, the fame of Aiakos lies in his *syngeneia* with Zeus and in his own just character.[83] The greatest recognition of his quality of justice came from Zeus who heeded his prayer for the cessation of drought. This was the event represented on the gates of the Aiakeion. Isocrates (9.191–2)

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[81] Cf. Fearn 2011b, 8.

[82] Fearn 2007, 119.

[83] This image of Aiakos the Just becomes proverbial and is attested into late antiquity, e.g., Libanius *Ep*. 1036.4. On the Pindaric representation of Aiakos: Hubbard 1987a.

says that the envoys who came to plead with Aiakos on the occasion believed that he was the right person to ask "because of his birthright and his piety" and he concludes that "while he was alive, Aiakos enjoyed the best reputation."[84] Aiakos' kinship with Zeus and his reputation for piety made him an effective petitioner before his father. The exile that Aiakos imposes upon his sons Peleus and Telamon after their murder of Phokos (Paus. 2.19.9) is also meant to illustrate his impartial sense of justice even in the face of personal tragedy. Aiakos was so famous for his good judgment that not only mortals sought his advice (e.g., in a dispute between Nisos and Skiron, Paus. 1.39.6), but even gods relied on his judgment: Pindar says in *Isthmian* 8.23 that Aiakos "completed judgments even for the gods."[85] This statement in Pindar is the only reference, however, to Aiakos passing judgments for the gods. Another sign of Aiakos's privileged close relationship with the gods is his invitation to join Poseidon and Apollo in building the walls of Troy.[86] The reputation for fair dispensation of justice is also consistent with the secondary and non-Aiginetan view of Aiakos as one of a Judges of the Dead in Hades (see below).

While Aiakos' first claim to fame was his reputation as a fair judge, his second claim to fame was the fathering of two heroes: Peleus and Telamon. This constitutes the second dimension of Aiakos's persona on Aigina—being the progenitor of the Aiakids. This second aspect is given pre-eminence in Pindar's *epinikia* for the Aiginetan athletes because through the Aiakids the genealogical line reaches all the way to Pindar's own time and allows him to praise the contemporary Aiginetans as the modern-day Aiakids. Thus, we have two images of Aiakos in literary sources: an acknowledged authority in the dispensation of justice, and a progenitor of a famous line of Greek heroes, whose descendants are the contemporary Aiginetans.

Although the mythological fame of Aiakos was in the field of justice, we have no evidence that Aiginetans or foreigners ever approached Aiakos in cult for legal advice or counsel. Such consultations in ritual terms could theoretically take the form of divination and oracle-taking, familiar in

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[84] διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐκείνου . . . Καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καλλίστης ὢν δόξης διετέλεσεν·

[85] ὅ καὶ δαιμόνεσσι δίκας ἐπείρανε. Cf. also Pindar, *Pa.* 6.155: Ζη[ν]πρὶν Στυγὸς ὅρκιον ἐξ εὐ- || [ ]δικάσαι, Teubner, ed. H. Maehler: ἐξ εὖ[νοι' ὀμόσαντα φρενὸς Sn.; CE Aeacum iudicem deorum (non mortuorum) et eius ius iurandum videntur referenda.

[86] Pindar *O.* 8.31–46. Kowalzig (2007, 186) mistakenly writes that Aiakos was helping not Poseidon and Apollo, but "Poseidon and Herakles." See recent treatments of this Pindaric passage in Athanassaki 2011, 265–270 and Hedreen 2011, 334–336.

all parts of the Greek world, and a prophetic function could potentially be grafted onto the mythological reputation of fair justice, but we have no hint that Aiakos ever passed judgments or advice except in mythological times.

Aiakos' reputation for justice is nevertheless projected onto the whole island and gives the latter one of its main characteristics, especially as it concerns justice to strangers, for which we find many testimonies.[87] It can be said that, on the ideological plane, the hero's characteristic reputation for justice helps to endow the Aiginetan claims of being kind to strangers with greater credibility, but Aiakos himself is not portrayed in our sources as engaged in *xenia*, either in myth or in cult.[88] A claim that the "Aiginetan *xenia*, its hospitality to strangers, is rooted in the myth of Aiakos and Zeus Hellanios" appears to me very tenuous, especially as we are further asked to accept that the myth of Aiakos's prayer to Zeus for rain on behalf of many/all Greek communities can be read to mean that "Zeus Hellanios, into whose cult myth Aiakos built *xenia*, offered foreign merchants legal hospitality."[89] The dimensions of 'legal justice' and 'foreign trade' are simply not present in that myth.[90] We may agree that in the ideological

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[87] Bacch. 12.4–6 (ἐς γὰρ ὀλβίαν ξείνοισί με πότνια Νίκα | νᾶσον Αἰγίνας ἀπάρχει | ἐλθόντα κοσμῆσαι θεόδματον πόλιν); Bacch. 13.95 (δέσποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός); *Pind. O.*8.25–27: τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ |τάνδ' ἁλιερκέα χώραν | παντοδαποῖσιν ὑπέστασε ξένοις | κίονα δαιμονίαν. Figueira's (1981, 322–329) discussion of Aigina's *xenia* is still very useful.

[88] Kowalzig 2011 makes several rhetorical leaps to argue otherwise: first, "Aiakos' reception of the Greek leaders . . . in public ideology turns into the characteristic Aiginetan xenia" (p. 147), then the clasping of Aiakos' knees in *N.* 8 is taken to mean a transition from the mythical times to "extending hospitality to the Greek world that mattered at the time" [of Pindar] (pp. 147–8), and before we know it, a conclusion is drawn that "the hero's hospitality and his gracious 'reception of strangers' both stand out in what we know of Aiakos' cult on Aigina" (p. 149). Such a method of arriving at a prefigured conclusion through a series of functional substitutions devalues the culturally specific *content* of the institution of *xenia*: in Kowalzig's argumentation every encounter, mentioned in the sources, between human agents and Aiakos is identified as *xenia*, be it a reception of delegates or of worshippers. The possibility of construing the encounters in any other way is not considered, whereas other cultural models are in fact applicable, as I discuss below.

[89] Kowalzig 2011, 151, 156. On these premises, Apollo, whose Delphinia games also hosted foreigners, and Aphaia, who may have been visited by foreign merchants, should be also "implicated" (Kowalzig's favorite word) in *xenia*. Indeed, the assertion of Zeus' and Aiakos' special roles on Aigina with respect to *xenia* is undermined by a simple fact of the generic preoccupation of Greek gods with receiving worshippers.

[90] Kowalzig's (2011, 134–135) objective, informed by the 'networks theory' approach, is to reveal "an ideology of connectivity" on Aigina, "a community whose self-perception revolves around economic pursuits," "an Aeginetan identity forged through the island's role in intermediary trade." This objective becomes clear from her "confident claim that the islanders' self-acclaimed virtues of 'justice to strangers' and Panhellenism must have been thoroughly interdependent, coming together in the myth of Aiakos and Zeus

sphere and in the world of the Aiginetan *l'imaginaire*, the mythical motif of Aiakos' justice in settling disputes (attested in our textual sources) and Aiginetan claims of being hospitable to strangers (again attested in the sources) could re-affirm each other and produce a combined image of Aigina as an attractive place to do business. What I see no evidence for, however, is "the broader claim . . . that Aiginetan religious traditions demonstrate a ritualization of trading relations."[91] I address this claim in more detail in 9.3 and chapter 10, here it will suffice to state that as far as Aiakos is concerned, the cultic evidence on Aigina reveals no signs of his particular patronage of trade and commerce: the use of the Athenian Aiakeion as a granary tells us about Athens, not Aigina (see further discussion in 7.2.11 and 11.4), and the participation of foreign athletes in the Aiakeia marks Aigina as in no way different from other Saronic Gulf and Aegean states that also hosted interstate games. Athletic games provided an outlet for *xenia* and 'connectivity' to all states who served as hosts, and Aigina was not unique in this regard.

There is, however, one more set of testimonia about the use of the Aiakeion on Aigina and the mode of interaction with Aiakos that might be indicative of his social role in cult. Apparently, Demosthenes, fleeing from Athens, first sought refuge at the Aiakeion on Aigina,[92] before moving on to the sanctuary of Poseidon on Kalaureia.[93] Yet, many sanctuaries had the status of *asylia*, and perhaps any could potentially serve in this capacity, since any sanctuary was a sacred ground, and the shedding of blood on its territory would be prohibited.[94] A sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina served, at an earlier date, as an asylum to a fleeing Aiginetan democrat (Hdt. 6.91), but did not save him. Because any sanctuary could potentially serve as an asylum, we cannot assert on the

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Hellanios. In the 5th century this was a strategic choice to bolster the island's appeal to a mobile maritime milieu, at the same time cultivating an image of connectedness that allowed the island to remain the vibrant node of communication and commerce that it had been in the 6th century" (Kowalzig 2011, 157–8).

[91] Kowalzig 2011, 145.

[92] Wells et al. (2003, 30) mistakenly refer to "Ajax's sanctuary on Aegina" with reference to this episode.

[93] Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, ch. 28, and *the Lives of the Ten Orators*, 8 (*Moralia*, vol. 4). Harland (1925b, 70) asserts that in 322 BCE, the Aiakeion also served as an asylum for Hypereides, the orator, and his companions who had fled there on the approach of Antipatros. The passage in Arrian, *Historia Successorum Alexandri*, ch. 13, which Harland cites in support, does not mention the Aiakeion, but simply says that Hypereides and company fled to Aigina, without telling whether they fled to any particular place on the island. It is nothing more than second-guessing on the part of Harland that they would have fled to the Aiakeion.

[94] See further in Sinn 1993.

basis of these data that the protection of suppliants was one of Aiakos' special functions on Aigina. At the same time, perhaps it was not entirely accidental either that Demosthenes should have sought asylum at the Aiakeion, the sanctuary of a hero who had by then become known in Athens in the capacity of a fair judge, and the Judge of the Dead. Also, we may note a peculiar consistency in the use of the terms ἱκέτης and ἱκετεύω in reference to Aiakos. Pindar, or the First Person of the *Nemean* 8, clasps the knees of Aiakos as a ἱκέτας (*N.* 8.13). In the stories of a devastating drought, the envoys from Greece come to Aiakos as suppliants: καθικετεῦσαι τὸν Αἰακὸν (Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17), ἱκετεύοντες αὐτόν (Isocr. 9. 191–2), Αἰακὸν τὸν ἱκετεύσοντα (Paus. 2.29). In Diod. Sic. (4.61.1–3) the verb is κελεύειν, "to ask." Finally, the verb καθεδούμενος (Plut., *Lives of Ten Orators* (Demosthenes) 846E) implies the act of sitting in a sanctuary as a suppliant, and then when Demosthenes moves to the Poseidoneion on Kalauria, ἱκέτης is explicitly used: καθέζετο ἱκέτης. Thus, although, we have to be cautious with assigning the special function of the protector of refugees to Aiakos on Aigina, it may have been common knowledge that the proper mode of approaching Aiakos was in the role of a suppliant. Even though neither Pindar, nor the athlete for whom *Nemean* 8 was written were in any obvious danger, the choice of terms and the mode of address to Aiakos was still a supplication.

Supplication, *hiketeia*, as a specific mode of ritual interaction with Aiakos, is noteworthy. In his study of *Prayer in Greek Religion*, Pulleyn argues that *hiketeia* constitutes a particular form of communication with the divine, distinct from the kind of prayers that are predicated on the concept of *xenia*, which he terms *xenia*-prayers and which are most often described in Greek as εὐχαί. The latter word, however, often serves as a blanket term for any type of prayer. Pulleyn distinguishes a spectrum of prayer-types: from *xenia*-prayers, to ἀραί and λιταί, to ἱκετείαι. In contrast to the other types, *hiketeia* does not rely on the principle of reciprocity, that is, an expectation of a favor in return for past sacrifices and offerings to a deity.[95] Instead, in *hiketeia* "the petitioner more or less throws himself on the mercy of the deity," *hiketeia* is "a totally self-abasing" request.[96] In addition, the *hiketeia* has a quasilegal nature, invoking not simply a personal relationship between a worshipper and a deity, that is, any particular circumstances of past *kharis* and *xenia* between them, but investing the parties in a *hiketeia* with the situational rights and responsibilities

[95] Pulleyn 1997, 26–31, 56–69.
[96] Pulleyn 1997, 56 and 59.

that each is compelled to abide by. Naiden persuasively shows that any *hiketeia* consists of four steps: (1) approach, (2) gesture/address, (3) request and argument, (4) judgement and response. It is the last step of the supplication that places the burden upon the supplicandus to decide, which often means to judge, whether to grant or reject a suppliant's request.[97] Although Naiden deals with the mechanisms of supplication, in which the deciding party was always a human court, assembly, or magistrate, the same cultural practice must have informed how the *hiketeia* was understood in poetic or mythological accounts where the decision-maker was a deity.

Returning now to the case of Aiakos, we must conclude that it could not be accidental that the ritual mode of communication with Aiakos was consistently represented in our literary sources as *hiketeia*. It must be a reflection of how the relationship between Aiakos and his worshippers was construed. A relationship of *xenia* and *kharis* is built on sacrifices and offerings, according to Pulleyn, and a 'free prayer', unaccompanied by sacrifice, is typically offered only when a petitioner is unable to perform a sacrifice at that moment. A *hiketeia* as a consistent mode of communication with a deity would suggest that there was a lack of opportunities to establish a relationship of *xenia*, upon which a worshipper could rely and refer to in cases of need. Indeed, we know nothing about sacrifices to Aiakos, and are not even absolutely certain whether it was an altar or a grave marker inside his *temenos*. At the same time, we know of the practice of dedicating victory crowns to Aiakos and the Aiakids, and of performing *prosodia* in his honor, both of which serve as types of offerings. Hence, it would appear then that opportunities for establishing a relationship of reciprocity with Aiakos were present if not aplenty.

Perhaps then the key to the role of Aiakos the Supplicandus is his reputation for justice. As noted above, the fourth step of the *hiketeia* is an expectation of a decision, preferably a fair and favorable one, from the supplicandus. The suppliants of Aiakos (in myth and cult) would not have simply looked for a warm welcome, they would have sought an effectual intervention on their behalf, such as can come from a recognized and respected authority on justice. This circumstance would benefit non-Aiginetans especially, that is, those suppliants who may not have had a chance to approach Aiakos ever before, and hence would have had no chance to establish a relationship of *kharis*, upon which they could rely

[97] Naiden 2006, 18–25, and chs. 2–4.

in their time of need. Although Kowalzig argues that 'commercial justice' was a particular concern of Aiakos, she is not able to cite any evidence that could show foreign tradesmen as suppliants of Aiakos, or local Aiginetans approaching Aiakos for commercial concerns. We are therefore able to demonstrate a more generic, multi-functional 'justice' as Aiakos' prerogative, while specifically commercial justice, if thereotically possible, is not evident in the available sources.

7.2.9 *Aiakos' Mythical Personae: Effective Petitioner or Savior from Famine?*

In a recent study, Barbara Kowalzig sought to establish the cultic role of Aiakos as a savior of Greece from famine: "Zeus Hellanios, with whose help Aiakos rescued Greece from famine." Instead of Zeus being the savior, it is Aiakos who is construed in that role,[98] for whom Zeus is but a helper. The myth (discussed in more detail in 7.20.2), we should note, in most surviving versions speaks of a drought rather than famine. It may seem a logical extension,—drought leads to famine,—but to keep the record straight, we should note that only two of our sources on the myth of Zeus Hellanios, and not the earliest (Diod. Sic. 4.61.1 and Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 6.3.28–29) mention famine (ὁ λιμός). Otherwise all other sources speak of drought (ὁ ἀυχμός): Isocrates 9.14–15; Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b; Σ Aristoph. *Equites* 1253; Paus. 2.29; Diod. Sic. 4.61.2), and also use other more generic terms for misfortune (ἡ συμφορά, Isocr. 9.14, τὰ κακά Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b, Isocr. 9.14 , τὰ δεινά Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b, τὸ κακόν Paus. 2.29). The sources that mention famine (ὁ λιμός), that is, Diod. Sic. 4.61.1 and Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 6.3.28–29, mention it only in conjunction with drought (ὁ ἀυχμός). Quite strikingly one scholion reports that opinions differed as to the nature of the affliction, one in fact saying that it was a flood (ὁ κατακλυσμός, Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b), which is surely, the opposite of drought. The discrepancy of opinions about the nature of affliction with regard to which Aiakos interceded with Zeus, as well as the absolute prevalence of drought as the form of affliction, are worth noting, since in Kowalzig's argument, it is famine, in particular, that becomes instrumental.

A famine typically results from a lack of food. In societies relying on subsistence agriculture, the lack of food would most likely be due to a poor local crop. The causes of that might be several: a drought is one of

[98] Kowalzig 2007, 182.

them, but not the only possible cause: a blight (disease) of some kind can ruin a crop in stalk or damage the seed before it even sprouts. An unseasonable hail in spring can beat the sprouted stalks, etc. It is worth noting that ancient Greeks sometimes preferred to leave the speculation about the causes out of the equation and just to state the fact that the land was bearing no fruit for whatever reason. We may see such a formulation in the Herodotean (5.82) story of how Damia and Auxesia came to be worshipped at Epidauros: Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου . . . and when the statues had been set up, καὶ ἥ τε γῆ σφι ἔφερε καρπόν. In those states that cannot sustain themselves either due to poor land and climate, or due to over-population, and must rely on imports of staple foods, e.g, grain, a famine might be caused by an interruption or insufficient volume of imports.

To return to the case in question: the cause of the problem here is actually specified—it is drought. It might appear to us a rather cumbersome way to run a business: if you need a crop, and a crop needs rain, why would you have different deities responsible for rain in one instance, and for the fertility of the earth in another. But for some reason this is what we find in the Greek world: it is Zeus who causes rain, and it is Demeter who makes land fertile. Although, rain and crops, famine and fertility are related, the Greeks did not appeal to Zeus for fertility, or to Demeter for rain, but the other way around. We should not therefore lump famine, drought, and infertility together and expect that all deities involved are equally responsible, or interchangeable in their roles: rather it would seem that each cultic figure had a locally specific purpose. When Epidaurian land bore no produce, the solution was to appease Damia and Auxesia. When there was a drought (or flood), the authority in charge who could turn the tap on or off was Zeus. When it was necessary to get Zeus to listen to the plight of the humans, Aiakos was the right medium. Thus, it does not seem to do justice to our sources and to the way ancient Greeks perceived the functioning of polytheism to say that Aiakos lifted a drought and prevented famine. It was Zeus who stopped the drought, and Damia and Auxesia, on another occasion, who caused land to yield fruit. Aiakos, however, was a proper ritual medium, the only one who could speak to Zeus and be heard. It would be incorrect to label Aiakos "the drought-lifter," since lifting droughts was Zeus' prerogative. Aiakos, more accurately, was an "effective petitioner" on behalf of the Greeks. All our sources indicate that Aiakos obtained a favorable result from Zeus by means of prayer and sacrifice (τοῦτον δὲ εὐξάμενον, Σ Pind. *N.* 5.17b; ἐξιλεώσατο τὸν Δία, Σ Aristoph. *Equites* 1253a–b; ὁ μὲν Αἰακὸς ἐπετέλεσε τὰς

εὐχάς, Diod. Sic. 4.61.1–3; θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος, Paus. 2.29.7–8; ηὔξατο, Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 6.3.28–29), that is, through the *xenia* mode of interaction with a deity, which is in contrast to how Aiakos himself is approached by humans, that is, through *hiketeia*. Thus, Aiakos' ability to obtain ritual results through ἔυχη and θυσία emphasizes his intimate *xenia*-like relationship with Zeus.

We should also note that Aiakos is credited with establishing the cult of Zeus Hellanios after rather than before the success of his interception on behalf of the Greeks.[99] Here we observe one of two distinct ways of communicating with the divine: an expression of gratitude for a favor granted. The other is when cult statues are set up, or gifts dedicated to gods, in a hope of obtaining a favor. Our textual sources all portray the foundation of the altar or sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina as an event, taking place after the desideratum had been granted, which should therefore be understood as an expression of gratitude rather than, as was the case with Damia and Auxesia, a stimulant for effecting a cure.

7.2.10 *Aiakos' Mythical Personae: Judge of the Dead*

The earliest record of any association of Aiakos with the Underworld is found in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, staged in 405 BCE. There he appears in the role of a doorkeeper of Hades. Aristophanes, it seems, was drawing on a common perception of Aiakos in Athens, since Isocrates (9.15) also says: "since Aiakos left life behind, it is said, that he sits beside Ploutos and Kore, enjoying the greatest honors" (ἐπειδή τε μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, λέγεται παρὰ Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρῃ μεγίστας τιμὰς ἔχων παρεδρεύειν ἐκείνοις). It is not uncommon to find in the folk traditions of the ancient Greeks speculations of the post-mortem fate of heroes: already in Homer, Odysseus inquires of Tiresias the fate of the Trojan War heroes in the Underworld. In Pindar also, we hear of Herakles dwelling on the Isles of the Blessed. It is, therefore, not surprising that such a tradition existed about Aiakos. The peculiarity of Aiakos, however, is that unlike so many other warrior-heroes, he deserved his post-mortem honors due to his piety. Aristophanes was free to elaborate on the nature of Aiakos' "honors" in the Underworld in a comically denigrading way by portraying him in a menial role of door-keeper.

[99] Contra Kowalzig 2007, 182: "Aiakos' cult foundation on behalf of the Greeks to lift a drought."

Another contemporary (with Isocrates) and also Athenian testimony comes from Plato (*Apol.* 41A, *Gorg.* 523E–524A), where Aiakos is portrayed as one of the Judges of the Dead. About the same time or a little later, Aiakos appears in that role on three Apulian vases.[100] About 300 BCE, Aiakos in the role of the Judge of the Dead appears on the facade of a monumental tomb, the so-called "Great Tomb" in Lefkadia.[101] The evidence of these visual representations, together with Athenian textual sources, gave rise to the scholarly view of Aiakos as a chthonic deity.[102] Aiakos came to be associated with the cult of the dead, and various theories of the genesis of Aiakos in that role appeared. Thiersch refers to Rhode who says that Aiakos as κλειδοῦχος, πυλωρός, and πυλάρτης is earlier than Aiakos, the Judge of the Dead.[103] Zunker also believes that in the 4th–3rd centuries BCE Aiakos was considered an *Unterweltgottheit* in some parts of the ancient world, e.g., Thessaly and Apulia, although his conclusion is simply a literal interpretation of the findspots of the frescoes and vases that show Aiakos in that role.[104]

I rehearsed our sources for the role of Aiakos in the Underworld in order to demonstrate that they cannot be taken as evidence for a cultic role of Aiakos on Aigina in the Archaic period or in the 5th century BCE.[105] I also doubt that Aiakos was celebrated in this role in the Aiginetan narrative tradition. The two main arguments are as follows: first, Pindar, our most reliable source of information on the Aiakid saga at the end of the 6th–early 5th century BCE, never says anything about the fate of Aiakos after death; second, our earliest evidence for Aiakos, the Judge of the Dead, comes at the end of the 5th century and from non-Aiginetan sources. In fact, all textual sources to this effect are specifically Athenian, and all visual representations are 4th century or later, and probably influenced by the former. In my opinion, all these circumstances suggest that the image of Aiakos as the Judge of the Dead is of non-Aiginetan origin. It would have been incompatible with the life-oriented image of Aiakos that is otherwise known to us on Aigina. Since the image of the "underworld" Aiakos nonetheless portrays him in a favorable light, I expect that Pindar

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100 *LIMC*, s.v. Aiakos, nos. 1–3, vol. I, 311–12.
101 *LIMC*, s.v. Aiakos, no. 4, vol. I, 312.
102 Thiersch 1928, 141.
103 Thiersch 1928, 141; Rhode 1894, 285.
104 Zunker 1988, 88.
105 I see no evidence to support Rutherford's (1992, 66) claim that "according to later mythographic sources Aiakos became one of the three judges in the underworld after his death, and there is reason to believe that this myth is both at least as early as the 5th century and Aiginetan."

would have found a way to capitalize on that, if this motif were part of the Aiginetan tradition in his time. The fact that he did not, firmly suggests that Aiakos was not worshipped as a figure of the Underworld in the fifth-century Aigina. In fact, we have no indication that Aiakos was ever worshipped in this role on Aigina, but we cannot be certain about the later centuries. How, when and why this image of Aiakos developed outside of Aigina might form a subject of another study. It is only necessary to point out here that we have no evidence to suggest that the connection with the world of the dead was a function of the cult of Aiakos on Aigina in the period under investigation.

7.2.11 *The Athenian Precinct for Aiakos*

I maintain that Aigina was the only Greek location where Aiakos enjoyed an active cult in the 5th century BCE. This view has to be reconciled with Herodotus 5.89 who said that a precinct was laid out for Aiakos in Athens as a way of summoning him to the Athenian side in the long-standing conflict between Athens and Aigina. What we should consider is whether the consecration of a plot of land to Aiakos meant the inauguration of religious rites in his honor. Herodotus does not say so. There is no archaeological evidence that the precinct in Athens was either the site of religious activity from the outset, or had ever become that in subsequent decades or centuries.[106] At the same time, it is possible that the Athenians deliberately modeled their Aiakeion on the Aiginetan one, perhaps meaning to make the anticipated transfer of cult more palatable and welcoming to Aiakos. What gives us reason to believe that the Athenian Aiakeion was modeled on the Aiginetan one is the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the agora of Athens, persuasively interpreted to this effect by Ronald Stroud.[107] As the Aiginetan one,[108] the Athenian Aiakeion was also a rectangular *peribolos* made of white stone. In addition, Stroud collected intriguing evidence that suggests that the Aiakeion in Athens may have been used not only as a granary, but also, in earlier years, offered its

[106] See a detailed discussion of the Athenian Aiakeion in chapter 12.4.

[107] Stroud 1998, 92. The walls of the structure in the Athenian Agora, which Stroud identifies with the Aiakeion, seem to have been made of Aiginetan poros, a curious fact noticed by Stroud in the excavation records of Thompson.

[108] Pausanias 2.29.6–7 describes the Aiginetan Aiakeion as περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου, "a quadrangular enclosure of white stone," which is likely to have been local poros stone, of which all Archaic structures on the Kolonna and at Aphaia were built. Pausanias certainly does not say "white marble," as Kowalzig (2011, 149) cites, apparently following the Loeb translation of 1918.

walls for the display of *dikai*, "whether notices of upcoming trials or judgments/verdicts in trials already completed." These *dikai* were apparently painted with red paint in large letters on a plastered wall of the Aiakeion, which faced the Agora. The building, which Stroud now identifies as the Aiakeion, used to be identified as the Heliaia, or one of the law-courts. Stroud seems to be sympathetic to Rutherford's suggestion that the reputation of Aiakos as a good judge may be behind the use of the Athenian Aiakeion for the display of *dikai*.[109] This is the point of my particular concern with the Athenian Aiakeion in this section (more in 12.4): whether the use of the Athenian Aiakeion for the display of *dikai* might firstly be a reflection of the worship of Aiakos as a patron of justice, and secondly, whether we should see here a possible imitation of the Aiginetan practice, and hence, a pointer to a special role of Aiakos there.

We should reiterate that it is not at all clear how the interior of the Athenian Aiakeion was used in the 5th century BCE, and whether there was any ritual performed in honor of Aiakos at any point in history, and whether therefore we have any grounds for even speculating a connection between the use of outer walls of the Aiakeion and the meaning of Aiakos as a mythological or cultic figure. In this context, I am concerned about the legitimacy of applying the same arguments to Athens as are suitable for Aigina, and vice versa.[110] In addition, we know nothing about the reputation of Aiakos in Athens in the Archaic period. The earliest reference to Aiakos (in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, some one hundred years after the consecration of the *temenos*, in the late 5th century) presents him as a figure of the Underworld, and not, as later in Plato, in a venerable role as the Judge of the Dead, but in a menial role of a doorkeeper. Even if we allow for the twisting effects of the comic genre, we cannot move beyond speculations in determining whether Athenians revered Aiakos, the principal hero of their principal enemy, Aigina, as a model judge at the time when the Aiakeion was most probably established (ca. 506 BCE). In the present state of our sources, therefore, there seems to be no indication that Aiakos would have been honored as a patron of justice in Athens, if he was ritually honored at all, and there is certainly no evidence that the Athenian practice of posting *dikai* on the walls of the Aiakeion had a parallel on Aigina. Rather, entirely independent of Aiakos' mythological or cultic significance, the Aiakeion's proximity to the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the agora where, according to numerous textual

[109] Stroud 1998, 99–100.

[110] Especially, in such an assertive way as Kowalzig 2011, 144: "Whatever dikai Aiakos tried in his shrine . . ."

testimonies, public documents were put on display in Athens, may have led to the use of the available adjacent wall as an additional billboard space for posting public announcements.

7.2.12 *Conclusions*

We have determined that Aiakos was worshipped on Aigina as the ancestor of the Aiginetans, the progenitor of the Aiakids, the patron of Aigina as a community, and patron of individual Aiginetans in their personal endeavors, such as athletic competitions. Aiakos and the Aiakids were worshipped together and shared some social functions. The Aiakids provided help in military affairs, and were considered safekeepers of Aigina's wellbeing on par with Aiakos. The joint cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids was central to Aiginetan civic identity. Aiakos' mythical role as an effective interceder with Zeus on behalf of the Greeks was mirrored in a customary mode of approaching him in cult, the *hiketeia*. Whether Aiakos in his cultic role was more specifically concerned with the patronage of government and dispensation of justice, the roles that seem indicated in the Aiginetan mythical tradition, we have no evidence to support at present.

7.3 Nymph Aigina

7.3.1 *Overview*

There are several types of data that suggest a cult for the eponymous nymph Aigina, a consort of Zeus and mother of Aiakos, on the island of Aigina. Firstly, Pindar directs prayers to Aigina along with other local cultic figures, Zeus, Aiakos, Peleus and Achilles, in *Pythian* 8.97–100. While I regard this invocation as an effective prayer, and not merely a poetic device, as evidence for cult it is only suggestive, not definitive. It is not difficult to imagine that there may have been on Aigina a cultic connection between the nymph and the Aiakids, because local myths celebrate the genealogical link between them. She is Aiakos' mother, and hence the grandmother of Peleus, Telamon, and Phokos.

The epigraphic evidence is questionable. In 1951, Marabini published a small article, reporting her find of a rock-carved inscription on Aigina, which she read as Αἴγινα παῖς.[111] She interpreted this inscription as evidence for the cult of the nymph Aigina. I searched for this inscription on four

[111] Marabini 1949–51, 135–40.

different occasions, in order to check the reading, and was not able to find it. Even if Marabini's readings were correct, the suggestion that παῖς here stands for νύμφη, as well as her proposed date of the inscription (5th century BCE), appear arbitrary and without a reference to local Aiginetan comparanda.[112]

In addition, a statuary group representing a fleeing maiden, some fragments of which were found at the sanctuary of Aphaia, is thought to represent Zeus' pursuit of the nymph Aigina.[113] The iconography of a fleeing maiden is well-established in Classical art, and there are several examples of representations on Attic vases that feature Aigina, in particular. One such depiction, on an Attic column krater of 460 BCE, is well chosen by Walter-Karydi to illustrate a striking similarity between the position of the female's running feet on the krater and in the sculptural fragment from Aphaia.[114] It is entirely possible that a sculptural group featuring Aigina and Zeus, the parents of Aiakos, who was the first king of Aigina and the progenitor of the Aiakids, the legendary heroes of Aigina, would be displayed in a sanctuary on Aigina-island, and some scholars derive far-reaching ideological implications from such a possibility.[115] What has not been considered, however, is that Aphaia herself was represented in mythological tradition as a pursued and fleeing maiden, and a representation of her myth in sculptural form, and at her own sanctuary, is also a distinct possibility (see futher discussion in 7.4.6). I would urge therefore that the sculptural fragments at Aphaia cannot be securely identified as representations of the Aigina-nymph.

7.3.2 Asopis Krênê *on Aigina*

A number of literary sources tell about the existence of a spring, or fountain called Asopis, on Aigina. An *agôn* called ἀμφιφορίτης, or ἀμφορίτης, took place at the spring (see Appendix 2).[116]

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[112] Larson (2011, 145) accepts Marabini's interpretation.

[113] Ohly 1981, 68–70, fig. 23; 2001, pls. 163–169; Walter-Karydi 2006, 69–73, and n. 50. Walter-Karydi (1987, 116, fig. 186) suggests that a head of a female figure looking back, of unknown provenance, but currently in the Metropolitan Museum (1991.11.7) might come from this group. This group is considered by other scholars to be one of the two earlier pediments of the Aphaia temple. See recent discussions of the sculptural remains from Aphaia, with bibliography, in Watson 2011 and Hedreen 2011.

[114] Aphaia fragment: Aigina Mus. 695 + Munich Glyptothek 164, 123. Attic column krater: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 96.19.1, Walter-Karydi 2006, 71, fig. 41.

[115] E.g., Walter-Karydi 2006, 70–71; Watson 2011, 83 and 108.

[116] The name of the festival apparently comes from the name of the jar used in the running competition—Ἀμφιφορεύς, or ἀμφορεύς in shortened form (in Etym. Magn., the

Etymologicum Magnum gives this explanation:

> Ἀμφιφορίτης: Ὅτι ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἔδραμον περὶ τὴν Ἀσωπίδα κρήνην ὑδρεύσασθαι. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀγὼν ἄγεται ἀμφιφορίτης λεγόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἐκεῖσε ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς κεράμους ὕδατος πεπληρωμένους ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τῶν ὤμων τρέχουσι περὶ τῆς νίκης, φιλονεικοῦντες κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἡρώων.
>
> Because on Aigina they used to run around the Asopis spring in order to fetch water, whence a contest called Ἀμφιφορίτης is conducted among the Aiginetans, in which, competing to get to that place, and taking up jars filled with water on their shoulders, they run for victory, contending in imitation of heroes.

The name of the spring (κρήνη), where the Ἀμφιφορίτης *agôn* took place is Asopis, which means "the female child of Asopos."[117] There is another mention in our sources of "Asopian water," which is almost certainly located on Aigina (Pindar *N.* 3.4–5):

> Ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρα, λίσσομαι,
> τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι
> ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν· ὕδατι γάρ
> μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
> κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι.
>
> O Mistress Muse, our mother, I beg you,
> come in the Nemean sacred month to this
> much-visited Dorian island of Aigina, for by the
> Asopian water are waiting the builders of honey-sounding
> *kômoi*, young men who desire your voice. (Adapted from trans. by W. H. Race)

The opening of *Nemean* 3 speaks of *neaniai*, young men, who are "the architects of sweet-voiced *kômoi*," and in this capacity are said to be waiting by the "Asopian water," which, in all likelihood, is a local Aiginetan water source, because the explanatory γάρ-construction follows immediately upon the place reference, Aigina. At the same time, the mythological multilocality of Asopos leads to ambiguity. Scholia to *Nemean* 3.3–4 debate what geographic region is implied by the topographic reference "Asopian water," and Didymos suspects that homonymous rivers known in different areas as Asopos are to blame for the confusion. There could have been a river Asopos on Aigina, but Kallistratos thinks that the Asopian water is rather the spring Asopis:

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entry follows right after Ἀμφιφορίτης and defines Ἀμφιφορεὺς as σορὸς, ὑδρία, κέραμος, ἀμφορεύς.).

[117] Stems in *o* drop *o* and use suffix *ida* (nom. *-idh-"*, masc.), *id* (nom. *-iv"*, fem.) to form patronymics and denominative proper names denoting descent from a father or ancestor from proper names of persons (see Smyth 1984, 845.4).

> ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος διηπατῆσθαί φησι τοὺς ὑπομνηματισαμένους τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν ποταμῶν· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσωποὶ πλείους, ὧν ἕνα φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· ὁ δὲ Καλλίστρατος Ἀσωπίδα ἐν Αἰγίνῃ.

Kallistratos' explanation offers an economic resolution of uncertainty, as it confirms the Aiginetan toponym known from another source, saving us from the exercise of multiplying the unknowns. If however there was indeed a river called Asopos on the island of Aigina, then a spring in its vicinity could have obtained a related name without any external mythological connection. In that case, either the local Aiginetan name would have eventually triggered an association with the Boiotian Asopos,[118] or, alternatively, once the Boiotian derivation of Aigina, the mother of Aiakos, was adopted into the Aiginetan tradition, an equation of the two toponyms, the Boiotian and the Aiginetan one, would have been made. Whichever way the name Asopis came to an Aiginetan spring, its association with the Boiotian nymph Aigina is a strong conjecture. If Drachmann's restoration is correct, the alternative name of *amphorites* may have been the Oinonaia,[119] which would strengthen the equation of Asopis with the nymph Aigina, since Oinona was the original name of the island.[120]

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[118] Pindar, a native of Thebes, makes Aigina a twin-sister of Theba (*I.* 8.17), both of them daughters of Boiotian Asopos. Daughters of Asopos count between five (Paus. 5.22.6) and twenty (Apollod. Bibl. 3.12.6) in our sources and bear topographic names (e.g., Theba, Nemea, Tanagra). See Nagy 2011 on multiple localizations of Asopos.

[119] Before the island acquired the name Aigina, it was called Oinona: Pind. *N.* 4.46, *N.* 5.16, *N.* 8.7, *I.* 5.34, Hdt. 8.46, Strabo 8.6.16; Apollod. 3.12.6, Hyginus *Fab.* 52, or Oinopia (Pind. *I.*8.21). Zeus brought the daughter of Asopos, Aigina, to the island Oinona and renamed it after her: after abduction from Asopos, Zeus lay with Aigina on the island Oinona, and she conceived Aiakos who was born on the same island (Pind. *Pa.* 6.134–140, Apollod. 3.12.6). Roman sources mention the transformation of Zeus into flame (Ov. *Met.* 6.113), or into eagle (Nonn. *Dion.* 7.122.210–214, 13.201–204, 24.77–79) in order to consummate the union. The subject of Zeus's pursuit and rape of Aigina was popular in art and is often identified in the scenes of Zeus pursuing a young female, but we know of only two certain examples, both on vases, where the image of Aigina is accompanied by inscriptions: *LIMC*, s.v. Aigina, no. 15 and no. 23. Sisyphus, the founder of Corinth, betrayed Zeus' abduction of Aigina to Asopos, and for that he endures punishment in Hades, endlessly rolling a stone up the hill (Apollod. *bibl.* 1.9.3, 3.12.6). Love of Zeus to Aigina may have been the subject of Hesiodic *Ehoiai* (MW 205), it was treated in the poetry of Korinna, which was known to Paus. 9.20.1–2. [Bacchyl. Fr. 9.45–65, fr. 13.77–99].

[120] Drachmann explains Oinonaia as his own conjecture in apparatus criticus for line 21: οἱ δὲ Οἰνώναια scripsi: οἱ δὲ, οι . . . . (lac.) **B**, οἱ δὲ οἱ **E**, ἔστι δὲ ὁ **CQ**, ἔστι δὲ καὶ **v**, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ **b**. The conjecture has a basis in the ancient sources: see preceding footnote. That Oinonaia could be an alternative name for Aiakeia is therefore explainable. Pfeiffer (1949, 195) questions Drachmann's restoration Οἰνώναια, which was, in his opinion, made "vix recte," and speculates that οι in the scholia must have been mistakenly written in place of υ and we should instead restore Ὑδροφόρια. Pfeiffer is, however, influenced by the already exposed

The topographic position of Asopis on Aigina is unknown.[121] Privitera has argued that the Asopis spring should be linked to the evidence for an ancient aqueduct on Aigina, as the latter would have been the only body of flowing water and of water supply on the island in antiquity. He refers to a modern tourist guidebook and brief descriptions in the 1905 publications of Gräber for his information on the matter.[122] An aqueduct has also been noted in archaeological studies of the island by Thiersch and Faraklas.[123] Its course is shown on the map of Thiersch, included in Furtwängler's (1906) publication of the Aphaia temple (see Appendix 2). According to Thiersch's map, the aqueduct becomes traceable somewhere east of Aigina-town, leading in a straight line eastward until it reaches the foot of Mt. Dragonera, then following a river bed in a southeasterly direction and stopping in the area of the village Kontos, south of Palaiochora (see Map 1). Hans Goette's map (in *IG* IV^2, p. 201) also shows the aqueduct, but its eastern end does not extend as far as Kontos. None of the scholars (Gräber, Thiersch, or Faraklas) report on extensive or comprehensive investigations of the aqueduct and provide any evidence for its date.[124] The aqueduct therefore has never been properly investigated: we do not know its exact point of origin,[125] and most importantly, have no information whatsoever on its point of termination in Aigina town. On this subject we can only speculate, but not assert. Finally, the date of the

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confusion between *amphoritis* and *hydrophoria* in the scholia and seeks to reconcile the present lacuna with them.

[121] Nagy (2011, 74) provides a rather detailed topographic description (for the support of which he refers to Privitera 1988 and Fearn 2007): "There was a comparable fountain-house located in the city centre of Aigina, as we know from a reference in the Etymologicum Magnum." The latter source provides no topographic information, however. "The fountain-house was supplied by the waters of a spring that flowed down from the mountainous interior of the island through an underground aqueduct that extended all the way to the city centre." Certainly there is no evidence for the proximity of the Asopis to the Aiakeion (as Fearn 2011, 188).

[122] Privitera (1988, 65–66) refers to Leoussis 1980 and Gräber 1905a and 1905b.

[123] Thiersch's map in Furtwängler 1906 and Faraklas 1980, 48–49, catalog site no. 22.

[124] Thiersch (1928, 165) claims that it was Archaic and refers to a forthcoming publication of the Bavarian Academy (which was never published, as far as we know).

[125] As Gräber and Leoussis describe, the origin may have been in the area of Kontos. Thiersch (1928, 165) hints that a forthcoming publication would illuminate how the headstation of the aqueduct was connected to the cult of rain-bringing Zeus of the Oros, but as that publication never came to light, we do not know what arguments were going to be brought to bear on the matter. If his arguments were similar to those advanced in favor of identifying the hot springs near Souvala with the site of the Aiginetan Herakleion, simply on the basis of a notion that Herakles was elsewhere in Greece connected with hot springs (Thiersch 1928, 155), then we are not much worse for not having that promised publication after all.

aqueduct, as long as it remains unknown, should be a serious detterent for anyone wishing to suggest that the 'Asôpian water' mentioned by Pindar or the Asopis spring, if they were one and the same, would have been fed by that aqueduct. One possible indicator of a post-fifth century BCE date is the fact that a late fifth-century inscription (*IG* IV^2 787) was found built into the wall of the aqueduct, east of Aigina town. Unless the incorporation of this fifth-century stone block was due to a much later repair, which simply used a well-cut block found in the vicinity, we would have to use the inscription's late fifth-century date as the ante quem non, and say that the aqueduct would have been built later, after the Peloponnesian war, during which *IG* IV^2 787 was most likely inscribed, and so could not be the 'Asôpian water' mentioned by Pindar, as claimed by Privitera 1988.

That an aqueduct, whatever its date, would have supplied a fountain is plausible. That this hypothetical fountain would have been the Asopis Krênê, whatever its date, is a conjecture, which is also possible, but unprovable. More importantly, as we have no grounds at the moment to ascertain the date of the aqueduct,[126] and cannot be sure that the Asopis Krênê would have been a fountain rather than a natural spring, we have to leave the possibility wide open that it could have been outside of Aigina town as much as inside.[127] Fearn is certainly wrong to claim that the aqueduct brought water from the Oros, the site of Zeus' sanctuary,[128] hence the

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[126] Of some comparative utility for us might be the results of a recent archaeological survey in Sikyonia: Yannis Lolos (2011, 571–584) reports on his investigations of two aqueducts in the territory of ancient Sikyon. Part of the Southwestern aqueduct was dug underground: the tunnel "of unknown length," but apparently stretching over several kilometers, was on average 0.7 m wide and 1.7–1.8 m high and could be accessed by vaulted openings on its sides (p. 574, figs. III.10, III.11, III.12, III.21). Lolos suggests that the Western adueduct, which also in places ran underground (up to 3m below the surface), is of "pre-Roman date," which is not a suggestion that it can be as early as Classical, but a cautious hypothesis in favor of a Hellenistic rather than Roman date (pp. 583–584).

[127] Such assertions as Indergaard's (2011, 305: "Aiginetans . . . constructed in the sixth century an underground water channel from Mount Panhellenios to a spring called Asopis in Aigina town") can do real damage if they continue to be cited without investigation, as they compound the problem by piling one piece of incorrect information on top of another: the date of the aqueduct, its source and its terminus are unknown, and we also do not know if Asopis was in fact fed by an aqueduct; in addition, the mountain was never called Panhellenios in antiquity. Indergaard refers to Fearn 2007, 102–105, and Fearn to Privitera 1988, but what was only a hypothesis based on somewhat damaged data in Privitera, snowballs into a seriously misshapen fact by the time we find it in Indergaard.

[128] Fearn (2007, 102) attributes to Privitera 1988 the idea that the Aiginetan aqueduct was bringing water to Aigina town from "the region of Mount Panhellenios." Privitera nowhere makes such a claim: he references Gräber and Leoussis, who locate the origin of the aqueduct east of Aigina town, in the area of Kontos, and so several miles to the north of the Oros. Fearn appears not to be familiar with the claim made by Thiersch 1928, 165

hypothetical interpretive constructions that build on the "divine origin for their water" cannot stand. Besides wrongly siting the origin of the aqueduct "in the region of Mount Panhellenios," Fearn also suggests the location of Asopis in the agora of Aigina-town, due to the fact that in *Nemean* 3 the reference to the 'Asopian water' (lines 3–4) is followed a few lines later (lines 13–15) by a reference to παλαίφατον εἴραν, "the agora of ancient fame," of the Myrmidons.[129]

Nemean 3 is quite striking among the Aiginetan *epinikia* for its number of local topographic references. In addition to the two already named, another frequently discussed reference is to a "Thearion of Pythios" in line 70, which many scholars take as a hint at the place of ode's performance.[130] It is notable that both in reference to the 'agora of the Myrmidons' and Pythion's Thearion, Pindar makes a point to connect the athlete Aristokleidas' victory with its possible effect ("did not stain with dishonor" and "linked to splendid ambitions") on his city's places of repute ("agora of ancient fame" and "hallowed Thearion"). There are two ways to construe this string of topographic references: either as somehow mapping out a course of the procession honoring an athlete upon his return,[131] or as indicating the place of the victory celebration, in which case the 'Asopian water,' the 'agora of ancient fame,' and the Thearion have to be seen as linked in one area. Alternatively, all of these references can be spatially unconnected, and serve as references to Aiginetan institutions, traditions, and rituals, and so to the Aiginetan socio-religious mesocosm in general, in relation to which the ode invites us to view the athlete's victory. However much one might be tempted to hypothesize on the basis of the slim fragments of evidence that we have, it is ultimately a very hazardous, but even more importantly possibly misleading exercise, to speculate about the location of ancient landmarks on the basis of textual references alone. In the case of the three toponyms mentioned in *Nemean* 3, anyone wishing to consider the "agora of ancient fame" as the site of the Asopian spring would also have to decide in which of possibly two agoras of ancient

(speculating on the connection between the aqueduct and the sanctuary of Zeus), which in any case has no evidentiary support.

[129] εἴρη, ἡ, according to *LSJ*, is old Ionic for ἀγορά, place of assembly. Mss. BDP read ἀγοράν instead of εἴραν.

[130] So, unless the 'Asopian water' and the Thearion are in one and the same place, scholars would have to choose which of the topographic references they wish to privilege as an indication of the ode's performance: Fearn 2007, 115 opts for the Asopian spring in an agora.

[131] Cf. Walter-Karydi 2006, 3–17.

Aigina that spring should be sited,[132] and whether the description of the agora as *palaiphatos* is significant, since we learn from another source that there was on Aigina the "so-called ancient city," *palaiê kaleomenê polis* (Hdt. 6.89). If Athens is any guide (it is for Fearn),[133] at least two fountain-houses (the southeast and the southwest) were located in the Athenian agora, and this should also serve as a caution against expecting only one of everything in ancient Aigina-town: one fountain and one agora to match the Pindaric references. Finally, we should address another topographic connection that Fearn seeks to establish, that between the location of the Aiakeion and of the Asopis spring: Fearn would like to see both of them located in the agora, but the position of the Aiakeion "in the most prominent part of town" (see 7.2.2 and 7.6.3) is also not indisputably identifiable with an agora (and which of the two?) and hence we are still without a firm footing for the location of either the Aiakeion or the Asopis Krênê.

As a final note on Aiginetan water-supply, we should mention that archaeologists working at the site of Kolonna interpreted several plastered blocks found laid against the late Archaic peribolos wall on the north side of the Kolonna hill as remains of a fountain (see Fig. 4).[134] The archaeological remains are extremely slight: several plastered blocks with uneven surface, one of them bearing a round opening (0.6m) which is understood to be a mouth of a well. Two blocks projecting from the peribolos wall above are thought to have served as a frame for a water conduit, but Hoffelner submits that it is not clear how the water would have been brought to feed this fountain. At the same time, he speculates about the conventional use of the well by means of a drawing rope. It is very difficult to establish on the basis of these archaeological features whether there was a proper fountain at all. This water-source, perhaps simply a well, seems to have serviced an open-air plaza occupied by an Archaic building, identified by Hoffelner as Thearion, as well as by another small auxiliary structure (see Fig. 5).[135] We have no positive grounds for connecting this fountain or well, with the Asopis Krênê. It is possible that Aigina-town could have been supplied with water through a number of fountains, and/or alternatively, through underground cisterns for the collection of rainwater, as well as through numerous wells that would have

[132] *IG* IV^2 791 mentions the "Greater agora" implying that there was a "Lesser agora" as well.
[133] Fearn 2007, 103.
[134] Hoffelner 1999, 179, pl. 76.
[135] Hoffelner 1999, 160–171.

tapped into the underground water table.[136] That most of what we know about the Aiginetan water supply is connected to Kolonna is solely due to the fact that Kolonna is the only part of the ancient Aigina-town that has been available for systematic archaeological investigations. There is no doubt that many more installations related to the ancient water supply would be known to us if the area under the modern Aigina-town could be excavated. As it is, we have only sporadic reports of such finds made as a result of rescue excavations (see Appendix 2 for more details). To repeat then: we do not know the location of the Asopis spring on Aigina, but we can reasonably adduce that it was connected to the nymph Aigina, and may have been the site of an athletic contest (*Amphiphoritis*), which, in turn, may have been part of a religious festival, the Aiakeia. These details supply good grounds for presuming that Aigina was not only a figure of myth, but also a figure of cult on the island of her name.

7.3.3 *Maiden Choruses for Aigina*

Finally, we may have an indication that there was a tradition of maiden choruses for Aigina, and perhaps for the consort of Aiakos, Endeis.[137] Bacchylides' *Ode* 13 for the Aiginetan Pytheas who won a pankration at Nemea describes, on the one hand, a young girl (l. 84) who praises Aigina as she dances, and, on the other hand, maidens (παρθένοι) who sing (μέλπουσι) "the queen of the land who welcomes all strangers, and rose-armed Endeis" (ll. 94–96). Calame notes that Bacchylides describes the chorus of girls as ἀγχίδομος, "showing that the girls all come from the same village or from the same region and thus confirming their geographic association" [with Aigina-island].[138]

In addition to the testimony of Bacchylides, a number of representations on vases have been adduced to support the hypothesis of maiden choruses on Aigina. These are the so-called early Attic, or proto-Attic vases, from the so-called 'Aigina-Fund'—a cache of ceramic fragments, said to have originated from Aigina, that had appeared on the antiques market in 1916 and was first bought by a private collector, and then, in 1936, acquired by the Antiquarium in Berlin.[139] The ceramic shapes are those used in funerary contexts, or as grave markers (according to Sarah Morris), but could

136 Felten 2007b, 20.
137 Larson 2001, 145.
138 Calame 1997, 32 n. 51.
139 Eilmann and Gebauer, *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1, p. 5; Morris 1984, 5.

also fit a sympotic context, if meant to hold liquids: amphorae, kraters, hydriai, and a deep bowl with a stand. According to Morris, the fragments represent the vase production of a specific Aiginetan short-lived (ca. 670–660 to 640 BCE) workshop, of which she identifies several specific painters and styles. This workshop style is represented in the highest numbers on Aigina,[140] "with a few exports: one to the Kerameikos, half a dozen to the [Athenian] Agora and Acropolis, and two singletons to Eleusis and Argos."[141] The main difficulty for Morris's hypothesis is the fact that "with two exceptions, all Aiginetan vases are made of Attic clay, and one must assume that clay was imported by the island to supply the proposed local workshop . . ." This possibility is difficult to square with the presence of reasonably good sources of clay on Aigina itself from prehistoric times up to the present.[142] She concludes that we must imagine "a group of artists residing on Aigina, producing pottery of Attic fabric primarily for local use."[143] It is an attractive possibility to view these fragments as representing production for the local market, but we have to recognize that it is not an established fact, but a hypothesis based on a few conjectures. It is yet another conjecture to propose that the scenes depicted on these vases, possibly produced for local consumption, have local Aiginetan referents. Calame has suggested that the scenes of dancing women on some of these vases represent the Aiginetan Heraia, which is unlikely (see discussion in 7.1), but he may have had in mind comparable vases from the Argolid, in particular, from the Heraion of Tiryns.[144] Power cited one vase (Aig. Mus. Inv. 1750) as support for the local maiden choruses in honor of the nymph Aigina.[145] The divergence of opinions between Calame and Power

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[140] Morris 1984, 12: "Outside of Attica and Aigina only a single site has produced Middle Protoattic pottery: the sanctuary of Hera near Argos. A conical stand was discovered at the same time as the Ram Jug and classified as 'local' for many of the same reasons."

[141] Morris 1984, 19.

[142] Cf. Gauss and Kiriatzi 2011 on local sources of clay used by the Bronze Age potters.

[143] Morris (1984, 21) cites Boardman (1954, 185 n. 16) who emphasizes that the artists must have been Attic as well ("if the local fine ware industry in the eighth and seventh centuries relied on clay from Attica it looks as though it imported its potters and painters also, and their products remain Attic unless the influence of local styles can be detected in their work").

[144] Baumbach 2004, 62.

[145] Power 2000, 74: Aigina Museum 1750 = Kraiker 1951, 30 (catalog description sub no. 68, pl. 5 (photos)) as evidence of the local choral ritual (one panel of the decoration shows standing female figures, all facing in one direction, holding hands) and suggests that it could be illustrating the choruses of parthenoi in honor of Aigina-nymph. Calame (1997, 100 n. 3) connects the same vase and several others to a hypothetical festival of Hera on Aigina (see 7.1.2 for my rejection of the hypothesis of the Aiginetan Heraia). Aigina

brings out a significant snag in the chain of interpretation: even if the vases are Aiginetan, and even if they represent a local ritual tradition, they give no indication of the divine addressee, so that both Hera and Aigina might be equally off the mark. Baumbach connects the examples of Tirynthian vases, depicting processions of women holding branches and "surrounded by a pattern of wavy lines" with the symbolism of water, and argues on this basis that the provision of water was one of Hera's functions in the Argolid.[146]

Five vases from the 'Aigina-Fund' possibly represent dancing women. The vase numbered A 1 in the Aigina-Fund,[147] is a hydria, whose neck is divided into two decorative bands, the upper one showing nine women in long skirts, facing in one direction, holding hands, and clasping upright branches in their interlinked hands, so that nine branches appear in-between female figures. The women are led by an aulos-player and a kithara-player. Immediately below that decorative band, a second band shows twelve men, all facing in one direction, but rather than holding each other's hands, each man holds his own hands clasped and stretched in front of him. This group of twelve is preceded by an aulos-player. Calame and Power refer only to the maiden chorus, possibly represented by this vase, but the coupling of the maiden chorus with a male group of some indeterminate nature, perhaps a male *kômos*, is notable.[148]

The second vase, A 2 in the Aigina-Fund, is also a hydria,[149] whose neck is decorated with a procession of eight women. It is not clear if they are holding hands, and Eilmann and Gebauer, the publishers of the *CVA*

Mus. 1750 is a fragment of a Geometric vase of Argive production, found on Aigina: we have no grounds to expect an Argive vase to represent a local Aiginetan ritual, and we do not know if choral rituals for any deity were celebrated on Aigina in the Geometric period.

146 Baumbach 2004, 62–63.

147 *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pl. 1, 1–3 (= Deutschland pl. 47). Inventory acquisition number for the whole Fund is 31573. Figure 1 on p. 10 of the volume presents a line drawing of the decorative scenes on the vase.

148 If it was possible to prove that these vases were commissioned and produced specifically with the local Aiginetan audience in mind, or even more precisely, specifically for an Aiginetan ritual context, we could then speculate about the significance of the female and male groups portrayed together. E.g., while Bacchylides 13 refers to a maiden chorus in honor of Aigina, Pindar's *N.* 3.4–5 speaks of *neaniai*, young men, who are "the architects of sweet-voiced kômoi," and in this capacity are said to be waiting by the "Asopian water." If both choruses were somehow connected to the setting of the 'Asopian water,' then the depiction on this vase could support a hypothesis of male and female groups engaged, each with a distinct role, in the same ritual context.

149 *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pl. 2 (= Deutschland pl. 48).

volume in question, do not say that the women are dancing, as they do say about A 1. The third vase is a krater, A 34 in the Aigina-Fund.[150] One fragment from the upper half of the body of the krater shows four women facing in one direction. Eilmann and Gebauer (p. 20) speculate a total of nine female figures, and here also they do not suggest it is a dance. The fourth vase is a hydria, A 48 in the Aigina-Fund,[151] showing three women facing in one direction, holding hands with upright branches in-between, in exact parallel to (A 1). Finally, the fifth vase is in the Aigina Museum.[152] It is of Argive production, even though found on Aigina. If our iconographic key for identifying a dance is a chain of hand-holding figures facing in one direction, then A 1, A 48, and Aeg. Mus. 1750 are certain cases of a dance. If Aeg. Mus. 1750 cannot be attributed to local Aiginetan production, then it is hard to admit it as evidence for local maiden choruses.[153] Baumbach argues that it is possible to associate depictions on vases with rituals at particular sanctuaries, and that the differences in depictions signify differences between local rituals:

> [processional images from the shrine of Artemis Orthia] show boys as well as girls, and the girls do not carry branches but musical instruments. Those from the Apollo sanctuary at Amyclai depict boys. Those from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea . . . show boys and girls who both have their arms at their sides and hold a shared robe. Finally, the ones from the Argive Heraion are different as they depict both boys and girls.[154]

If we were to follow Baumbach's premise in associating specific features of depictions with specific sanctuaries and deities, then we would have to question whether the five vases found on Aigina, which we have adduced as showing dances, in fact belong together, or at least whether they are all referring to the same cult on Aigina, since there are marked differences between them: A 1 and A 48 are identical with respect to how they show women, but A 1 also bears a depiction of a male procession. A 2 and A 34 are too fragmentary to tell, but seem to show only female groups,

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150 *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pls. 22–23 (= Deutschland pl. 68–69).

151 *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pls. 39, no. 3 (= Deutschland pl. 85).

152 Aigina Museum 1750 = Kraiker 1951, 30 (catalog description sub no. 68, pl. 5 (photos)).

153 Processions and dances of females are the characteristic features of Argive pictorial decoration on Archaic vases (Baumbach (2004, 62) refers to Tölle 1964, 54), and therefore should make us particularly wary of expecting it to bear reference to the local Aiginetan ritual, although we could not exclude the possibility that it was brought to Aigina specifically because its pictorial motif was seen to be suitable to the intended use in the Aiginetan context.

154 Baumach 2004, 62.

and Aig. Mus. 1750 shows a chain of women holding hands, but holding no branches. Baumbach might well be wrong about the precise correspondence between depictions and cults, but the differences in depictions might still be significant.

For comparanda with our presumed Aiginetan vases showing processions or dances, we should consider another vase, which was not found on Aigina, but in Attica, and yet belongs to the same group of Protoattic vases as the Aigina-Fund.[155] This vase shows a remarkable similarity to A 1 and A 48, displaying on its neck a decorative band with a dancer in the center flanked by three and four women respectively on each side, holding hands, facing in one direction, and clasping upright branches. Following the same logic, we would have to say that the Attic vase shows a local Attic ritual, and in that case the Aiginetan and the Attic rituals look identical. Also for comparanda, we may adduce A 41, which is a stand for another vase, and its upper band shows not a line of dancing women, but rather a line of women holding basins on their heads: they are twelve in number and facing in one direction, as if to show a procession.[156] These two examples (inv. 31312), possibly showing a choral female dance, but found in Attica, and A 41, from Aigina, but showing a line of women bearing baskets, and not dancing, taken together, may suggest a rather more prosaic interpretation of this type of vase, namely that it was a convenient subject to depict on the necks or upper registers of a vase: a succession of human figures turned in one direction giving a pleasing balanced effect and emphasizing by their circular movement the roundness of the neck of the vessel. Dances or processions, seen as suitable decorative motifs for pragmatic reasons would therefore be likely to be representations of generic and not of specific ritual contexts. This consideration further undermines the hypothesis of the depiction of Aiginetan maiden choruses on these Archaic vases.

Another suggestion has been made about possible rituals associated with the worship of the nymph Aigina: David Fearn interprets Simonides 507 *PMG* (fragment of a song, possibly an *epinikion*, in honor of the Aiginetan Krios) as a reference to a hair-cutting ritual for a kourotrophic deity, and considers Aigina-nymph as a possible receiver of the hair offering.[157] I am very skeptical about such hypothetical constructions, in which not a

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[155] *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pl. 40 (= Deutschland pl. 86). Hydria, inv. 31312 (Alter Bestand).

[156] *CVA* Deutschland 2, Berlin 1 (Antiquarium), pl. 30 (= Deutschland pl. 76).

[157] Fearn 2011, 204–211.

single element is firmly established (the Simonides fragment may or may not be an *epinikion*, there may or may not be a reference to the hair-cutting ritual in it, the ritual may or may not have to do with an ex-voto to a kourotrophic deity, the deity may or may not be Aigina or Aphaia), and on top of which a suggestion is made that the setting of the victory song's performance would have been the sanctuary of either Aigina or Aphaia. It should be noted that Aphaia is never mentioned in Pindar's *epinikia*, and Aigina is only once invoked in a prayer on behalf of the Aiginetan athlete. Fearn needs the Simonidean fragment to be invoking a kourotrophic ritual in order to support his broader thesis that narrowly aristocratic rather than "communitarian" agency is to be seen behind both the production of choral lyric and the control of cults on Aigina.[158] What little we know about the worship of Aigina on the island of her name can hardly be stretched to support such an elaborate proposition.

7.3.4 *Conclusions*

A prayer addressed to Aigina by Pindar for prosperity of the island of Aigina, and the association of a running competition in honor or in commemoration of heroes with a spring Asopis, as well as the testimony of Bacchylides on choruses of maidens for Aigina and Endeis suggest that Aigina-nymph was worshipped on Aigina-island and was considered a patroness of the land and its people. The equation of the Aiakeia, the Oinonaia, and the Amphoritis, if correct, raises the possibility that ritual celebrations of Aigina-nymph may have been part of, or related to, the celebrations of Aiakos and the Aiakids. A more specific social role of Aigina-nymph is impossible to determine on the basis of the presently available evidence.

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[158] Cf. Fearn 2011, 210: "I would suggest that the epinician poem that Simonides wrote for the youthful Krios was a way of celebrating relatively more widely . . . not simply Krios' victory itself, but in particular the link between his athletic prowess . . . and the more personal fulfillment of a ritual obligation to his kourotrophos. If this interpretation is plausible, it provides an extra dimension to the use of ritual in Aiginetan epinician poetry: one which allows privileged access to more personal aspects of the life of an Aiginetan aristocratic family, but one which provides little evidence for a communitarian orientation to the evocation of ritual in Aiginetan epinician poetry."

7.4 Aphaia

7.4.1 *Overview*

A range of archaeological, epigraphic, and textual data indicates that Aphaia, whether a heroine or a goddess,[159] was a figure of cult on Aigina in the third quarter of the 5th century BCE. Cult activity at the site of her sanctuary is evident already in the Geometric period, and it continued, presumably without interruption, until the exile of Aiginetans in 431 BCE. Whether Athenians used the sanctuary during their hold of the island, or only inventorized the property is not clear. Perhaps after the restoration of the Aiginetans to their island at the end of the Peloponnesian war, cult activity at Aphaia also resumed:[160] pottery finds of the early, middle and late 5th century BCE,[161] as well as lamps of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE attest to the fact that worship continued at the sanctuary, even if it changed in character.[162] Also some construction and expansion of the sanctuary occurred even in the 4th century BCE and later.[163] The indication that the cult was still active in mid-2nd century CE is that Pausanias (2.30.3) mentioned it as current rather than abandoned, although it is certain that he did not visit the sanctuary in person. This chapter analyzes the evidence only with a view to the social functions of Aphaia. Further historical and contextual considerations can be found in 9.2.1, 9.2.2, and 11.6.

The identity of Aphaia and the function of her cult and sanctuary are still matters of debate among scholars—almost two centuries after the discovery of her temple, and after decades of excavations and interpretive work, primarily by German and British archaeologists. The evidence is uneven in quantity and quality: rich archaeological data, some epigraphic sources, and very little and late textual evidence. Archaeological material, such as architectural remains, sculpture, and votive dedications, offer wide

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159 As a daughter of Zeus and a mortal woman, Aphaia fits the category of heroines. That she was originally neither divine nor immortal is reflected in Paus. (2.30.3) who says that Artemis made Britomartis, whose epiclesis on Aigina is Aphaia, into a goddess: ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις.

160 Furtwängler and Welter (1938b, 76) thought that the sanctuary fell into oblivion ("es gerät in Vergessenheit") after the exile of the Aiginetans from Aigina in 431 BCE because no sculpture later than the Early Classical has been found at the site, but the absence of new sculpture is not a secure indicator of the lack of ritual activity.

161 Williams 1987, 629–80.

162 Bailey 1991, 31–68.

163 Williams 1987, 678.

room for interpretation, but serious methodological hurdles prevent us from making the evidence speak clearly to the social functions of the cult. Also, the textual evidence, unlike in other cases, for instance, of Zeus Hellanios, only weakly indicates the social functions of the goddess. Although we hear from Pausanias that Pindar wrote a song in honor of Aphaia, its genre is unclear, and there is also no room for speculating a ritual procession from Aigina-town to the sanctuary of Aphaia on the basis of Pindar's prosodion for Aiakos, *Paean* 15 (see my discussion in 7.2.7).[164]

7.4.2 *Mythical Persona and Social Roles*

I begin by discussing the textual evidence (see Appendix 5 for texts and translation). Pausanias 2.30.3 and Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphosis* 40 provide detailed accounts of the myth.[165] Several features of the story resound in the two accounts: (a) Aphaia is an Aiginetan name of a foreign deity; (b) Aphaia arrived from Crete; (c) on Crete she is called Britomartis-Diktynna; (d) Britomartis was a virgin; (e) she was pursued by Minos, and other men, and forced to flee by sea; (f) she was saved from pursuit with a help of nets; (g) she came to different lands and was given different names and worshipped as a goddess; (h) Britomartis was associated with Artemis.

Both Pausanias and Libanius attempt to connect the name of Aphaia with the verb *phainomai* "to appear, show oneself," although Libanius is better at connecting the storyline with the name: Britomartis "disappears" (becomes *aphanês*) when she comes to shore on Aigina and that is why she is called *Aphaia* ("who does not show herself"). The connection with Artemis is played out in Pausanias as a common motif: a virgin who likes running and hunting is a favorite of Artemis, but in Libanius, this connection is somewhat confused. He mentions the sanctuary of Aphaia, on

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[164] Watson (2011, 95) tries to build on the hypothesis of a procession from Aigina-town to Aphaia.

[165] Pausanias recognizes the signs of Britomartis' persona in several other cultic instances, e.g., in Sparta: Paus. 3.14.2: "There is a place in Sparta called Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves of the Agiad kings, and near is what is called the lounge of the Crotani, who form a part of the Pitanatans . . . On returning to the lounge you see a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They surname her also Lady of the Lake, though she is not really Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. I deal with her in my account of Aigina" (Trans. W. H. S. Jones). Johnston (1999, 217 and 243) catalogues Aphaia's myth as a particular type, "a dying maiden," who in exchange for her death/near death experience receives honor in a deity's cult: becomes a cult statue, or a priestess.

the one hand, and then a spot in the sanctuary of Artemis, which is consecrated to Aphaia.

In Attic literary sources, Diktynna is a surname of Artemis.[166] Hellenistic and Roman sources stress that Britomartis was a separate character only later associated with Artemis.[167] This may be important for the evaluation of our testimonies. For my investigation, both points are important. On Aigina, Aphaia and Artemis each had a sanctuary, although we do not know when the temple of Artemis came into being next to the temple of Apollo in Aigina town (see 7.7.2). Antoninus Liberalis says that an image of Britomartis appeared in the sanctuary of Artemis on Aigina, but this is no evidence of chronology. In his time (perhaps 2nd century CE), the sanctuary of Artemis was part of the physical topography of Aigina, and could be incorporated as a topographic reference into any local story, but it is of note that a connection to Artemis is registered both in the case of Aphaia, and of her counterparts Britomartis/Diktynna on Crete. To sum up, the mythological sources supply us with the characteristics of Aphaia as a virgin and a newcomer from overseas. This information does not point directly to the functions this goddess served on Aigina. We thus turn to the archaeological evidence, which consists in the physical remains of the sanctuary, inscriptions,[168] sculpture, small objects (presumably votive), and pottery.

7.4.3 *Cultic Setting: The Sanctuary*

The remains of the sanctuary (see Map 5) include a temple (with a statue base in the northwest corner of the cella,[169] and floor cuttings indicating another base, throne, or table in the center of the cella), as well as the remains of an earlier Archaic temple (displayed in the Museum on

[166] Eur. *Hipp*. 145–50, 1127–30; Eur. *Iph. Taur*. 126–27; Aristoph. *Frogs* 1355–62. It is absolutely methodologically wrong to transfer, as Burnett (2005, 30) does, the characteristics of the Attic Artemis Diktynna directly onto Aphaia: the same epithet is not a sure indication of the sameness of social meaning in two different local contexts, and moreover, Diktynna, appears as a Cretan counterpart of the Aiginetan Aphaia only as late as Pausanias, where it can be a product of learned analogizing, and is never found in the earlier textual or epigraphic sources from Aigina.

[167] Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 3.189–203; Diod. Sic. 5.76.3; Paus. 3.14.2.

[168] The inventory of the sanctuary (*IG* IV² 1037; *SEG* XI, 28; Guarducci, *EG* 4.293–296), a potentially precious piece of evidence, unfortunately does not provide us with any information that could point to the social function of cult. The objects listed in the inventory of the sanctuary are cultic, but not characteristic of specific social functions (see Appendix 4).

[169] See Bankel 1993, pl. 54: his ground plan shows square dowel holes in the center of the cella and a statue base in the northwest corner.

site).[170] The temple is connected by a ramp to the altar and surrounded by a peribolos wall with a propylon. Two complexes of additional buildings are located to the southeast and west of the peribolos. Also, there was an underground cistern for the collection of water a few meters from the northeast corner of the temple.[171] In addition, there were some free-standing architectural and sculptural installations: an Ionic column,[172] several statue or column bases along the altar,[173] and possibly free-standing sculptural groups. The inventory of the temple (*IG* IV² 1037) mentions an *amphipoleion* and some items stored there. This may have been a special building used for the storage of temple equipment. Finally, a major part of the archaeological evidence consists in the surviving fragments of pedimental sculpture that adorned the last (and still standing, in reconstructed form) temple.

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[170] See Schwandner 1985.

[171] The cistern was built adjacent to a small natural cave, which may have also served as an access route for the construction of the cistern (See Fig. 6 and Map 5). The cave, which was probably much smaller originally than it is now and grown bigger due to weathering rather than to human activity (Furtwängler 1906, 88), allegedly served as a depository of some of the earliest votive material at the site (Thiersch 1928, 157). Thiersch used the presence of the cave and the hill-top location of the sanctuary to argue that Aphaia was a typical prehistoric hill-top deity, similar to those depicted on the Minoan seals: "as an entrance to Hades it can be seen even less than as a place for offerings, but probably as a hiding place, as a refuge for those pursued in the later Greek legend (Anton. Liber. 40), above all as a secret, hidden dwelling of the mountain goddess of the most ancient, original, pre-Greek conception" (Thiersch 1928, 159). Furtwängler (1906, 88) stressed, however, that the Aiginetan cave does not measure up either to the scale of the famous Cretan caves, or to the votive gifts, which stem from their interiors, and explicitly denied any cultic significance to the Aphaia cave, specifically stating that no votive material was found there ("auch fanden sich keinerlei Votivgegenstände hier"), contra Thiersch 1928, 157. Goette (2001, 342) makes a conjecture, presumably on the basis of *IG* IV² 1036, that the cave was a shrine of Pan, but Furtwängler makes it clear that the present cave should not mislead us: it is a product of erosion, not an original ancient installation.

[172] Thiersch interpreted the presence of a colossal early Ionic column at Aphaia comparable with the Sphinx-column of Delphi, as evidence for the Chthonic nature of Aphaia, to which her presumed dwelling in a cave supplied further support (Thiersch 1928, 162). Thiersch believed that the Aphaia column supported a sphinx, but at the time of the classical temple the column was not up any more, while the sphinx survived as a symbol, and moved to the acroterion of the new temple. Thiersch observed, however wrongly, that a sphinx was a relatively rare acroterion-animal, and had to be preserved for its religious importance for this place (see 7.6.4 for sphinxes on Kolonna). Thiersch's view of Aphaia is part of his bigger work on the Chthonic cults on Aigina, and his approach is thoroughly conditioned by his acceptance of the dichotomy Olympian-Chthonian.

[173] Fred Cooper (Typescript of the Mellon Lecture, Open Meeting of the American School of Classical Studies, 27 March 1985, p. 7, provided to me by the author) has argued that the bases supported a tetrastylon, which, in the case of Aphaia, consisted of "four free-standing columns with or without an entablature above . . . Aphaia A, B, C, and the Nike Base A are all re-used blocks."

It is primarily this last set of the archaeological data that has been the focus of attention for art historians, archaeologists, and historians ever since the discovery of the sanctuary of Aphaia in 1811.[174] When discovered, the sanctuary was first identified as that of Zeus Hellanios, then as that of Athena (because statues of Athena were found among the pedimental sculpture), and finally the epigraphic finds of the early 20th century allowed proper identification of the sanctuary as that of Aphaia.[175] Before we can move on to the discussion of the social roles of Aphaia that can be gleaned from the archaeological evidence, we must address one long-standing interpretation of the sculptural fragments and the statue bases in the temple, which suggests that either Aphaia was at some point conceived of as Athena, or that the temple originally belonging to Aphaia had been at some point rededicated to a new deity, Athena, or that the two were *synnaoi*, "sharing a temple."

7.4.4 *Material Evidence and the Athena-Hypothesis*

Besides the pedimental figures of Athena, further sculptural remains led Dieter Ohly to believe that Athena became the center of cult at Aphaia at some point in time. Marble fragments of a right arm and a hand of an acrolithic statue, found to the north of the temple,[176] were interpreted by him as belonging to the cult statue of the early 5th century BCE. Four circular holes in the center of the cella floor indicated to him the location of a statue base, or of a throne, presumably of the main deity of the temple.[177] Ohly interpreted the fragments of the right arm (flexed at a straight angle, with a fist and fingers clasped around a missing shaft) as belonging to the statue type of Athena Promakhos. In 1977, Ohly printed a photograph with a reconstruction of the temple's cella and Athena's statue in the center. Ohly also made a hypothetical connection between the cult statue and the presence of Athena on the pediments of the temple (see Fig. 7). In his opinion, Athena on the pediments of Aphaia appears as a patron-deity of the Aiginetan heroes, the Aiakids, and in her central position there, she must be understood as the protectress of the islanders. Acknowledging

174 Cockerell 1860.

175 Furtwängler 1906.

176 NM 4500; Ohly 1976, pls. 235–237.

177 Meanwhile, he interpreted the statue base placed against the back wall of the cella as that of the original Aphaia (Ohly 1977, 16–17), presumably removed from her central position in the cella when a new statue was introduced. In Ohly's view this new statue would have been that of Athena.

the absence of any firm evidence in support of his hypothesis, Ohly granted that Athena must have come to the sanctuary of Aphaia about 500 BCE as a co-inhabitant, "Mitbewohnerrin."[178]

Ohly's hypothesis about the Aphaia-Athena sanctuary has taken root in scholarly literature,[179] although an alternative interpretation has been aired. Dyfri Williams suggested that since we have no evidence for the re-dedication of the temple to Athena, we may be better off looking for an image consistent with that of Aphaia. He proposed that a statuary representation of Artemis, with a spear or an axe in her right hand, could fit the anatomy of the sculptural remains.[180] The sculptural evidence therefore is open to more than one interpretation. In addition, it should be said that our efforts to match the image of Aphaia with the goddesses familiar from elsewhere, although understandable, might be misdirected. Aphaia may have had an iconography all her own: although elements of contemporary sculptural typology could have been borrowed for her image, they need not have carried the same meanings as the hypothetical prototypes.[181]

The presence of Athena on the pediments is not a sure guide to the identity of the cult figure. In the Archaic period, the central pedimental figure only occasionally represented the main deity of the temple,[182] while in most cases the pediments tell a story of their own, and this is most likely the case at Aphaia. In addition, Walter-Karydi has argued that when the design of pedimental groups, in the Late Archaic period, began to privilege a composition with a divine figure in the centre, the so-called 'effective centre,' "it is Athena who is invariably the 'effective centre' in all Late Archaic pediment groups known to date."[183] Walter-Karydi, there-

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178 Ohly 1977.

179 E.g., Howie 1989, 67: "In the second part of the prayer, the reference to Zeus as husband of Hera reminds the audience of Hera's role as goddess of marriage and the reference to Athena as kora is reminiscent of her role as kourotrophos. As a virgin goddess she is well qualified to be one . ., and in Aigina she seems to have been identified with the local kourotrophos goddess Aphaia . . ."

180 Williams 1999.

181 On the methodological issues involved in the interpretation of iconography, see 6.3.3.

182 See Bookidis 1967.

183 Walter-Karydi 2006, 74. She lists the following examples: on Aigina, in the west pediment of the Apollo temple (Walter-Karydi 1987, 147)—the basis for identification is very slight: a foot fragment that resembles one from the Athena of the West pediment of Aphaia; west pediment of Aphaia, the first Aphaia East pediment; west pediment of the Apollo temple in Eretria; pediment of a temple in the Apollo sanctuary of Karthaia on Keos; pediment of the temple of Athena Pronaia in Delphi.

fore, strongly argues against the identification of the 'effective centre' figure with the deity worshipped in a temple:

> [t]he choice of Athena as 'effective centre' has rather to do with her personality, as it was seen in those years, that is, as a goddess familiar with battle but who was also prudent and wise . . . Moreover, Athena is the Olympian deity most often featured in Late Archaic, and not just Attic, myth images. When, therefore, the 'effective centre' was devised—which changed the arrangement of figures and placed pediment scenes under the authority of the deity at the centre—Athena was the natural choice. She does not intervene in the battle raging about her—significantly, these are never battles of gods. She remains invisible and determines destinies. She is non-partisan but it is she who decides the outcome. She is not involved in the action and for this reason she appears always as standing, not striding figure.[184]

It is easy to see how a few of Walter-Karydi's assertions might be challenged by other art historians, but the significant point that matters for the Aiginetan context is that the appearance of Athena as the 'effective centre' is not an isolated phenomenon, nor a uniquely Aiginetan one. The Aiginetan sculptors may have been pioneers in devising or promoting the 'effective centre' and in placing Athena in that position, but the fashion had apparently quickly spread.

There is much debate about whether the placement of Athena on the Aphaia pediments may have had an ideological or political significance vis-à-vis Aiginetan rivalry with Athens in the years 510–480, called by Herodotus the "unheralded war," and by some modern historians the 'propaganda war' or the 'cult war.'[185] Walter-Karydi's observations on the use of Athena as 'effective centre' in late Archaic, and we may add, early Classical pediments, is useful, as it helps to put into perspective a tendency to overemphasize the local political significance of art, a tendency, which occasionally runs the risk of being myopic. In other words, Athena's presence in the Aphaia pediments may have had to do with artistic choices of the sculptors and/or with the political interests of the commissioners of the temple. There is room for a combination of both explanations, that is, that the artistic choice of Athena as an 'effective centre' left room for further political elaborations of the pediments' messages, through the use of particular poses and gestures, as well as through the choice and placement of the other figures in the battle scenes.

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[184] Walter-Karydi 2006, 7.

[185] E.g., Williams 1987, 672–3; Athanassaki 2011, 281; Watson 2011, 110.

There is almost a virtual agreement among scholars these days that the Aphaia pediments represented the two Trojan wars,[186] and that they both gave special prominence to the Aiakid heroes, even possibly shifting the emphasis found in traditional poetic versions, such as Homer, to highlight the roles of the Aiakids, such as Telamon and Ajax.[187] Most opinions converge that Athena's presence would have been read as a contestation of her patronage over the Aiginetan arch-rivals, the Athenians, instead emphasizing that Athena fought on the side of the Aiginetan heroes of old, the Aiakids, and that such a message may have had a special poignancy and purpose in the 480–470s BCE, when the pediments were crafted[188] (see further discussion in 11.6). Recently, a radically different interpretation of the figure of Athena on the Aphaia pediments was proposed by Guy Hedreen. He notes that "the compositions of the Aphaia pediments have more in common with representations of the sack of Troy than with depictions of the war as it was fought on the Trojan plain,"[189] and from this premise, he develops an argument about Athena's presence in the pediments not as a representation of a goddess (visible or inivisble to the figthers), but as a statue of herself that serves to mark the location of the battle as Troy.[190] The implications of such an interpretation are far-reaching, especially for the ideological readings of the pediments, to which we shall return in chapter 11.6.

For our present concerns, namely to see whether the presence of Athena has a bearing on the deity worshipped in the temple, we should answer most emphatically in the negative.[191] In addition, there is no evidence for equating Aphaia with Athena, or even for surmising a joint cult for the two at any point in history. It must be noted that all inscribed votives found at the site are addressed only to Aphaia, and never does Athena or any other deity for that matter, make an appearance.

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186 Furtwängler 1906, 308; Ohly 1977; Walter-Karydi 2006, 54–69; Wünsche 2006.

187 The first expedition against Troy is portrayed as led by Herakles, with whom Telamon comes as a companion. In Pindar's Aiginetan odes, and in the Aphaia pediments, it is argued, Telamon is given prominence over Herakles (see Indergaard 2011). In the second campaign, Achilles and Ajax are the most prominent Achaean heroes, both of them Aiakids, according to the Aiginetan tradition, and Ajax is being identified on the basis of a shield-design of an eagle, reconstructed through the study of paint remains (Brinkmann and Wünsche 2003, 84–113; Wünsche 2006).

188 For this dating of the pediments, see discussion in Stewart 2008b.

189 Hedreen 2011, 354.

190 Hedreen 2011, 351–369.

191 So also Watson 2011, 91–92.

7.4.5 *Social Roles Suggested by Votive Dedications*

Let us now consider the votive dedications. Votive dedications constitute a potentially promising corpus of data for determining social functions of a cult, as has been successfully shown in some instances.[192] At the same time, the interpretation of votive objects is complicated by a number of factors: a) faulty statistics in evaluating the numbers of votive objects en masse and by specific categories, because these numbers often depend on chance survivals; b) common assumptions about the meaning of visual symbols in ancient Greek culture in general; c) the impossibility of determining a local meaning of visual symbols in the absence of additional independent local data. These factors undermine the method of analysis that suggests that we can determine the character of a deity by isolating characteristic, that is, unusual, offerings in significant quantities.[193] For example, an intriguing situation can be observed with regard to the small votive objects found at two major sacred sites on Aigina, Aphaia and Kolonna: nearly all categories of votives, including "unusual" pieces, are present at both sites.[194] The two sites are attributed to different deities, but the similarity of votive assemblages associated with each should make us wary about putting too much weight on the ability of votives to articulate the specific nature of a deity, or else we have to entertain the possibility that the functions of Aphaia and of the deities worshipped at Kolonna overlapped in significant ways, which, in any case, is not impossible.

Keeping the interpretive limitations in mind, we should nevertheless try to make sense of the votive material at Aphaia. Pottery constitutes a large proportion of the finds from Aphaia, but as a generic form of ritual utensils and dedications, it offers little in terms of indicating the specific social roles of Aphaia, apart from indicating that ritual dining may have taken place at the sanctuary.[195] The pottery remains are also too fragmentary to allow functional analysis of visual representations. Votive figurines,

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[192] Recent and useful study of votives in the sanctuaries of Hera: Baumbach 2004, with a methodological discussion (1–10, 177–193), who demonstrates the potential of votives to illuminate local characteristics of cult. Simon 1986 offers a less optimistic assessment of votives. See also the now classical study by Sourvinou-Inwood 1978.

[193] Sinn (1988, 149–59) used this approach in the study of the dedicatory material from the historical period, and Korinne Pilafidis-Williams 1998 applied it to the prehistoric votives at Aphaia.

[194] Such objects include: pins and fibulae, rings made of wound-up metal strips, imports of Oriental origin (e.g., Egyptian scarabs and figurines of fayence; or carved tridachna shells), terracotta figurines of 'kourotrophos' type, fat-bellied demons, etc.).

[195] Williams 1982; Sinn 1988.

however, constitute a large group of material objects from the sanctuary. The figurines were presumably brought to the sanctuary specifically for religious purposes, and hence should speak to the nature of worshippers' concerns more directly than largely generic pottery.

In the corpus of about 370 figurines at Aphaia, there are some 100 of Geometric and Early Archaic date, of which 65 are animal-shapes, constituting the largest group of images in this period. This is typical of early votives at most sanctuaries (e.g., Isthmia, Olympia, Kalapodi, Argive Heraion, Samos).[196] The animals represented by figurines (mostly ceramic, but also some bronze) are predominantly domestic, with a few examples of those often hunted, such as birds, hare or deer, and turtle.[197] Along with domestic species, those in the latter category are attested in Greece as possible sacrificial animals. It is plausible therefore that figurines act as substitutes for, or references to, a real sacrifice. Figurines of horses and horseriders might be, in a region unsuitable to horsekeeping such as Aigina, references to warrior or aristocratic status.[198]

In the later Archaic and Classical periods, the largest group of votives are human shapes, about 130, and practically all of them are female (only 10 are male). Numerous pieces of jewelry and elements of dress, such as pins and fibulae, along with ointment vessels (about 70 just among the terracottas) together with large numbers of female figurines suggest that women constituted a large proportion of dedicants at Aphaia and perhaps addressed the deity with an array of female concerns.[199] Weaving, a typically female occupation, may have been one of these concerns, since whorls and loomweights were also found at the sanctuary.[200] A small number of figurines, made of fayence, represent kneeling humans:[201] these would not be of much note, if it were not for the evidence of kneeling cult images in another sanctuary on Aigina, that of Damia and Auxesia. Whether we

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196 Kalapodi: Morgan 2003, 119.

197 Earliest examples (Geometric) are ceramic cattle: Furtwängler 1906, 376–7, no. 41; also bronze ox: p. 391, no. 1, pl. 117, 7. Horses: bronze (p. 391, no. 2, pl. 113, 2), ceramic (p. 378, no. 57, pl. 108, 23 and pl. 111, 17; p. 383, no. 106, pl. 108, 24). Goats: p. 385, no. 121, 122. Rooster: p. 391, no. 3, pl. 113, 1 (bronze); hens: p. 380, no. 70, pl. 111, 21; hen with chicks: p. 380, no. 71, pl. 111, 19; duck: p. 380, no. 73. Doves and other birds: p. 380, no. 72, 74–79. Hare or deer: p. 380, no. 69. Turtles: p. 383, no. 98–99.

198 As far as I know, Aiginetans are not attested among winners of chariot races in the stephanitic games. Horserider figurine: Furtwängler 1906, 378, no. 53.

199 Thiersch identified Aphaia as a "Beschützerin der Frauen," a protectress of women, and Sinn's analysis of the votives also takes this idea as a basic notion.

200 Furtwängler 1906, pls. 118 and 119.

201 Furtwängler 1906, p. 387, nos. 15–18.

are to consider related functions of the deities on the basis of this singular feature of visual representation is a question, which is impossible to answer at present. Thus, a brief survey of votives gives a rather general characteristic of the cult.

A further collection of votive objects at Aphaia points to the sea. There are nine votive ships,[202] and an ivory eye, found by von Haller and Cockerell in the cella of the temple, which may have decorated the bow of a ship-model.[203] Ship prows were sometimes dedicated in sanctuaries on the occasion of a naval victory or survival at sea. We hear from Herodotus 3.59 that prows in the shape of boar-heads were dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena on Aigina on the occasion of a naval victory against Samians.[204] It has been argued that the passage in fact originally read "Aphaia" instead of Athena (see discussion in 7.9.1).[205] The small size of the Aphaia ivory eye (0.118m in length, and 0.055m in height) does not support the idea of a dedicated life-size prow, but perhaps a model of a ship.[206]

We should consider as a related body of evidence the dedications made by two men, Aristophantos and Damonidas, who apparently were engaged in long-distance overseas commerce, as their names appear on imported Chian pottery of the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BCE found at Aphaia.[207] Possible dedications of Aristophantos alone were also found

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[202] Sinn (1988, 151) lists Inv. Nr. T 19–25, T 140, and T 328 and also describes three fragments of female images (Inv. No. T 330, T 331, T413) as holding what he calls "flower-decorated ship-shapes," but this identification is certainly wrong (Kowalzig 2011, 166 repeats this misidentification). The elongated shapes on the chests of the figurines are more likely the folds of a dress pinned with fibulae on the shoulder: cf. Baumbach 2004, 20, fig. 2.18 for a similar example and identification ("double clay band that indicates the upper folds of the peplos"), also 47, fig. 2.82.

[203] Furtwängler 1906, 426, ivory object no. 2, fig. 333. Furtwängler (1906, 426) and Sinn (1988, 152) speculate that a model of a ship could have been carried in a procession in honor of Aphaia, celebrating her arrival to Aigina across the Aegean sea. Comparanda: the Panathenaic ship (Parker 2005, 262) and the ship-wagon of Dionysos in the Athenian Anthesteria (Parker 2005, 302).

[204] Incidentally, ships and models of ships were common dedications to Hera in the Samian Heraion: Baumbach 2004, 165–166.

[205] Furtwängler embraced a hypothesis of Kurz (1863) that this reference in Herodotus originally referred to Aphaia, and was amended to read "Athena" by a scribe unfamiliar with the name Aphaia, at some point in the line of manuscript transmission.

[206] Sarah Morris (1984, 98) mistakes the size of the eye, but her reference in n. 43 to Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1978 is useful. I am not sure why the size of the eye continues to be cited as large: e.g., Kowalzig 2011, 166. Surely, the size is relative to the purpose.

[207] For the Chian pottery from Aphaia and identities of possible dedicants, see Williams 1983.

in the town of Aigina,[208] as well as at the international emporion of Naukratis,[209] while Damonidas might be restored as a name of a dedicant on a limestone base found at Aphaia.[210] Presumably committing their own persons and their trading goods to the dicey fortunes of seaborne travel, they would have had every reason to propitiate deities concerned with seafaring. Another dimension to the volume of pottery dedicated by Aristophantos, in particular, has been suggested by Dyfri Williams, namely that Aristophantos and Damonidas placed an order for a whole service of *kantharoi* and donated them to the sanctuary of Aphaia for ceremonial occasions: "all shapes are associated with drinking and the pouring of libations—chalice-kraters, chalices, kantharoi, mugs, cups, phialai and jugs."[211] Additionally, Williams speculates that the absence of painted dedications and small numbers of Chian pottery at Kolonna suggest that "the traders responsible for the Chian connection had their homes in the Eastern part of the island or felt a particular responsibility for the cult of Aphaia."[212] Dedications by Aristophantos and Damonidas, both of them most likely Aiginetans, as Williams argues on the basis of the script of their dedications, can be seen as representative tradesmen and seafarers, so both of these occupations might be related to the sphere of Aphaia's concerns.

In addition, both elements of the aetiological myth of Aphaia (her overseas journey from Crete and her salvation by means of nets, and the location of her sanctuary on a hill above the harbour of Ag. Marina) underscore the maritime dimension of Aphaia's character. The ridge-top position of the sanctuary overlooking the sea to the north and southeast (towards Crete) makes Aphaia visible from the sea to any vessels approaching from the named directions, and the safe harbour of Agia Marina is just southeast at the foot of the hill crowned by the sanctuary.[213]

To evaluate the dedications of Aristophantos and Damonidas from another angle: here we have male worshippers approaching Aphaia. Trade and seafaring are male concerns, and hence, it appears that Aphaia

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[208] A marble base found at the port of Aigina: Aigina Mus. Inv. 2461; Williams 1983, 184, n. 52. An appropriate place in the harbour of ancient Aigina for dedications by merchants may have been the sanctuary of Aphrodite (see chapter 7.5).

[209] Possible dedications of Aristophantos on Chian and Attic pots in Naukratis: BM. 1924.12–1.821 and BM.1924.12–1.830; Williams 1983, 184, n. 53.

[210] Williams 1983, 184, n. 51: Δαμ[ονιδας].

[211] Williams 1983, 184–186; Jarosch-Reinhold (2009, 57–58) uses this hypothetical role of Aristophantos as a model for the role of her EIA aristocratic sympotic host at Kolonna.

[212] Williams 1983, 183.

[213] Contra Burnett (2005, 44) who seems to be unfamiliar with the Aiginetan topography. To the east of Aphaia the view of the sea is blocked by a higher peak.

serviced both female worshippers, whose dress pins and jewelry testify to their presence, and male worshippers. The presence of male worshippers, and not only those concerned with trade, is also evident from the dedications of military objects (shields, helmets, spear- and arrow-points, and miniature-armour) that bespeak both warfare and hunting.[214] These dedications range from the Geometric to Classical periods.[215] The military and hunting spheres, as concerns of Aphaia, might be also reflected in the belligerent pose of the presumed cult statue, if a fragment of an acrolithic arm belongs to her.[216] Names of dedicants inscribed on pottery also reflect the presence of men.[217] It may also be significant that the priest of Aphaia was male, as we learn from the Archaic inscription *IG* IV² 1038.[218] Thus, if we are to judge from the votives, men approach Aphaia apparently with their male concerns in mind: seafaring, trade, war, and possibly hunting.

There are further smaller groups of votives that may be indicative, although to what extent is debatable: a group of eight relief plaques (probably of local workmanship) representing standing females with hands around their breasts, and a marble statuette of similar iconography.[219] Such visual gestures are typically thought to symbolize fertility. Whether they represent a deity or a worshipper constitutes a perennial question of iconographic studies, but since similar reliefs also come from the Kolonna site, they indicate that in any case they do not represent the function

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[214] Maass 1984, 263–80, especially 276. Spear- and arrow-points could be attributed to hunting alone, but helmets and shields were typically used in warfare, although they make an occasional appearance in visual representations of the hunt. When they do, the purpose is to visually equate hunting with battle: Barringer 2001, 21–22. Miniature shields are attested in the Samian Heraion (Baumbach 2004, 158) and are thought (Brize 1989–1990) to be dedications by "young men who reached adulthood."

[215] The earliest piece is a fragment of helmet, which might be as early as Protogeometric, but as Maass points (1984, 274–275) out, dedications of armor in such an early period are unattested. He suggests that the helmet may have been dedicated in the later period, Geometric, as an heirloom. Other helmet fragments date in the 7th century.

[216] Maass 1984, 277. Thiersch (1928, 157) and Reinach thought that the φάσμα γυναικὸς, which appeared to the Greeks before the battle of Salamis, (Hdt. 8 84: Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· Ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούσεσθε;), could be conceived as Aphaia.

[217] Williams 1987, 629–80.

[218] Aigina Mus. 2412; *IG* IV² 1038; Furtwängler 1906, 367, fig. 292, pl. 25.

[219] Inv. I, 203 and II, 158 (Furtwängler 1906, 384, nos. 111 and 112). These two came from the same mold as the relief plaques found at Kolonna (Margreiter 1988, 23 and 68–69, cat. nos. 135–137). All pieces are attributed to the Aiginetan workshop of the 7th cent. BCE. Marble statuette: Inv. S 151 Kore (Ohly-Dumm and Robertson 1988, 415–18, figs. 22–26, second quarter of the 6th century).

of Aphaia uniquely.[220] Another group of votives consists of thirteen so-called "Dickbauch-Dämonen" ("fat-bellied demons").[221] According to Sinn, of the known forty places where these votives appear, nowhere are they as numerous as at Aphaia. Two latter groups of votives, females holding their breasts and "Dickbauch-Dämonen," led Sinn to conclude that the main function of Aphaia was that of Kourotrophos,[222] and that it was her predominant function in the period from the 8th to the 5th centuries BCE.[223] The idea of Aphaia as Kourotrophos also allowed Sinn to bridge what appeared to him as a gap between the female sphere and the evident presence of male worshippers at the sanctuary.[224] The same idea allowed Sinn

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[220] Higgins 1967, 49, 146.

[221] Aphaia sanctuary, Inv. T 8–18, T 314, T 319. Two fat-bellied demons are also known at Kolonna: Margreiter 1988, 25, 69, cat. nos. 151–152: Samian production of late Archaic date.

[222] Sinn 1988, 153. The fact that the "fat-belly demons" also appear in graves on Aigina, as Sinn (1988, 153, n. 29) mentions, and also at the site of Kolonna, suggests that we should be careful in identifying their symbolism in the cult of Aphaia as narrowly that of *kourotrophos*. Their symbolic and ritual meaning may have been more varied. More directly pointing to the function of *kourotrophos* is a figurine of a woman with child from the Classical period: Furtwängler 1906, 384, fig. 316.

[223] Already Furtwängler (1906, 380) spoke of Aphaia as a goddess of childbirth and child-rearing. Pilafidis-Williams makes a good point of observing that the historical myths of Aphaia portray her in a typical role of a virgin trying to escape sexual advances of a male. This element of the myths perhaps indicates that Aphaia was conceived of as a virgin goddess. "Like Artemis, Britomartis, Aphaia and Diktynna have not the asexual type of virginity of Athena, but rather an erotic and challenging virginity. This virginity is clearly one of the main attributes of those goddesses and of a kourotrophos, since a divine nurse should be pure and free of any physical contact with men in order to raise a divine child. Indeed, Artemis was often worshipped as kourotrophos and, as such, she merges with Eileithyia, who herself as goddess of childbirth was thought of as a virgin" (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 144). Incidentally, the association between Kourotrophos and Eileithyia, invoked by Pilafidis-Williams, finds interesting reverberations in one of the most intriguing creations of Pindar. Pindar's *N.* 7 opens with an invocation to Eileithyia, and this is rather puzzling: why should Eileithyia, a goddess of birth, and naturally, of female concerns, be present in an *epinikion* for a boy? Kurke (1991, 71–82) sees this image as symbolic of an athlete's victory: a victory is like a new birth, or rebirth, for his family, from oblivion into fame. But Eileithyia, is not simply mentioned as a symbol, she is said to have helped Sogenes to come to fame. This is striking for several reasons: in *epinikia*, Pindar often mentions deities and heroes who help athletes win, but those are always figures of contemporary cult. "Eileithyia" of *N.* 7 has always been taken as a poetic figure, not a figure of local cult, and we otherwise have no evidence of an Eileithyia cult on Aigina. At the same time, if assistance in birth was one of Aphaia's functions, it would have been strange for Pindar who wrote a hymn for Aphaia not to have referred to her directly. Also, other Aiginetan deties, Damia and Auxesia, might be more closely connected with the functions of Eileithyia than Aphaia. A reference in Pindar therefore remains a puzzle.

[224] The link between female and male worshippers in the cult of Kourotrophos rests on the interest of both sexes in the continuation of family: "Unter diesem Aspekt gerät das Wirken der Kourotrophos dann auch in das Blickfeld der Männer. In ihren obern aus

to attribute to Aphaia the supervision of hypothetical rites of passage, which he deduced from the presence of thin bronze strips interpreted as hair-bands:[225] Sinn thinks that locks of hair were dedicated to Aphaia as part of some ritual of coming of age. The number of these bands, whatever their purpose, is too small at Aphaia to suggest that they signal a primary function of the deity.[226] Sinn's approach, which assigns definitive value to unusual offerings, is not necessarily sound. For instance, an example of a Panathenaic amphora is better viewed as a singular personal dedication rather than a reflection of Aphaia's patronage of athletics.[227] The combined majority of votives at Aphaia present a much more diverse picture than could be covered by the designation of *kourotrophos*. There are figurines of animal shapes, female figurines (only some of which represent or suggest nursing), female items of adornment and dress, as well as of female occupations, such as weaving; military objects, and seafaring symbols. More importantly, I do not see any reason to blend various and distinct areas of Aphaia's social concerns (e.g., female sphere, overseas trade and travel, war and hunting) into one over-arching function, even if the hypothetical (in the case of Aphaia) function of *kourotrophos* is conceptually broad enough to accommodate them.[228] It seems rather more reasonable to see *kourotrophos* as but one of Aphaia's functions.

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dem Befund erschlossenen Feiern im Heiligtum der Aphaia-Kourotrophos gedenken sie das glücklichen und würdigen Fortbestehens ihrer Familien, ihres Stammesverbandes" (Sinn 1988, 158).

[225] E.g., Furtwängler 1906, vol. 2, pl. 116, nos. 35, 38, 40, 41, 42. Elsewhere, even on Aigina at Kolonna (Margreiter 1988, 16 and 65) where there are only three such examples, these wound-up strips of metal are interpreted as finger-rings, and those of bigger size as arm-bands.

[226] Sinn (1988, 158, n. 54) is able to cite only five, or at most, seven examples. Burnett (2005, 31) mistakenly cites "more than a hundred hair-clasps" at Aphaia: the German text (Sinn 1987, 139) refers to the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi, not to Aphaia: "Entsprechende Objekte [i.e., die Tüllen aus dünnem Bronzeblech] sind aus vielen Heiligtümern bekannt, so auch aus dem Artemisheiligtum von Lusoi. Die Gattung is dort in über 100 Exemplaren vertreten . . ." ("The corresponding objects are known from many sanctuaries, as, for example, from the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi. There [i.e., at Lousoi] this type is represented by over 100 pieces . . .")

[227] In 1811, Cockerell found a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora (A 26) on the offerings table in the rear room of the temple. Beazley attributed it to the Nikoxenos painter and dated it to 500–490 BCE. If dedicated at the time of production, and not much later as a heirloom, e.g., during the Athenian occupation of the island in 431–404 BCE, this gift presumably would have come from an Aiginetan rather than a foreign resident. See Williams 1987, 639. A panthenaic amphora (in five fragments) is also known from the site of Kolonna: Margreiter 1988, 31–32, 73, nos. 225–229, 2nd quarter of the 5th century BCE.

[228] Watson (2011, 90) follows Sinn here: "goddess for all Aiginetans," "kourotrophos, a goddess who cared not only for mothers and newborn infants, but also for those growing up."

As a final note, we should mention the presence of an under-lifesize *kouros* statue, of island workmanship, among the sculptural remains found at Aphaia. It dates to the middle of the 6th century BCE.[229] *Kouroi* at sanctuaries are typically seen as votive dedications. The presence of a *kouros* might be seen by some as supporting the hypothesis of the kourotrophic function of Aphaia, and by others as a prestigious dedication reflecting the contemporary artistic tastes of the aristocracy. It therefore adds little more certainty to the scope of Aphaia's concerns already indicated by other types of evidence.

Apart from votive gifts, there are no decisive data that could offer clues to the identification of the social functions of Aphaia. The architectural remains at Aphaia, and the pedimental sculptures shed little more light on this issue. A complex of buildings southeast of the *temenos*, since Furtwägler's excavation, has been identified as a series of dining rooms.[230] Dining facilities are not uncommon in sanctuaries, but there is no clear indication that ritual dining was associated with only some deities, or with a specific class of deities who shared a common social function.[231] At the same time, the small size of the dining facilities suggests that they could have been used only by a small group of people at a time and, hence, not meant to accommodate a large group of worshippers that would be expected during a public sacrifice and a feast of Aphaia. In the present state of our evidence, the membership of the small groups of diners at Aphaia cannot be ascertained, and therefore, the presence of the dining facilities, does not by itself illuminate the special social roles of Aphaia. In contrast to the inventory of Damia and Auxesia, the inventory of Aphaia does not provide such characteristic details of worship or of a deity's character as we learn from the former: there, numerous iron dress pins appear as indicators of a special votive type (also helpfully confirmed by Herodotus), and several *peploi* deposited in the sanctuary suggest a ritual of *peplos*-weaving and dedication possibly similar to that for Athena on

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229 Inv. 208; Ohly 1971, 520; Ohly-Dumm and Robertson 1981, 157–161, figs. 1–5.

230 Furtwängler 1906, 152, Southeast houses II–IV. The baths, if not the entire room where they are located, may be as late as the 1st century BCE (Williams 1987, 679).

231 Sinn (1988, 154) cites Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 206 in support of his hypothesis that the evidence of ritual dining at Aphaia lends further support to his identification of the cult as that of *kourotrophos*. But dining was associated with a far greater variety of deities and heroes: Gebhard (2002, 71–74) discussing dining caves at Isthmia, cites other examples, such as the Heraion at Perachora, Kabeirion at Thebes, Demeter and Kore at Corinth, et al. To cite examples closer to home: archaeological remains of dining facilities on Kolonna, as well as Thearion as a place of symposia (see chapters 7.6.8–7.6.9).

the Athenian acropolis. At Aphaia, only various items of equipment are listed, such as chairs, couches, containers, offering little insight into the social functions of the deity.

7.4.6 *What Can We Learn from the Pediments?*

We return to the issues raised in 7.4.4. Perhaps the most difficult and controversial, as well as the most discussed set of data connected with the sanctuary of Aphaia are the pedimental sculptures. In this section, I discuss only the potential of the pedimental composition for shedding light on the social functions of the deity (see further 9.2, 9.3, 11.6). The debate still goes on about the date, the number, the sequence, and the meaning of the pediments.[232] I side with the view that the sculptural remains represent just two pediments and, in addition, several free-standing sculptural groups.[233] One of these groups, by some identified as an early East pediment, seems to represent a scene of pursuit. The bottom part of a female statue survives, her feet in a running mode, the hem of her dress swept back by the motion.[234] The motif of a pursued maiden, sometimes described as "the rape of" that mythological character is well known from visual arts and the position of feet can be confidently matched with that motif (see earlier discussion in 7.4.4). The identification of the fleeing maiden with Aigina pursued by Zeus is primarily due to the known parallels on vases. We might like to ask, however, whether we are not overlooking a candidate that is much closer, Aphaia herself, who is depicted in all our myths as a pursued and fleeing maiden. The subject of the sculptural group 'Aphaia pursued by Minos,' as an illustration of her myth, would be a most relevant dedication/decoration for her sanctuary. I think this is a strong possibility, even if it offers fewer opportunities for loaded ideological interpretations of the whole decorative program at Aphaia than the Zeus-Aigina pair does.[235]

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[232] Ohly 1981, 46; 1992, 92–94. See Sinn (1987, 167) for a collation of relevant bibliography and more recently Hedreen 2011 (an excellent balanced and justifiably conservative presentation of the evidence and issues of debate) and Watson 2011.

[233] See Stewart 2008b. Kowalzig (2007, 209) who envisions four Aphaia pediments erroneously cites that one of the "earlier" pediments represented the birth of Aiakos; rather, there was probably a group representing a pursued and fleeing maiden, a popular motif in vase painting.

[234] Ohly (1981, 68–70, fig. 23; 2001, pls. 163–169) ascribes four sculptural fragments to this group: bottom part of a dress and feet of a running female, and three arm fragments.

[235] See Watson 2011, 94–113 (with references to Bankel 1993, 50–1 and Walter-Karydi 2006, 69–70 on the sculptural motif) for such attempts: "whether the group showing the

For our purposes, it is necessary to determine whether the pediments help to identify the social functions of Aphaia, i.e., the character of her cult. A rigorous evaluation yields a negative answer. Apart from the identity of Athena as the central figure of both pediments, the identification of other figures, and of overall scenes remains speculative. There are two general interpretations: one postulates that the pediments represent two Trojan wars, and the heroic ancestors of the Aiginetans, the Aiakids, as participants;[236] another argues that the pediments celebrate the return of the Herakleidai, and hence, the Dorian ancestry of Aigina. The identifications of the two Trojan wars hinge on several details: a lion-helmeted warrior of the west pediment, who is viewed as Herakles (see Fig. 8); a warrior in a pointed hat must be an oriental, and hence can be seen as a Trojan or Persian; pictorial motifs on shields of warriors (e.g., 'eagle with a snake' seen as a symbol of Ajax).[237] Although the representations of the Aiakids on this Aiginetan temple lend themselves to political interpretations, they help little with addressing the nature of Aphaia. Our mythological accounts give no indication of a link between the Aiakids and Aphaia, and hence their representation on the pediments, while possibly fitting the character of Aphaia's cult, is not what tells us about her character. About the latter we rather learn from the votive offerings and the myths. In addition, as has been already noted above, battle scenes, whoever the participants, became a popular motif of pedimental decoration in Late Archaic and Classical temples in general, and it would be wrong to suggest that in each case they corresponded to, or even indicated the belligerent nature of a deity worshipped in that temple, or a particular connection to that deity's patronage of war, of adult warriors, or of young men as future warriors. In many cases, such potential may exist, but we cannot expect that it was always intended or actualized. We will return to the Aphaia pediments once more in chapter 11, where we explore the regional context of Aiginetan religious life.

An alternative interpretation of the pediments, articulated by Sinn, which leads to his identification of the Aphaia sanctuary as "a center of a tribal community", "Zentrum einer Stammesgemeinschaft,"[238] has a

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rape of Aigina was intended for the east pediment or not, it was clearly considered appropriate for the sanctuary, and as the union of Zeus and Aigina led to the birth of Aiakos, the group addressed the origin of the Aiakidai." My discussion is below in 11.6.

[236] Ohly 1977, 45ff.

[237] Identification of Ajax based on the shield emblem: Wünsche 2006; Brinkmann et al. 2007, fig. 185.

[238] Sinn 1987, 138–40.

more direct impact on our understanding of Aphaia's social functions, and deserves a closer scrutiny here. Sinn focuses on the lion-helmeted archer of the East pediment. Counter-arguing the notion that the lion-helmeted figure represented Herakles, he suggested instead that it represents Herakles' son, Hyllos, mentioned in the surviving fragment of Pindar's *Isthmian* 9 written for an unknown Aiginetan athlete. Sinn uses this evidence to explain the presence of Athena on the Aphaia pediments as a traditional mythological patroness of Herakles who also comes to the support of the Herakleidai. As a next step in his arguments, Herakles/Herakleidai and Aphaia become patron deities of the Aiginetans in their Doric tribal identity as the descendants of Hyllos.[239]

The interpretation of the Aphaia pediments as a return of the Herakleidai is far from convincing. We know that Herakles had a separate sanctuary on Aigina, and there is no indication of any sort that Herakles or the Herakleidai were worshipped at the site of Aphaia. That both were important for Aiginetan identity leaves no doubt, but the connection between Aphaia and Herakles at the site of Aphaia and in a supposed tribal cult is based on a circular reasoning: Aphaia is a tribal deity because Herakles/Hyllos might be represented in her pediments, and Herakles/Hyllos would be likely to appear on the Aphaia pediment because she is a tribal deity. In addition, why the return of the Herakleidai would be represented as a clash with opponents dressed in oriental costumes is not clear. For the hypothesis of a tribal cult to hold, one would need to show independently (from the alleged connection to Herakles) and incontrovertibly that Aphaia was a deity of tribal Doric significance. Only then can a hypothesis of the return of the Herakleidai as the theme of the pediments of Aphaia be entertained.

The plausibility of the return of the Herakleidai as a theme of the Aphaia pediments is further undermined by the fact that the Aiginetans of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE apparently did not draw genealogical connections between themselves and the Herakleidai, even if they considered the latter to some extent as founders of their state. Genealogically, Aiginetans saw themselves as the Aiakids, and as autochthons (Myrmidons transformed into men from ants). Perhaps in the political climate of the mid-5th century BCE, however, the Aiginetans were eager to play all the possible cards in their hands, and emphasize all the conceivable heroic connections of their ancestors. It is in this light that we may see a play on the Doric

[239] Sinn 1987, 150–8.

ancestry via the Heraklids (Pind. *I.* 9) that makes Aiginetans more closely linked with the Spartans, whose backing the Aiginetans could have been especially keen to secure after their defeat by the Athenians and a forced inclusion into the Athenian alliance in 458/7 BCE, but such an isolated piece of fifth-century evidence is too slim a ground to support a hypothesis of the Aphaia sanctuary as a center of a Doric tribal cult.

7.4.7 *Conclusions*

The types of dedications at the Aphaia sanctuary, as well as literary accounts, suggest a broad scope of social concerns for Aphaia, such as seafaring, warfare, women's concerns, childcare (*kourotrophos*), growth of animals or hunting (depending on how we interpret animal figurines), and possibly rites of passage. Any attempt to define Aphaia as a narrowly specialized deity, be it a *kourotrophos*, or a female-fertility goddess, fall short of the evidence. Some of Aphaia's functions seem to have been associated with a prehistoric cult at the site (especially in the Late Bronze Age), and suggest a rare, but tangible possibility of a carry-over of cult,[240] yet even if there was a continuity, there was also a change and/or development: if one can judge by the votive dedications, the scope of functions in the purview of the historical Aphaia was much broader than that of the local Bronze Age deity. The presence of Aphaia among the Aiginetan deities as early as the Geometric period, and a broad range of functions she seems to have served, at least in the Archaic period, may have a causal relationship (further discussion in 10.2.1).

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[240] Korinne Pilafidis-Williams studied Bronze Age archeological materials from the Aphaia sanctuary in order to determine the type of the site and the type of the deity they belong to. Focusing on "the more unusual offerings in a cult assemblage" (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 135), she demonstrated that this type of offerings at Aphaia consisted in figurines of Kourotrophos: in the LHIIIA2–LHIIIB period, "the deity at Aphaia was indeed concerned with children and childcare" (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 137). Other unusual figurines that frequently occur at Aphaia (hedgehogs, bovines, oxcarts), in Pilafidis-Williams' mind, support the sphere of a *kourotrophos*, but we must remain cautious about the certainty of the symbolic meaning we assign to these votives. Among the LBA votives, we may note two boat models, which according to Pilafidis-Williams point to the possible provenance of the deity in Crete, as much later sources of the historical period indicate. The latter hypothesis requires that we assume continuity at the site of Aphaia not only in cultic practices, but also in the oral tradition about the local deity stretching back into the 12th century BCE. Perhaps it is safer to envision in the boat models not a glyptic illustration of some aetiological myth, but a practical concern with seafaring, as we do in the historical period.

7.5 Aphrodite [Epilimenia]

7.5.1 *Social Roles Suggested by the Material Evidence*

Textual references to the cult of Aphrodite on Aigina are of Roman date (Plutarch *Greek Questions* (301 E–F) and Paus. 2.29.6.), but the epigraphic evidence dates to the first half of the 5th century BCE and gives a positive indication of the presence of Aphrodite's cult at that time.[241] I begin with the discussion of the epigraphic evidence (see Fig. 9).

IG IV^2 1005:

Ἀφροδιτ- -
[Ἐ]πιλιμεν- -

The shape of the stone suggests that it is a fragment of an anchor stock. Welter proposed that the object and the inscription were testifying to the primary use as an anchor with the name of the ship inscribed: Ἀφροδίτ[α | Ἐ]πιλιμεν[ία].[242] Jeffery followed Welter in this identification and gave the date ca. 475 BCE.[243] Wolters suggested secondary use as a boundary marker of a precinct and restored the text: Ἀφροδίτ[ας| Ἐ]πιλιμεν[ίας], while Gianfrotta and McCaslin in passing mention the possibility of a votive dedication.[244] Haloff also restores the text as a dedication: Ἀφροδίτ[αι | Ἐ]πιλιμεν[ίαι]. Pirenne-Delforge favors this opinion.[245] The latter identification seems the most plausible, as several aspects of the evidence support this hypothesis.

The inscription appears on the central part of the stock, on the cutting made to accommodate two parts of a wooden shaft. In the original use the central cutting would have been completely covered by the shaft, and nothing written on that part have been visible: therefore, it does not make sense to have the name of a ship written on an anchor in such a manner that the writing cannot be seen.[246] Since the only part of ancient anchors that usually survives is the stock, we may be misled in supposing that this was possibly the only part inscribed, although the stone or lead surface

241 The photograph is published in Welter 1938a, 497, fig. 11.
242 Welter 1938a, 489–90 and 497–8.
243 Jeffery, LSAG, p. 113, no. 14.
244 Wolters 1925a, 4: boundary-stone of the precinct; Gianfrotta 1977, 288: dedication; McCaslin 1980, 48–9 (= *SEG* XXXIII 260): since it is marble, it has to be votive.
245 Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 176.
246 See the position of the shaft relative to the stock in the reconstruction of an anchor by Kapitaen (1984, 34, fig. 2).

of the stock is indeed more suitable for writing than wood. The inscribed stocks that survive always display writing to the left and right of the central cutting,[247] in which case we may safely assume that the inscriptions were made while the wooden shaft was still in place. It does not preclude the possibility that even then the stock as a whole could be dedicated to a deity, only that the central portion of the stock would not be available for writing. In some cases, however, the inscription runs through the central part of the stock, as in the case of another anchor stock from Aigina (*IG* IV^2 1004): μὲ κίνε τοδε, "do not move this." This would be possible only when the shaft was removed, and the anchor stock reused for another purpose. When the shaft was removed, and the whole surface of the stock became available for writing, it was up to the inscriber to choose whether to use the sides, the full surface, or just the central part for writing.

Stone anchors are particularly good candidates of secondary use because they often break in the middle, in the area of the central cutting, and hence cannot continue to serve as anchors. Secondary use is usually of two types: votive dedication or sema (grave monument),[248] in each case the occupation of the dedicant or of the deceased is likely to be linked to the sea. Reuse as building material is also attested.[249] Examples of anchor stocks dedicated to various divinities are not infrequent,[250] and sometimes anchors are not only deposited in shrines, but also inscribed with dedications.[251] McCaslin argued that in our case the marble of the anchor indicates votive use, but the use of marble cannot be a reliable indicator of votive purpose. We know of examples of marble anchor stocks never intended for dedication, where marble was chosen for the characteristics of density necessary to create a heavy stock. This does not mean that in secondary use the properties of marble did not continue to be valued, only that the reasons were different.

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[247] Select examples: inscribed stone anchor stock from Corfu (*IG* IX, 1, 704), 6th cent. BCE—on the side of the stock. Dedication to Zeus Meilichios from Croton—on the side of stock. Gianfrotta (1977, 316–18) takes it to be secondary use, dedication. On the later lead stocks (after mid. 4th cent. BCE), all inscribed on the side, see Moll 1929, 270 (Ζεὺς Ὕπατος, Ἀφροδίτε Σόζουσα).

[248] Kritzas (1985, 203–206) interprets *IG* IV^2 1004 as a grave marker or boundary marker. Felten et al. 2009, 43–49 publish a new example from Kolonna.

[249] Gianfrotta 1977, 287: at Gravisca and Salamis (Cyprus). On Gravisca, see Torelli 1971, 44–67.

[250] Gianfrotta 1977, 286: numerous examples in the inventories of Delos; also, in the temple of Hera at Metaponto, in connection with the cult of Apollo Arkhegetas, dated to the end of 7th–early 6th cent. BCE.

[251] Gianfrotta 1977, 288, 290.

In sum, the inscription made on the central part of the stock militates against its primary use as an anchor. We are certainly dealing with reuse here. Whether it was a whole unbroken stock that was used for the inscription, or it was already damaged, is impossible to say, but we may note that if it was whole, it later broke in an unusual way: at the sides rather than in the middle. Both interpretations of secondary use, the earliest as *horos*,[252] and the latest as dedication[253] are possible. We do not have the endings preserved to see whether it was the Dative or Genitive case, the former more common for dedications, the latter for *horoi*. In either case, the inscribed anchor stock, *IG* IV^2 1005, must be taken as evidence for the worship of Aphrodite Epilemenia on Aigina in the 5th century BCE.

7.5.2 *The Aiginetan Sanctuary and the Evidence from Naukratis*

The find-spot of the inscribed anchor was cape Kolonna,[254] serving for a short while as the basis for the identification of the Archaic temple on the top of Kolonna as that of Aphrodite.[255] In fact, Pausanias (2.29.6.) tells us that in his time (2nd century CE) the temple of Aphrodite was in immediate proximity to the harbor "where most ships anchor:" πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης. Even if the temple on Kolonna was not that of Aphrodite, it is easy to explain how the inscribed anchor stock could have traveled there from somewhere in the vicinity: building materials or spolia from ancient structures would have been collected, moved around, and constantly reused in new projects throughout the centuries.

Although we do not know today the exact location of Aphrodite's temple on Aigina, the topographic description of Pausanias that places the temple next to the harbor "where most vessels anchor," and the epithet *Epilimenia*, point to the marine character of Aphrodite on Aigina. The coastal placement is characteristic of Aphrodite in her marine role in other areas of Greece, including the Saronic Gulf.[256] Aphrodite's cultic epithet is informative. It not only derives from the topographical position

[252] Wolters 1925a, 4.
[253] Gianfrotta 1977, 288; McCaslin 1980, 48–9 (cited in SEG XXXIII 260).
[254] Welter 1938a, 489.
[255] Hirschfeld 1894, 964; Wolters 1924a, 71–2; 1924b, 460; 1925b.
[256] Farnell 1896–1909, vol. 2, p. 636–7: "Harbours and rocky promontories were named from her or gave her names." Kolias in Attica. At Troizen, Aphrodite Kataskopia (Paus. 2.32.3); at Hermione, Aphrodite Pontia and Limenia. Aphrodite Euploia elsewhere (Farnell 1896–1909, 750, note 106h.)

of the sanctuary, but underscores the role of this deity in conjunction with the *limên*. Aphroditai in other parts of Greece might be placed on the coast, but not all of them bear epithets referring to the sea.[257]

Perhaps one more piece of evidence can be viewed as related to the cult of the Aiginetan maritime Aphrodite. One of numerous dedications to Aphrodite found in Naukratis is a dedication of a certain Sostratos on a Chian bowl, ca. 600 BCE:[258] ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ Μ'ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΤΗ'ΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ. Dyfri Williams believes that the dedicant is an Aiginetan merchant from the famous family of merchants, to which the Sostratos of Herodotus belongs.[259] If the dedicant is indeed Aiginetan, perhaps it is not accidental that his dedication is to Aphrodite and not some other deity, including Aiginetan Zeus who had a separate sanctuary at Naukratis. It may be seen as a *pro itu et reditu* type of dedication, referring back to the Aphrodite at home who oversees successful maritime activities. If Sostratos prayed to Aphrodite on Aigina for a safe journey, he would have every reason to thank her, upon the arrival to Naukratis, for heeding his prayer. This hypothesis can be considered only if we assume that by 600 BCE not only Aphrodite's temple, but some other(s) as well were already in place at Naukratis; otherwise our suggestion loses strength, as we would have to admit that there was no choice as to what deity to propitiate in Naukratis, if Aphrodite was the only one there.[260] It must be noted that at least two areas in Naukratis have yielded dedications to Aphrodite. Most dedications come from the southern, residential area of the settlement, where a sanctuary of Aphrodite has been identified. Other dedications come from the area currently identified as the Hellenion.[261] Herodotus does not mention a temple of Aphrodite, and Bowden explains that it is because Herodotus is interested in the emporion and not the *polis* of Naukratis, that is, two distinct areas of the settlement, the northern and the southern parts respectively.[262] Hogarth suggested that the Aphrodite worshipped in the city sanctuary was "the goddess of light love," testified by the large quantities of indecent terracottas and stone images at the site.[263] This opens up

[257] E.g., Aphrodite Kolias in Attica.
[258] London 88.6–1.456; Boardman 1980, 122, fig. 139.
[259] Williams 1983, 155–86.
[260] Zunker (1988, 32 after Murray 1980, 238) and Boardman (1980, 133–38) prefer to think that the sanctuaries of Samos, Miletos and Aigina in Naukratis were built during the reign of Psammetikhos I (664–610 BCE).
[261] Lloyd 1988, 224.
[262] Bowden 1996.
[263] Hogarth et al. 1899, 39.

the possibility that Sostratos might have made an offering not to the maritime Aphrodite, but to a goddess of sexual love. In the end, the remaining uncertainty about the Aiginetan affiliation of Sostratos, and about the nature of Aphrodite in question, leaves us with little to be added to the otherwise attested maritime profile of the Aiginetan Aphrodite.

7.5.3 *The Aiginetan Aphrodosia*

A textual testimony of the Roman date has suggested to some scholars the worship of Aphrodite as a love-goddess on Aigina. Such is Halliday's interpretation of Plutarch *Queastiones Graecae* 44. The latter is an aetion for the festival of *monophagoi* on Aigina (see full text, translation, and discussion in 7.18.1). The part that is relevant to our discussion here is the conclusion that secluded family celebrations and sacrifices to Poseidon, commemorating the *nostos* of Homeric heroes, were followed by the celebration of the Aphrodisia. No more detail is provided apart from the indication of the sequence: feast of *monophagoi* ends, the Aphrodisia begin. In his commentary on Plutarch *QG* 44, Halliday explains: "Aphrodisia does not, therefore, necessarily imply a solemn feast to the goddess Aphrodite, and here probably signifies no more than that the festival concluded with a carousal … The merry-making and sexual license of these festivals …"[264] Halliday's interpretation is based on points of similarity between our festival and the Choes or Anthesteria in Athens, leading him to the conclusion that the period of isolation and restraint associated with the festival of *monophagoi* must have ended with a celebration emphasizing the opposite values. The sequence of social restraint followed by social license is known in religious festivals elsewhere in Greece, and offers one plausible model for explaining the sequence of the feast of *monophagoi* and the Aphrodisia on Aigina.

We should not, however, entirely exclude all other possibilities, such as a more obvious connection of both Poseidon and Aphrodite to seafaring in the Aiginetan context: the feast of *monophagoi* refers to the overseas Trojan expedition that ended with numerous deaths, and it may have been a somber (past-oriented) commemoration of the dead, while the Aphrodisia may have focused on a constructive (future-oriented) propitiation of a deity for favorable seafaring. In other words, both festivals may have been linked to concerns with seaborne travel.

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[264] Halliday 1928, 185.

Athenaeus XIII 588e is another textual source that has been summoned in support of the Aiginetan Aphrodisia as a festival of sexual license. Athenaeus speaks of a festival of Poseidon (possibly, but not certainly, celebrated on Aigina) as the time when Aristippus used to spend time with a courtesan Lais. This indicates to Pirenne-Delforge a possibility that both the Poseidonia and the Aphrodisia on Aigina were the time given to the celebration of free love.[265] The testimony of Plutarch about the somber tone of the feast of *monophagoi*, and most importantly, the fact that it was apparently limited to male kinsmen and householders, explicitly excluding outsiders, effectively precludes any possibility that this feast could have involved celebrations of free love. Pirenne-Delforge's interpretation of Athenaeus could work only if in addition to a hypothetical licentious Aphrodisia, we would postulate an as yet unknown festival of Poseidon (not the feast of *monophagoi*) where cohabiting with courtesans was on the menu. While the role of Aphrodite as a patroness of free love is widely familiar in the Greek world and, therefore, not inconceivable on Aigina, nevertheless Athenaeus could not be adduced in support of such a role for Aphrodite on Aigina. After all, he explicitly refers to the Poseidonia, not Aphrodisia, and the Aiginetan evidence for the worship of Poseidon nowhere indicates such a social role for this deity (see further 7.18). We must also consider the fact that Plutarch is a late source, and we cannot be sure that the sequence of two festivals went as far back as the Archaic and Classical periods. While the interpretation of the Aiginetan Aphrodisia as a celebration of free love is possible, the alternative seems to me no less viable, namely, the connection of both Poseidon and Aphrodite to seafaring, reflecting respectively the deadly and the profitable potential of seaborne travel.

7.5.4 *Conclusions*

In the 5th century BCE, Aphrodite's social function on Aigina was related to the sea, possibly catering to a wide range of clientele, either whose livelihood depended on the sea (fishermen, tradesmen), or whose business took them on overseas journeys (navy, tradesmen, pilgrims). Whether the Aiginetan Aphrodisia were also celebrations of free love cannot be firmly established on the basis of the available evidence.

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[265] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 177, n. 41.

7.6 Apollo(s)

7.6.1 *Overview*

The evidence for the worship of Apollo on Aigina is textual, literary and epigraphic, ranging from the 6th century BCE (epigraphic) to the 2nd century CE. The applicability of archaeological evidence depends on whether we can be certain of the identification of the sanctuary's or sanctuaries' location(s). The temple whose single opisthodomos column is still rising over the Kolonna hill today is presently attributed to Apollo (see Fig. 3).[266] Our textual sources, however, suggest the presence of several different cults of Apollo on Aigina indicated by cultic epithets Delphinios, Pythios, Oikistes and Domatites.[267] The association of the temple on Kolonna with Apollo, and with his specific hypostasis is far from being a settled matter, and the place of the cults of Apollo in the local system of cults, and in relation to each other requires a detailed investigation.[268]

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[266] Hoffelner 1999, 15–100; Walter-Karydi 1994, 131.

[267] The epithet Thearios is not attested in ancient sources: it is cited by Hans Kaletsch (*Neue Pauly* vol. 1, 321, s.v. Aigina) who must have transferred this information from *RE* vol. 5, 1383, s.v. Thearios, which in turn relies on Gruppe (1897, 139) who has no other evidence to go by than Pindar's reference to a Thearion in *N.* 3.70 (on which see below). See, Rutherford 2001, 334 n. 108 for the same mistake regarding Apollo Thearios. The epithet Pythaieus is also unattested, but is suggested by Figueira (1981, 179–180, 319–21; 1993, 17–18) and accepted by Burnett 2005, 14–15 n. 9. On the suggestion that Apollo Agyieus was worshipped on Aigina, see below. The epithet Patroios is known from a single inscription (*IG* IV^2 789), found in the southern suburb of Aigina town called Μεριστός, identified as a boundary marker and dated to the 5th century BCE: Ἀπόλλονος Πατρ-|οιο. The deity's name and epithet are in the genitive case, suggesting that it was either a *horos* or a dedication. The letters look Attic, and it is possible that the inscription was made by the Athenians during their occupation of Aigina in the last quarter of the 5th century. This would make good sense because Apollo Patroos was a prominent Athenian deity from whom they traced their descent, whereas in Dorian communities it was more commonly Zeus who was worshipped as Patroos (cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 392d: Ζεὺς ἡμῖν πατρῷος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, ἑρκεῖος δε καὶ φράτριος καὶ Ἀθηναία φρατρία; Plut. *Alc.* 2: ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθῆνα καὶ πατρῷος Ἀπόλλων ἐστί; Farnell 1896–1909, vol. 1, 52–53).

[268] I do not treat the subject of fifth-century *horoi* of Apollo/Poseidon in this chapter as I consider them unrelated to local Aiginetan cults of Apollo (see Polinskaya 2009). The relationship of Apollo to other Aiginetan deities in myths and cults, including the myth about the struggle between Apollo and Poseidon for Kalaureia is treated in 7.18.1). The broader question of relations between Apollo's and Poseidon's cults in the Saronic Gulf is treated in 11.4.

7.6.2 *Cultic Identities and Sanctuaries: Apollo Aiginatas*

Pausanias 2.30.1 is the only source that gives us an eyewitness account of an Apollonion on Aigina: Ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου.[269] Two elements of Pausanias' testimony are noteworthy: firstly, he reports one temple of Apollo on Aigina, and one cult image inside that temple.[270] Secondly, he mentions no cultic epithet of Apollo. This is in contrast to the fact that he provides surnames of Apollo in Hermione, Troizen, and other neighboring areas, in each of which there were several sanctuaries of different Apollos. Apparently on Aigina, Pausanias' local guides described the temple simply as that of Apollo, without an epithet. This would accord well with a situation where there was no need to distinguish between several Apollos. In the Aiginetan inscription of the 1st cent. BCE (*IG* IV^2 750), that is, some two centuries before Pausanias, a festival Romaia dedicated to Apollo and Roma is mentioned in line 33, but Apollo is still not distinguished with an epithet: [τῶι τ]ε Ἀπόλλωνι κα[ὶ τ]ᾶι Ῥώμα[ι.

Yet several cultic epithets of Apollo are known on Aigina from other sources.[271] The difficulty in reconciling the testimony of Pausanias with our other sources may be resolved if we consider the identity of Aiginetan cults from an outsider's point of view (e.g., Pausanias), or in a foreign context. There is a dedication to Apollo made in Etruria by a certain Sostratos (*SEG* XXVI 1137), probably a merchant and possibly a member of the famous Aiginetan family of merchants, whose namesake if not the

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269 "The temples standing not far from each other are one of Apollo, the other of Artemis, and the third of Dionysos. Apollo's image is a *xoanon*, naked, of local workmanship."

270 Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner (1964, 45, pl. L2) suggest that a coin (copper, autonomous, BM) represents an Archaic nude image of Apollo that might be a "copy of an early work of Aiginetan art." The same image is published by Head 1963, 145, pl. XXVI, nos. 4 and 5. In addition to the *xoanon*, there may have been other statues of Apollo at the sanctuary, cult and/or votive. Pausanias 8.42.7 saw a bronze statue of Apollo, made by Onatas, at Pergamon, for which there is also epigraphic (*IvP* VIII 1, 1890, 41, no. 48) and textual evidence: *Anthol. Gr.* II 14.30 (Palat. IX.238). We have no evidence, however, that that bronze statue was transported to Pergamon from Aigina. Since Onatas was an Aiginetan sculptor and Aigina was in Pergamene possession from 209 to 133 BCE, this suggestion advocated by Welter (1938c, 108) is plausible, although Onatas worked on the inter-polis level and his works could be found all over the Greek world, while Pergamon was in control not only of Aigina, but also of Andros and Euboian Oreus, from the time of the Second Macedonian War.

271 Delphinios: Σ Pind. *N.* 5.44(81), Pind. *P.* 8.61–67(88–96), Σ Pind. *P.* 8.88 and Σ Pind. *P.* 8.91. Σ Pind. *O.* 13.155; Oikistes and Domatites: Σ Pind. *N.* 5. 44(81); Pythios: *N.* 3.70(122), Σ Pind. *N.* 3.122.

man himself is mentioned by Herodotus 4.152.3.[272] The dedication was made on an anchor stock reused as a drain cover,[273] found just outside the Greek sanctuary of Aphrodite, Hera, and Demeter at Gravisca (port of Tarquinia).[274] The dedication reads: Ἀπό | (λ)λον | ος Αἰ | γινά | τα ἐμ | ι. Σοστ | ρατος | ἐποίε | σε ho[. "I am of Apollo of Aigina. Sostratos made the . . ."[275] This inscription is dated on the basis of letterforms to the end of the 6th century or the first quarter of the 5th century BCE.

Another possible Aiginetan dedication to Apollo at Gravisca is a graffito on an Attic kantharos of 520–510 BCE: Εὔαρχος μ' α[νέθεκε τῶι Ἀπόλλον]ι.[276] On the basis of this additional evidence, Harvey suggested that there may have been a separate Aiginetan sanctuary of Apollo at Gravisca where Sostratos made his dedication.[277] Alternatively, it is possible that a dedication to Apollo Aiginatas was made in the precinct of Aphrodite, Hera and Demeter.

The content of the Sostratos-inscription is highly illuminating. The purport of the epithet *Aiginatas* is best understood in its geographic context. In Etrutia, Sostratos operated in the international community of Greek

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[272] Johnston (1972) submits that a very common type of a mercantile mark ΣO on Greek imported vases in Etruria in the period between 535–505 BCE should be attributed to the Herodotean Sostratos. His fig. 1 (p. 419) illustrates a graffito on the Attic column crater that he believes to be in Aiginetan script. Johnston 2000, 16: "the important historical point here is not perhaps that the identity is secure [that is, whether the Graviscan Sostratos is the same as Herodotean], but more that this SO appears to have been responsible in some way for the transport from Athens to Etruria of more pots than any other known individual; on the assumption, still to be proved, that most cargoes were mixed at this period, that statistic should indicate that SO is likely to have been overall a major player on the trading stage and therefore plausibly associated with Herodotus' man." See also Harvey 1976, 213.

[273] Initially identified as an aniconic image of Apollo Agyieus: Torelli 1971, 57–8, and supported by Harvey 1976, 206; restated by Torelli 1977. Johnston (2000, 15) leaves room open for this interpretation, but favors Guarducci's view that we are dealing with a reuse of an anchor stock, reinforced by the layout of the text across the stock. Johnston does point out (16 n. 3) that the unfinished nature of the text is however difficult to explain unless it was originally inscribed on a longer piece of stone, in which case "in a previous state more than half an anchor did duty as an Agyieus. I have a hard time imagining a scenario where what is clearly an anchor stock comes to be designated as an Agyieus and then that deity is dedicated to Apollo Aiginatas.

[274] Johnston 2000, 15: "The find spot suggests that it stood at the entrance to the sanctuary."

[275] The possible meanings of the genitive are discussed in Harvey 1976, 206, n. 1.

[276] Torelli (1977, 405) notes that the graffito might be in either Attic or Aiginetan script. Johnston 2000, 25 ("script almost certainly Aiginetan"); his catalog no. 54 gives the text as: Εὔαρχος μ' α[. . . . .]νι.

[277] Harvey 1976, 213.

merchants, primarily natives of Ionia.[278] Various Greek deities were worshipped in the Greek part of town, as dedications to Aphrodite, Hera, and Demeter indicate.[279] The use of a place reference in the epithet shows that a presumed native of Aigina, Sostratos, was relying on his Aiginetan divine patron for help in overseas expeditions. It also implies an effort on his part to make it unmistakably clear which Apollo was the addressee of his dedication. This is well understood in the international context where traders from different Greek locations may each have appealed to their own local gods in rituals and prayers.[280] Sostratos, presumably an Aiginetan, appealed to Apollo in his local Aiginetan hypostasis.

Apollo Aiginatas is emphatically the Apollo of Aigina, the epithet Aiginatas expressing the basic patronage of the deity over the island.[281] By using the epithet Aiginatas, Sostratos clearly designated the specific Apollo who was the patron of Aigina, not an Apollo, patron of some other Greek *polis*.[282] This specific Apollo was the one to whom Sostratos may have prayed before taking up the long sea voyage to Etruria and would have offered a dedication of gratitude for safe return. In fact, a dedication of a certain Sostratos, possibly the same person as at Gravisca, is known from Kolonna: Σόστρ[ατος. The script is Aiginetan, early 5th century BCE.[283]

The dedication to Apollo Aiginatas at Gravisca illustrates the social role of Apollo as patron of the Aiginetan community, and more narrowly, judging by the use of an anchor stock for dedication,[284] and its location,

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[278] Torelli 1971, 63–7.

[279] Johnston 2000 is the full publication of graffiti.

[280] Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5.5.5: within one army, different Greek contingents form religious processions *kata ethnê*.

[281] Such designation is akin to the use of the epithet *Athenôn Medeousa* with Athena on inscriptions outside of Attica, e.g., in the so-called Themistocles decree, *SEG* XXII 274.

[282] Contra Felten 2003b, 41, I do not think that Apollo here is invoked in the capacity of a Stadtgottheit. The epithet is geographic rather than political.

[283] *IG* IV² 758 (*SEG* XLVIII 370). Aigina Mus. inv. I 13 = P82, found on Kolonna, built into Byzantine wall. Marble. Ed. Pr.: Walter-Karydi 1987, 103–5, Pl. 41, 60. Walter-Karydi (1987, 105) speculates that the statue was an equestrian portrait of the famous Sostratos (Hdt. 4.152.3), but Hallof (*IG* IV² 758) disputes both the attribution and the statue type. The name Sostratos is also attested on Aigina in the Roman period (*IG* IV² 835) illustrating either its general popularity or the endurance of a particular local clan for many centuries.

[284] Reuse of anchors as votives, grave markers, or boundary markers is well-known through additional Aiginetan examples, including a recent new find in the Westkomplex on Kolonna: half a marble anchor stock was found secured in an upright position next to a pillar base: Felten et al. 2009, 43–49. Felten et al. (2009, 49) express an intriguing idea that this reused anchor stock may have marked a cenotaph for those who had died at sea, since it was set up in the area which had been identified in previous excavation seasons as a center of either ancestor or gentilicial cult.

a long overseas journey away from Aigina, Apollo Aiginatas had some concern for the wellbeing of seafarers, apparently including merchants in their overseas expeditions. This role of the Aiginetan Apollo could be suspected also at Adria (a Greek emporion in the Po valley, nowadays the lower Canal Bianco in the province of Rovigo), where a few dedicatory graffiti for Apollo in Aiginetan script have been found and where Colonna postulates an Aiginetan sanctuary of Apollo.[285] At the same time we need not expect an Aiginetan sanctuary wherever we find Aiginetan dedications outside of Aigina: the gifts could have been made in local shrines of other deities.[286]

Significantly, the dedication of Sostratos does not mention any other epithet, such as Pythios or Delphinios, and the medium (a reused anchor stock) is comprehensible as a dedication of a maritime object by a sailor or merchant to a patron deity.[287] The epithet Aiginatas, however, resonates well with the testimony of Pausanias who refers to Apollo on Aigina without a distinguishing cultic epithet. A simple reference Aiginatas, used outside of Aigina, makes the best sense in a scenario with only one major referent at home, who would be locally known simply as Apollo, while abroad, he would be naturally named the "Aiginetan" to distinguish him from Apollos, patrons of other cities. Thus, we may tentatively conjecture that the temple of Apollo seen by Pausanias on Aigina was that of Apollo *Aiginatas*, simply the Apollo of Aigina, explicitly marked with this geographic descriptor only in foreign contexts.[288]

7.6.3 *Where Was the Apollonion Seen by Pausanias?*

The location of the Apollo's temple mentioned by Pausanias is inside Aigina-town, close to the Hidden Harbor (Paus. 2.30.1), the theater and the stadium. Unfortunately, no evidence has come to light so far that could unequivocally pinpoint the site of that temple.[289] There were three harbors in Aigina-town, as archaeological investigations have shown,[290] one north of cape Kolonna, and two to the south, but Pausanias mentions only

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[285] Colonna 1974.

[286] An Archaic graffito on a Corinthian amphora from Caere possibly indicates an Aiginetan trader's or visitor's presence, but not much else (*SEG* LIV 413, lemma 54.871).

[287] It is unnecessary to suspect in this case an aniconic representation of Apollo Agyieus.

[288] For Torelli 1987 and Walter-Karydi 1994 and 2000, Apollo Aiginatas is Pythios.

[289] Felten 2001, 127; Graf (1979, 6) while identifying the Aiginetan Apollo as Delphinios, mistakenly cites Welter (1938c, 49) as allegedly locating the Apollonion in the agora.

[290] Knoblauch 1972; Walter 1993, 54, city plan on p. 48.

two. The precise locations of the theater and the stadium are not known, but both have been placed on maps of the ancient city hypothetically, according to archaeologists' understanding of Pausanias' topographic references and some indications in the landscape east of Kolonna (see Appendix 2 for references and discussion).

The current scholarly consensus has it that the remains of an archaic temple at cape Kolonna are to be identified with the Apollonion.[291] The main basis for the identification has until the present been an honorary decree of Roman date (69 BCE), the last lines of which provide instructions for the setting up of the stele. In the edition of *IG* IV 2 lines 33–38 read as follows:[292]

[τοὺς δὲ ἐπι-
μελητὰς στάλαν λιθίν[αν ποήσασθαι, ἐν ἃι γρα-
φ]ήσεται τόδε τὸ ψάφισ[μα καὶ ἀνασταθή-
σε]ται εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανείστα[τον τόπον τᾶς
π]όλιος, παρὰ τὸ Απολλών[ιον. τὸ δὲ γενό-
με]νον ἀνάλωμα δότω ὁ τα[μίας.

If this stele had been found in situ, for example, on the Kolonna hill, and bore the text of *IG* IV 2, that is, read παρὰ τὸ Απολλών[ιον in line 37, we would have a firm link between the place and the deity. As it is, the stele was not found in situ,[293] and moreover the reading *Apollonion* in line 37 is by no means secure. Perhaps there were more letters visible on the stone in the late 19th century when Fourmont made his transcription, upon which Müller and then Fraenkel based theirs,[294] but today with the naked eye and with the help of a squeeze and photos, it is not possible to read more than the following letters in lines 36–37 (see Fig. 10):

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[291] Originally (Wolters 1925a, 3) the temple was attributed to Aphrodite on the basis of *IG* IV² 1005 = *SEG* XI 18, and the testimony of Pausanias 2.29.6. Welter (1938a, 489–90, 497–8) was the first to do away with an Aphrodision on Kolonna by interpreting *IG* IV² 1005 as the name of a ship, although such interpretation cannot be sustained (see 7.5.1).

[292] "The officials in charge (*hoi epimeletai*) are to make a stone stele, upon which this vote will be written and will be erected in the most prominent place of the city, by the Apollonion. The treasurer is to disburse funds for the incurred expense." This edition allows a wide fluctuation in the number of letters per line, e.g., 36 letters in l. 34 and 23 letters in l. 38, although the width of the stone remains the same. Fraenkel in *IG* IV, p. 4 noted the problem: "Latitudinem versuum paulo inaequaliorem apparet fuisse."

[293] In the church of "B. Virginis dicta Βιόλου."

[294] The text, first published by Müller in 1817, was transcribed by Bekker from the notebooks of Fourmont. Boeckh *CIG* II 2140 worked from the same notebooks. Müller, Boeckh, and Fraenkel (*IG* IV 2) do not claim to have seen the stone themselves.

]ται εἰς τὸν ἐπιφ[- ca. 2-]ΕΙΣΤ[
]όλιος, παρὰ τὸ Α[- ca. 4–5-]ΟṆ[

The restoration of line 36 is secure on the basis of numerous parallels, *epiphaneistatos tês polios* being an idiomatic expression,[295] but in line 37 a wide band of erosion or damage running the entire length of the stele makes the end of the line illegible. In the new edition of the same inscription (*IG* IV² 750, here dated 82 BCE), Hallof reads lines 36–37 as follows:

θήσε]ται εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανείσταṭ[ον τόπον
τᾶς π]όλιος, παρὰ τὸ ἀγορα[ν]όμι̣[ον. τὸ δὲ γε-]

The reading παρὰ τὸ ἀγορα[ν]όμι̣[ον. faces the same problem as the earlier reading παρὰ τὸ Απολλών[ιον because the 4–5 letters following the initial alpha are simply completely obliterated. A building called *agoranomion* is not otherwise attested on Aigina, although the office of *agoranomos* is that held by the honorand of the inscription, and so the placement of the honorary inscription near the office building of the honorand would be appropriate. It is another question, however, whether we would expect to find an *agoranomion* in the "most prominent place of the city," but if the latter was an agora, then the *agoranomion* would make good sense.

Epigraphic sources indicate such *epiphanestatoi topoi* inside sanctuaries, or in agoras.[296] Agora itself is not typically called the most prominent part of the city, although one imagines it could be. Curiously, Pausanias uses the same expression to describe the location of the Aiakeion on Aigina. His *epiphanestatos topos* is located on the way between the Harbor "where most ships anchor" and the Hidden Harbor, while the temple of Apollo lies further down his route. Indeed, it is possible that the "most prominent part of the city" was the area between the two southern harbors, perhaps occupied by an agora, or two agoras,[297] where both the Aiakeion and the structure implied in *IG* IV² 750 line 37 could have been located. If so, it is notable that Pausanias does not explicitly call that area agora, and does not mention an agora on Aigina at all.

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[295] The expression, *epiphanestatos topos*+ Gen. of a noun, is common place in inscriptions from 4th century BCE onwards and in contemporary textual sources. Inside sanctuaries: e.g., *IG* IV 63 ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ, *IG* V 265 ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπῳ, *CID* 4:130 ἐν τῷ ἱ[ερω]ι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθῖου ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, *SEG* XLVIII 784 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ. In the agora: *IG* II² 1227 ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τόπῳ.

[296] See n. 295.

[297] *IG* IV² 791, found on Kolonna, dated 2nd–1st cent. BCE, is apparently a boundary marker separating a property of Zeus and the Greater Agora.

Most scholars since Welter have relied on the restoration Απολλών[ιον proposed in *IG* IV 2 and took at face value that the sanctuary of Apollo was situated "in the most prominent part of town," which they identified with the elevated promontory crowned by the remains of an archaic temple—Cape Kolonna.[298] Welter noticed the curious coincidence of terms in *IG* IV 2 and Pausanias, and he resolved the puzzle by placing both sanctuaries, that of Aiakos and that of Apollo, on Kolonna.[299] This is, however, impossible if we trust the topographic description of Pausanias: the two sanctuaries were in different places.[300] In the usage of Pausanias, the expression *epiphanestatos topos* does not mean "the highest place," or "the most visible" place,[301] rather it means "the most important place,"[302] thus it is possible that Pausanias does not refer to Kolonna, which is regularly described as the acropolis of Aigina in the publications of the Austrian archaeologists working at Kolonna (see Appendix 2). The same must also be true about the use of *epiphaneistatos* in *IG* IV 2 (= *IG* IV^2 750) line 36, namely that it referred to the most important, not necessarily the highest place in town. Alternatively, the two sources may have had a different idea of what "the most important part of town" was, in the 1st century BCE and 2nd century CE respectively.

The testimonies of Pausanias and *IG* IV^2 750 could be reconciled if we restored *Aiakeion* in l. 37 (παρὰ τὸ A[IAKEI]ON), since the space between the alpha and –ON- after the gap easily accommodates 5 letters of which two would be *iotas*, but we cannot press this conjecture too hard, as other solutions are epigraphically possible. An official inscription of the Hellenistic period, from Aigina, but found in Athens, *IG* IV^2 749 (159 BCE–144 BC),[303] which also gives provisions for display in a public place, was to be set up in the Attaleion. Line 46 is almost fully preserved and reads:

ἐς σ]τὴλην, ἣν σταθῆναι ἐν Ἀτταλείωι, τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλ[ω-

298 Welter 1938b, 50; Felten 2003b, 41.
299 Welter 1938b, 52.
300 Cf. Walter (1974, 6) who points out the same.
301 So taken by Felten 2001, 129.
302 The word ἐπιφανέστατος is used in Pausanias 22 times, always in the sense of "most conspicuous," "most important" (e.g., Paus. 1.18.4, 1.18.9, 2.19.3, 2.23.4, 2.26.8, 2.29.6, etc.).
303 Cf. Welter 1938c, 108.

Attalid rule ended on Aigina ca. 133 BCE, and we have no evidence as to what happened to the Attaleion[304] after the transfer of authority to the Romans. Since the transfer of Aigina from the Attalids to the Romans was a peaceful affair (Attalos II bequeathed Aigina to Rome in his will), the Romans may have had no reason to demolish the Attaleion. Would an honorary decree have a reason to be displayed at the Attaleion some half a century after Aigina had ceased to be under the Attalid rule? The reading *Attaleion* in *IG* IV² 750 line 37 is epigraphically possible. Furthermore, other restorations, for example, *arkheion*, might also be considered.[305]

We must conclude that *IG* IV² 750 does not help to identify the site of Apollo's sanctuary both because the restoration of line 37 is far from certain and allows several possibilities, and because the expression "the most prominent part of the city" is not topographically specific, potentially applicable to several different locations in Aigina town. Under these circumstances, Pausanias remains our only source for the location of Apollo's temple on Aigina.

Pausanias, as it seems, reached the Apollonion after he had passed "the most prominent part of the city" and the Hidden Harbor. The study of ancient harbors in Aigina town showed that in the Classical period the harbor immediately south of Kolonna was enclosed by a thick wall on all sides,[306] containing perhaps as many as 56 shipsheds and with only a narrow gateway facing the sea to the west.[307] Such design was clearly

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[304] Whether Attaleion should mean a sanctuary or a palatial residence of Attalos is not certain. Archaeological evidence of this building has not been found: Welter (1938c, 39) identified an Attaleion in the western part of Kolonna, but his assertion cannot be sustained on the basis of archaeological analysis (Pollhammer 2002, 108 n. 74). Pollhammer (2002) argues that the Hellenistic reinforcement of the permiter wall of Kolonna as a defensive wall should be understood as a deliberate policy of the Attalids to designate the religious center of Aigina as their stronghold. That Attalos was made *synnaos* with some Aiginetan deity seems evident from an honorary decree for Attalos I, of 210–200 BCE (*IG* II² 885 = *IG* IV² 747 line 11), as argued by Allen 1971 (accepted by Figueira 1993, 396–397). Allen 1971, 7–8 and 10 dates the decree to the reign of Attalos I and argues that it would have been enough to have an *agalma* of Attalos I placed in the Aiakeion for Attalos, for the latter to be called *synnaos* of Aiakos, but he does not discuss the reference to an Attaleion in *IG* IV² 749. The latter inscription dates to the reign of Attalos II (159–144 BCE), however, and the Attaleion may not yet have existed in the reign of Attalos I. In neighboring Athens, a priesthood was instituted for Attalos I (*IG* II² 5080), and a *phylê* was named after him in 200 BCE (Polyb. 16.25.9).

[305] Cf. *IG* XII 61.8 (ἀνατέθεικεν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου); *ID* 1500; *ID* 1507 (ἐν τῶ ἀρχείωι τῶν ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῶν).

[306] This was probably the wall demolished by the Athenians after the Aiginetan defeat of 457 BCE (Thuc. 1.105.2, 1.108.4).

[307] Welter 1938b, 482; Knoblauch 1972, 74–80: the shipsheds were on dry land; Hansen (2006, 9 n. 17) with reference to a communication from Dr. Kalliopi Baika: sixteen shipsheds

intended for military vessels, well deserving the name of a Hidden Harbor. If the identification of the Hidden Harbor is correct, then the cluster of three temples (Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos) should be indeed expected on the Kolonna hill, immediately to the north of the Hidden Harbor.[308]

Judging from the fact that Pausanias lists Apollo's temple first and provides information on the cult image, the naos of Apollo was probably the most impressive of the three. If so, then it probably is the surviving temple complex on top of Kolonna (see Map 2). It is worth reiterating, however, that, tantalizingly, to this day, there is no direct evidence for this hypothesis. The sequence of temple buildings that preceded the last and still visible temple, as well as the placement and dating of other cultic installations that may have been associated with the temple remains unclear. Hoffelner distinguished three consecutive temple buildings and three altars at the site, on the basis of his interpretation of architectural remains in situ, loose architectural fragments found at the site of Kolonna and surrounding areas, sculptural remains, as well as on the basis of roof tiles.[309] Hoffelner's reconstructions have been accepted as mostly sound as far as he assigns individual architectural pieces to specific structures, but they remain in many ways hypothetical as they concern the association of reconstructed buildings with their possible placement on the Kolonna hill. In sum, there seems to be enough reliable data to show the existence of an early Archaic temple (Hoffelner's Apollo I, dated to ca. 600 BCE, disputed by Cooper) of Doric order, with unfluted columns, whose foundations have not been identified,[310] another Archaic temple (Hoffelner's

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on the north side and fourteen on the south, possibly twenty-six shipsheds more in the harbor, for a total of fifty-six.

[308] Welter 1962, 29; Walter in Wurster 1974, 6; Walter 1993, 54; Hoffelner 1999, 101.

[309] Hoffelner 1999, 15–100. Mattern (2001) rightly complains that the preserved and reconstructed parts are not clearly differentiated in fig. 137 (Hoffelner 1999, 127), which makes one take as factual what is only hypothetical.

[310] Cooper (2001, 124) accepts the reconstruction of the facade, but disputes the attribution of roof tiles to the same roof (terracotta fragments from a Laconian acroterion disk do not go with a decorated Corinthian eaves tile). Also, Cooper (2001, 125) suggests that ignoring parallels with early Archaic architecture of the Corinthia and Argolid, Hoffelner "earnestly and incorrectly moves Apollo I 30 years before the construction of the first temple of Aphaia (570–560)." Mattern (2002, 603) assesses the reconstruction as "in vielen Punkten hypothetish." Gauss (2000, 140) points out that the foundations of 'Apollo-temple I,' as reconstructed by Hoffelner, would run into the remains of Archaic houses (dated to ca. 550 BCE) that show no traces of the foundations of a temple presumably built ca. 600 BCE.

Apollo II, dated to 575–550 BCE) also with unknown foundations,[311] a third temple, the remains of which are still standing at the site, and whose position is therefore certain (Hoffelner's Apollo III, dated 520–510 BCE),[312] and a fourth temple of Classical date (Hoffelner's Artemis temple, dated 470–460 BCE, disputed by Cooper), not to be associated with foundations south of 'Altars I/II/III'.[313] Pollhammer's study of the π-shaped structures located at a distance of 28m southeast of the Apollo III, which Hoffelner identified as Altars I, II, and III, convincingly demonstrates, through the analysis of stratigraphy, that the latter were remains of other structures, some of much later date, mainly Hellenistic.[314] Gauss has shown that the positions of Hoffelner's Apollo I and II are stratigraphically impossible, and that the alleged parts of the foundations of Hoffelner's Artemis temple cannot belong together (see Map 3). Remains of the archaic temple with one opisthodomos column still standing that can be seen at Kolonna today belong to the temple built around 520–10 BCE, according to Hoffelner.[315] It has also been recently shown that what used to be identified as an apsidal house, of Early Iron Age date, which according to some excavators at Kolonna had stood at the site as a predecessor of the later Apollo temple,[316] was something quite different. On the basis of a careful stratigraphic analysis, Walter Gauss demonstrated that a stretch of a curving wall recorded in the plans and photos of the excavations of 1967/8

[311] Hoffelner 1999, 43, 64, 96; see also Wurster 1974. Cooper (2001, 125) assigns to this temple the Corinthian eaves tile that Hoffelner assigned to Apollo I. Mattern (2001, 604) thinks that the members of a "thin foundation layer" under the Apollo-temple III and probably belonging to its predecessor are in fact not found in situ. Gauss (2000, 143) disputes Hoffelner's reconstruction of 'Apollo-temple II' foundations on the basis of stratigraphy: they would run below the level of prehistoric houses, which is chronologically impossible.

[312] The roof of this temple was repaired in the 4th century BCE: Hoffelner 1999, 99–100.

[313] Cooper (2001, 125) dates it "several decades later" on the basis of a hawksbeak molding with a profile of a cyma recta above a projecting fillet.

[314] Altar I, according to Cooper 2001, 125, is built of the reused blocks of Apollo II and III, and so cannot correspond to Apollo I. Mattern (2001, 606) notes that the masonry deviates from that typical for altars, that its sloppy style of construction is strikingly different from the architectural members of Apollo-temple I, and its date is hardly possible to determine, although it lies in "an early period" (in eine frühe Zeit). 'Altar III': Mattern (2001, 606–607) points out the secondary use of blocks and says that their original date and purpose are not clear. He also observes that 'Altar III' lies lower than 'Altar II,' that there is a difference in stratigraphy between the Apollo-temple III and 'Altar III,' and concludes that "insgesamt kann die verlockende Interpretation der π-formigen Befunde als Altäre daher nicht überzeugen." Pollhammer 2003, 167–169.

[315] Mattern (2001, 604) finds Hofflelner's date convincing.

[316] Hiller 2003, 17 and n. 45.

should be reassigned to the Middle Bronze Age period.[317] His arguments from stratigraphy and masonry are very convincing.

To sum up, the identification of the surviving Archaic temple on Kolonna with Apollo rests entirely on the interpretation of Pausanias' topographic references. Not a single piece of an incontrovertible archaeological evidence, such as, e.g., an inscribed votive dedication, has been found at the site to confirm the identification.[318] Several inscribed bases and offering tables that have been found at Kolonna have lacunae in places where a deity's name would be mentioned, and no fragments of inscribed votive pottery have been found at the Kolonna site so far.[319] In fact, as Jarosch-Reinholdt concludes from the study of Geometric pottery at Kolonna,[320] the early history of the site (10–8th cent. BCE) stands out for its remarkable absence of votive gifts of any kind (until the middle of the 8th cent. BCE), and instead shows a wealth of sympotic pottery, suggesting a very particular kind of social and possibly ritual activity at the site (further discussion in 9.2.1). Once again, however, we must stress that due to the high probability that Kolonna was used as a cultic centre dedicated to the worship of several deities throughout antiquity, sorting out when the worship of each one of them began poses an almost entirely insurmountable problem. Altogether, the uncertainty about the position of early Archaic temples at the site of Kolonna, as well as their identification with specific deities, coupled with the absence of epigraphic evidence, allow only rather general statements about cultic activities at the site, and make it particularly difficult to say anything about the worship of Apollo there with any certainty. Since the location of the Apollonion is not absolutely certain, we should refrain from using it as an indicator of Apollo's social functions. For example, the role of a Stadtgottheit has been assigned to the Aiginetan Apollo in part due to the assumed association with Kolonna,[321] considered by excavators as the acropolis of Aigina. Following the same logic, Felten interpreted Apollo Kitharoidos in a

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317 Gauss 2005.

318 Cf. Felten 2001, 127.

319 Only one fragment of Geometric pottery from Kolonna, with a painted inscription, has been interpreted as a possible dedication: Boardman 1954, 183ff., pl. 16, 1 (Athens, BSA coll. = *LSAG*, 112, 403, 406): [Λυ?]σονος Ἐπιστ[αμον ἀνέθεκε?], ca. 710–700 BCE. The point made about the shape of the ceramic fragment suggesting that it was a pinax is well taken, and indeed it could have been a votive, but the divine addressee is unknown. Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009, 75) speculates that it may have been a warrior's dedication to Apollo.

320 Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 57–72.

321 Welter 1938c, 50; Walter-Karydi 1994, 133; Felten 2003b, 41 (still citing *IG* IV 2 as evidence); Walter-Karydi 2006, 41: "the polis god Apollo."

document relief from Aigina as a symbolic representation of the Aiginetan *polis*.[322]

7.6.4 *Material Evidence at Kolonna: Deities and Their Social Functions*

Material objects from the site of Kolonna, resulting from diagnostic and systematic excavations up to the early 1990s, have been published. New finds have since come to light and are in preparation for publication. Here I discuss the earlier publications. In the latter, although in many cases places of finds are indicated as "the sanctuary of Apollo," this designation in itself betrays a pre-conceived notion of the bounds and extent of the sanctuary, as well as of its owner. We cannot be always certain that the finds should be associated with the activities inside the *temenos*, for they may have resulted from the transposition of material around the Kolonna site or even from elsewhere in town or further afield during the multiple stages of the use of the site: they may thus relate to activities that took place on Kolonna, but not necessarily in relation to the worship of Apollo. This poses a significant methodological question: is it possible to find signs of Apollo's cult in a mixed assemblage of objects?[323]

Votives

Some small finds from the site of Kolonna have been published, but most of them come from old excavations and have no record of findspots.[324] The assemblage of the Archaic period is similar to that found at Aphaia: fibulae, jewellery, figurines, carved Tridachna shells. None of the published finds are numerous, represented by only half a dozen examples per type.[325] The earliest (10th–7th cent. BCE) terracotta figurines are animal shapes

[322] Felten 2003b, 41; Walter-Karydi (2006, 41–42) makes the same statement with reference to Aig. Mus. 1427.

[323] Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009, 70–72) asks the same question with regard to pottery finds of the Geometric period from Kolonna (10–8th centuries BCE) and argues that there is a continuity in the use of the Kolonna site, from Early Geometric down into Archaic times, as a place of gatherings and feasts, and this type of ritual feasting fits well with what she considers to be Apollo's specific cultic profile, hence, she postulates the possibility of recognizing Apollo worship through the assemblage of symposium and feasting pottery in particular. A change that is noticeable in the middle of the 8th century BCE, when some new types of pottery, and a greater differentiation in pottery's provenience, become noticeable on Kolonna, has to do with a social change in the oversight of ritual activity, but does not signal a change in the divine addressees of worship (72–76).

[324] Margreiter 1988, 11.

[325] These finds will surely be supplemented by those stemming from the excavations of the West Complex, which started in 1999 and still continue.

similar to those at Olympia and Samos where they are also among the earliest.[326] The earliest human figurines are examples of local production, and of Corinthian, East Greek and Cypriot imports.[327] A distinct type of matrix figurines, also attested at Aphaia, is considered to be a particular local type.[328] The 6th and early 5th centuries are dominated by East Greek productions and mostly represent standing and sitting *korai*, but two fat-bellied demons are among the group, as at Aphaia, and one *kouros*, while masks and protomes are also of females.[329] The terracotta figurines of the Classical and Hellenistic periods are almost exclusively representations of females.[330] The lack of exact provenience for the small finds from Kolonna prevents us from associating these finds with the main temple.[331] The predominance of female figurines might tempt an identification of the divine addressee with Artemis (see ch. 7.7), or Demeter (see 7.11).[332] Several cults and their associated ritual structures were located on Kolonna, but without a precise archaeological context, or a votive inscription, we could never be certain who their divine addressee was in each case. Recent excavations in the Westkomplex and on the South Hill at Kolonna, however, uncovered stratified deposits that allow a much more precise reconstruction of ritual activity in those areas, for example, in the West Complex, an ancestor or a gentilicial cult, characterized by the use of stone pits with omphalos-lids (eight have been recovered so far), and

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[326] Margreiter 1988, 21 and pl. VII.

[327] Aiginetan production: torso of a male (Margreiter 1988, Pl. 7, no. 121); Corinthian: Margreiter 1988, Pl. 7, nos. 122–4; Cypriot: Margreiter 1988, Pl. 7, nos. 127–9: wheel-made figurines, 7th century BCE.

[328] The front is matrix-formed, but the back shows the potter's wheel marks: these figurines were attached to the neck of a vessel: Margreiter 1988, Pl. 8, nos. 133–134, and nos. 135–136 were votive plaques. The same type at Aphaia: Furtwängler 1906, 384, nos. 111, Pl. 111, 2 and 3 (fragments of 2 plaques, Inv. I, 203 and II, 158).

[329] Margreiter 1988, 24–6, Pl. 10. Felten (2003, 44–45) attributes them to the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros.

[330] Margreiter 1988, 27–30, Pls. 12–16.

[331] Although Margreiter often refers to the objects as coming "aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum", e.g., p. 27 with reference to his catalog nos. 167–171, this reference is simply a conventional reference to Kolonna in general, while the catalog entries indicate the objects' origin as "alter Bestand" and hence an ignorance of precise findspots (cf. Vorbemerkung, p. 11). For those finds that have provenience, we should note that several figurines, e.g., catalog nos. 177–182, came from the area on the south side of Kolonna hill, the area which may have been an extension of that in the West Complex identified in recent archaeological investigations with multi-faceted ritual activity (see Felten et al. 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010).

[332] Felten 2003b.

accompanied by dining activity from the Archaic period down to the Hellenistic (see further discussion in 8.7).[333]

Sculpture

Walter-Karydi lists thirty-five sculptural fragments under the heading "Pedimental sculpture from the sanctuary of Apollo,"[334] however some of the pieces were found not even on Kolonna, but in town, e.g., a torso of Herakles (no. 67), which may have thus come from a different sanctuary outside of Kolonna. Many other fragments are recorded as coming from "Apollo sanctuary" in general, and are old finds, without context. Walter-Karydi originally identified two fragments of sculpture (a head of Athena, and a figure of a dying warrior) with the pediment of the Hoffelner's Archaic Apollo-temple I,[335] but later re-assigned them to a Classical temple of Artemis.[336]

Walter-Karydi attributes a limestone fragment no. 66 to an over life-size Gorgon and fragments nos. 67, 67a, 68 and 69 to warrior figures coming from the pediments of Hoffelner's Apollo-temple II (based on the rough picking of the back side).[337] All fragments are limestone, which is one of the reasons for grouping them together. Even if taken as a group, the fragments could have come from any Archaic temple, not necessarily that of Apollo.

The alleged pedimental sculptures of the late Archaic temple (Hoffelner's Apollo-temple III) are of Cycladic marble, which serves as the primary criterion for attribution to pediments because the rest of the temple was made of limestone.[338] The sculptures were made in the round and dated to 520–510.[339] The attribution of sculptures to pediments is difficult. Only one fragment (no. 85) was found in the opisthodomos of the temple, and therefore was assigned to the west pediment.[340] Of the twenty-one published fragments, two (nos. 81 and 83 = Aigina Mus. inv. 708 and 988) represent Amazons and suggest the theme of

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333 See note 320 above.

334 Walter-Karydi 1987, nos. 65–101, with no. 65 (unbekannter Bau).

335 Cooper 2001, 125; Mattern 2001, 604.

336 Walter-Karydi 2006, 64–65.

337 Walter-Karydi 1987, 129–132; and in her contributions to Hoffelner 1999, 64.

338 Walter-Karydi 1987, 132: "Die marmorsorte ist ein erstes Kriterium, um Bruchstücke aus der alten Grabung im Ägina-Museum oder solche, die in unserer Grabung (seit 1966) auf dem Hügel gefunden wurden, den Giebelfiguren zuzuweisen."

339 Walter-Karydi 1987, 132 and 146.

340 Walter-Karydi 1987, 132.

Amazonomachy for one of the pediments. Felten argues that a team of horses could fit an Amazonomachy, the one involving Herakles as portrayed on Attic vases, or another, 'anonymous,' Amazonomachy, not attested in the surviving sources.[341] A suggestion that Athena stood in the center is based on the foot fragment (no. 85) which is similar to the position of feet on the west pediment of Aphaia.[342] Felten argues that both pediments represented scenes of combat.[343]

The reconstruction of some figures as Herakles and Telamon is very tenuous as it is based on assumptions of what must be expected and on the evidence from Aphaia (where identifications of individual figures and of the overall themes of the pediments are also hypothetical).[344] In addition, there is no certainty that the Apollo temple would have had to be in connection with the decorative program of Aphaia, especially since the pedimental sculptures there were possibly much later (ca. 475 BCE, according to Stewart 2008b).[345]

Notable among the sculptural remains at Kolonna are figures of sphinxes of which there may have been five or six.[346] Three of them may have been mounted on columns. They belong to the Archaic and Classical periods, and are paralleled at Aphaia, where, in addition, acroteria of the temple were also sphinxes.[347] Sphinxes were popular acroterial decorations in

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341 Walter-Karydi 1987, 147 (frgs. 88–101 in the catalog and fig. 220) is not clear on that, but Felten (2007, 106) asserts that fragments of horses without a doubt belong to one of the pediments.

342 Walter-Karydi 1987, 147; Felten 2007a, 106.

343 Felten 2007a, 110.

344 Walter-Karydi 1987, 148: "Es liegt nahe, dass die Amazonomachie in einem archaischem Giebel jene des Herakles war, in einem äginetischen fehlte wohl Telamon als Gefährte nicht. Trifft dies zu, dann kann der Ausschreitende rechts als Herakles ausgewiesen ist, nur Telamon sein." So Hedreen 2011, 351–354.

345 Stewart 2008b dates both the temple and the pediments to the 470s.

346 Sphinxes: (1) Archaic, Aig. Mus. 753 (= Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 2), fragment of a backside, Cycladic marble, (alternatively, of a lion, not sphinx); (2) Archaic (2nd quarter of 6th century), Aig. Mus. Z189 (= Hoffelner 1996, 15), fragment of body and wing, terracotta; (3) Archaic (2nd half of 6th century), Athens NM 77 and AP 865 (= Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 27), Cycladic marble, body and head complete, paws and wings missing; (4) Classical (1st half of 5th century), Aigina Mus. 1429 (= Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 51), upper right side of body, Cycladic marble; (5) Classical (1st half of 1st century), Aigina Mus. 1383 (= Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 52), complete except for front paws and wings, Parian marble. Hoffelner (1996, 10–15) interpreted Aigina Mus. A919 as a drum of a column that supported a sphinx. With this hypothetical one, as well as (4) and (5), there may have been three sphinx-columns (Hoffelner 1996, 14), and three additional votive sphinxes. Walter-Karydi 1987 lists her no. 47 as another possible sphinx head: it is now in the collection of Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1973.209) and is reported to be from Aigina, dated ca. 480 BCE.

347 Walter-Karydi 1987, nos. 48–50 (München Glyptothek 91, 159, and one without a number), all Cycladic marble. A terracotta sphinx at Aphaia is indicated by a paw fragment attributed by Furtwängler (1906, 385, no. 123, fig. 318) to the Propylon.

the Archaic period,[348] but in general there is no clear understanding of the religious significance of sphinxes in an ancient Greek context, apart from the view that they symbolize a connection with the world of the dead, and trigger the application of the Chthonian interpretive label.[349] In sum, we must conclude that in spite of its richness, much of the material evidence from Kolonna cannot be associated with specific deities or cults, at least on the basis of what is presently known, and cannot help with mapping out the social roles of particular deities.

7.6.5 *Cultic Identities and Sanctuaries: Apollo Delphinios*

It seems certain from the testimony of Pausanias and the dedication to Apollo Aiginatas by Sostratos in Etruria that there was one temple of Apollo, and perhaps one predominant hypostasis of Apollo on Aigina, but the epithets Pythios, Delphinios, Oikistes and Domatites known from other textual sources suggest that some cultic arrangements, sanctuaries or at least altars, have to be expected for multiple Apollos on the island. The information on the Aiginetan cultic epithets of Apollo derives from Pindaric scholia to *Nemean* 5.81(44) and *Nemean* 3.122(70).[350] In *Nemean* 5.44(=81) Pindar lists the occasions of victories of an Aiginetan athlete Pytheas:

> ἁ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν
> μείς τ᾽ ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ᾽ Ἀπόλλων.
>
> Nemea stands firm for him, and the local month that Apollo loved (Trans. W. H. Race)

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348 Bookidis 2000, 392–4.

349 Thiersch 1928, 161–163.

350 It is worth noting that Pindaric scholia postdate the period I am investigating by 200–300 years: "In the third century BCE, the text was edited by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and an explanatory commentary was written by Aristarchus in Alexandria. Other scholars, like Aristarchus' student Aristodemus, added interpretations; in the first century Didymus wrote a commentary, disputing Aristarchus' interpretations on many points. Over the next centuries these scholars' contributions were preserved, elaborated, and finally condensed and complied into our present scholia to Pindar" (Lefkowitz 1991, 72). As Lefkowitz (1991, 78) points out, Pindaric scholia reflect the aesthetics of Hellenistic poetry and prejudices of late Greek education, rather than any specific knowledge about the historical circumstances of Pindar's compositions. "It could be argued that no other scholia leave such a confused impression of the poetry that they were meant to explain. Pindar's lyrics, because of their density and complexity, apparently elicited from their Alexandrian commentators more guesswork (εἰκασία) than the texts of the epic poets." Cf. Fränkel 1961. It is remarkable that Alexandrian scholiasts "never observe that in the vast corpus of epic several versions of a myth might be current simultaneously," and hence "any perceived departure from standard accounts of myth or history could be regarded as anomalous (ἄλογος) or idiosyncratic (ἴδιος)" (Lefkowitz 1991, 154–155).

The scholiasts explain the phrase μείς τ᾽ἐπιχώριος, the "local month" as follows:

> (a) Among Aiginetans, the month Delphinios is sacred to Apollo Delphinios, in which, it is said, the Nemean Games also take place. For, they say, this month is beloved of Apollo; and it might be this month, in which Aiginetans sacrifice to Apollo Oikistes and Domatites according to Pythainetos (*FHG* IV 487). (b) Alternatively: a local (*epikhôrios*) month is the month called Delphinios, during which an agôn of Apollo called Hydrophoria is celebrated. Therefore in a like manner, also this [month] Delphinios is fitting for [the athlete] Pytheas.[351]

Both scholia (a) and (b) give the name of the local month as Delphinios; scholion (c) explains *epikhôrios* month as *patrios*: καὶ ὁ πάτριος ἀεὶ παρ᾽Αἰγινήταις μὴν, ὃν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐφίλησεν. Scholion (a) adds an explanation that the month is sacred to Apollo Delphinios, and the two scholia report different religious occasions in this month: (a) a sacrifice to Apollo Domatites and Oikistes; (b) an *agôn* of Apollo called Hydrophoria. I think we can detect in scholion (a) two layers of information: a layer of factual data (regarding the sacrifice to *oikistes* and *domatites*), attributed to Pythainetos, and a layer of opinion ("and it might be this month") added by the later scholiast or compilator, concerning the timing of the sacrifice. The information about the timing, is therefore, just that, an opinion and can be treated as fallible.

Paradoxically, the only festival which the scholia do not report as celebrated in the month Delphinios is the Delphinia. Perhaps the attribution of the latter was obvious, and the scholia focused on providing the less obvious information. Still, it is strange, because *Nemean* 5.44(81) refers specifically to an athletic event, and neither sacrifice to Oikistes and Domatites, nor Hydrophoria fit well, although the latter is described as an *agôn*. The festival Delphinia is, however, attested on Aigina and it may have taken place in the month Delphinios (Σ Pind. *O.* 13.155(109): καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὰ Δελφίνια καὶ Αἰάκεια). This scholion comments on the lines καὶ Μέγαρ᾽ Αἰακιδᾶν τ᾽εὐερκὲς ἄλσος that describe the places where Xenophon of Corinth had won athletic victories. It is important because it communi-

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[351] ἀ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν μείς τ᾽ἐπιχώριος: a. παρ᾽Αἰγινήταις Δελφίνιος μὴν ἄγεται Δελφινίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερός, ἐν ᾧ ἴσως φησὶ γεγενῆσθαι τὰ Νέμεα. Πεφιλῆσθαι γάρ φησι τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. καὶ εἴη ἂν ὁ μὴν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ θύουσιν Αἰγινῆται Ἀπόλλωνι οἰκιστῇ καὶ δωματίτῃ, καθά φησι Πυθαίνετος (*FHG* IV 487). b. ἄλλως, μεὶς ἐπιχώριος ὁ Δελφίνιος μὴν καλούμενος, καθ᾽ ὃν τελεῖται Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγὼν Ὑδροφόρια καλούμενος. ὁμοίως οὖν, φήσιν, ἥρμοσται τῷ Πυθέᾳ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Δελφίνιος. c. ὁ δὲ νοῦς. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Νεμέα καὶ προσήμορσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἀεὶ, καὶ ὁ πάτριος ἀεὶ παρ᾽Αἰγινήταις μὴν, ὃν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐφίλησεν.

cates the scholiast's knowledge of different local *agônes*.[352] On Aigina he knows of two: the Delphinia and the Aiakeia.[353] Another Pindaric passage, *Pythian* 8.61–67(88–96) refers to a pentathlon of Apollo on Aigina:

> τὸ δ''Εκαταβόλε . . . οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἁρπαλέαν δόσιν
> πενταεθλίου
> σὺν ἑορταῖς ὑμαῖς ἐπάγαγες.[354]

Scholion to Pindar *Pythian* 8.88 explains: ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐνίκησε τὰ Δελφίνια Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγῶνα.[355] Schol Pind. *P.* 8.91 adds that Delphinia was a pentathlon in honor of Apollo: Τόθι χαρμάτων ὡς τοῦ Ἀριστομένους, πρὶν λαβεῖν τὰ Πύθια, νενικηκότος ἐν οἴκῳ, τουτέστιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἀγῶνα ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πένταθλον. ἄγεται δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Δελφίνια Ἀπόλλωνι.[356] In *Olympian* 13.109(155) and *Pythian* 8.61–67(88–96), references to Aigina are specifically references to athletic competitions, which the victors of the odes had won. It is very likely, although not absolutely certain, that the Delphinia took place in the month Delphinios and gave it its name,[357] as was common throughout the Greek world for a major religious festival of the month to give that month its name.[358] Pentathlon suggests that the athletic scope of the Delphinia was much greater than that of the Aiakeia

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[352] Some scholars consider this scholion a late fabrication.

[353] No other competition is mentioned: the notion that the Heraia were celebrated on Aigina (see Σ. Pind. *P.* 8.113c and Simon 1980, 44) is in my opinion faulty (see Polinskaya 2002, 404 n. 17).

[354] "... and at home in your festival you gave him victory in the pentathlon" (Trans. F. Nisetich).

[355] "Before this he [the athlete] won in the Delphinia, the agôn of Apollo."

[356] "This Aristomenes, before he took the Pythian prize, had won at home; there is on Aigina an *agôn* sacred to Apollo, a pentathlon; that is, the Delphinia are conducted for Apollo on Aigina."

[357] A month Delphinios is known only at two other locations, Olous on Crete, and Thera (Trümpy 1997, 186, 195, 197). Perhaps we should not expect a simple and neat correspondence between names of festivals, months, and deities: the accumulation of religious and social facts over time in a given community could result in a rather complex ritual mix. In Miletos, e.g., the festival of Apollo Delphinios was called the Hebdomaia, and it took place in the month Taureon, during which, on the 10th of Taureon, some contests called *Hamilleteria* took place (Herda 2011 and the Molpoi Decree (447/6 BCE), *Milet* I, no. 133, *LSAM* 1955, no. 50). Whether the Aiginetan month Dephinios coincided with the month during which the Nemean Games were conducted, as suggested by the scholion on *N.* 5.44 (= 81) is not absolutely certain (although Fearn (2011, 189) has no doubts). When *N.* 5.44 says "Nemea and the local month, which Apollo loved," the conjoining need not be understood as temporal. The scholiast takes it so, but he may have been mistaken. We may as well read Pindar as saying that Nemea, on the one hand, and the local month Delphinios, on the other, are the times and places when and where the athlete had won, that is, the two games need not have fallen in the same month.

[358] Trümpy 1997.

where we know only of a footrace. The two agonistic festivals together imply the presence of considerable athletic facilities on the island, including those for training and lodging. The stadium is attested in the Roman period, but must have existed much earlier.

The epithet Delphinios is known from many Greek states. The methodological question that arises from this circumstance is whether this epithet carries the same (cultic) social meaning everywhere. Many scholars assume so and seek to harmonize the evidence from disparate time periods and locations to produce a single image of a distinct cultic identity. There is a long-standing debate about the origin and nature of Delphinios.[359] According to one view, Delphinios was a marine deity, a patron of sailors.[360] Alternatively, or additionally, the marine role of Delphinios derived from his role in Greek overseas expansion, which always involved an overseas journey.[361] Bourboule further outlined the "nature of Delphinios as animal leader [in the form of a dolphin—*I.P.*] of the Greek seafarers during the remote times of the foundation of the Greek colonies on the coasts of the Aegean, the Euxine and the Mediterranean."[362] Another view, more recently developed by Fritz Graf, sees the primary function of Delphinios in initiation.[363] Common to these views is the notion that the epithet maintains integrity of meaning through time and space and is independent of specific local conditions. For instance, Fritz Graf argued against the notion that Delphinios was worshipped in seaside areas, and wished to emphasize that as a deity in charge of initiation, an institution linked to the introduction of youth to the adulthood of civic life, Apollo Delphinios was often found in the agora. With regard to the location of the Delphinion on Aigina, Graf, as others before him, relied on the restoration *Apollonion* in line 37 of *IG* IV 2 (amended to *agoranomion* in *IG* IV^2 750) and interpreted the "most prominent part of town" as "the center

[359] The work of Photeine Bourboule presented a summary of opinions expressed on this subject by 1949. Some old opinions that lump Delphionios, Pythios, and Pythaeus into one persona, are thoroughly outdated: e.g., Wide 1973 [1893], 88: "Wir sind also zu dem Schlusse berechtigt, dass Apollon δελφίνιος, Ἀμυκλαῖος und πυθαιεύς (πύθιος) mit einander identisch waren. Und so findet in Lakonien dasselbe Verhältnis statt, wie in Attika, dass Apollon Delphinios mit dem Pythios zusammen fällt." Nilsson 1955 and Graf 1979 were subsequent major contributions. Most recent summaries of the current views on Apollo Delphinions are in Graf 2010, 88–94 and Malkin 2011, 175–182.

[360] Nilsson 1955, vol. I, 554f.

[361] So Farnell 1896–1909, vol. I, 148 (Delphinios, as well as other marine cults of Apollo); also Bourboule 1949, 57–61.

[362] Bourboule 1949, 57–61 and preface (pages not numbered).

[363] Graf 1979.

of town."[364] In fact, whether in the agora or elsewhere in town, the placement would have been in immediate proximity to the harbours, and could not eliminate (if one was to argue on the basis of sanctuary's location) the Delphinios' association with the sea on Aigina. The same is true for Miletos, where the Delphinion was located in the agora, but at the same time, in the immediate vicinity of the harbour. Herda has recently argued for multi-functionality of the Milesian Apollo Delphinios,[365] which is surely correct: connection to the sea need not be seen as contradictory to Apollo's political role, in Miletos, or elsewhere, as long as there is locally specific evidence to back up such a view. Pausanias testifies that the Apollonion on Aigina was close to the Hidden Harbour. In any case, we should not expect a cultic epithet, widely attested throughout Greece, to inform us of the meaning of cult in a particular ancient Greek location; we must rather seek the meaning of that cult in its local context.[366]

According to scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 6.44(81b), the Hydrophoria contest took place in the month Delphinios: "Alternatively, a local month is the month called Delphinios, during which an agôn of Apollo called Hydrophoria is celebrated." Every scholar has so far equated the Hydrophoria with the *agôn* ἀμφιφορίτης (see discussion in ch. 7.3.3), creating confusion in the interpretation of the cults of Apollo and Aiakos.[367] The equation is based on the scholion to Callimachus *Diegesis in Iambos* 198 (col. 8), which describes an *agôn Amphoritis*, and adds at the end that it is also called Hydrophoria.

Hydrophoria festivals are known only from very few places in the Greek world.[368] For example, the Athenian Hydrophoria involved a ritual procession to a place near the Olympieion and the casting of oil and flour into the chasm in the ground.[369] No race with jars was apparently involved.

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364 Graf 1979, 6.

365 Herda 2011.

366 Philippe (2005, 261) in a short article, which strangely ignores Graf 1979, observes that our sources present at least three types of Apollo who appear under the epithet Delphinios ("On pourrait donc se trouver face à trois Apollons Δελφινιοι distincts"), and that it is local conditions that confer upon Delphinios a particular character ("mais des spécificités locales ont pu venir s'ajouter à cette denomination commune, conférant à différents Apollons Delphinioi un caractère propre").

367 E.g., Ringwood 1927, 61.

368 At Didyma, there was a religious office of *hydrophoroi*.

369 Paus. 1.18.7 describes a chasm in the precinct of Olympian Gê at Athens, along which the water of Deukalion's flood had drained, and into which Athenians cast every year wheat meal mixed with honey; Plut. *Sul.* 14.6; Apollonios of Acharnai, *FGH* 365 F4 "a feast of mourning at Athens for those who were killed in the Flood;" Parke 1977, 117.

The evidence of the scholion in Callimachus stands alone in making the equation between the Amphoritis and Hydrophoria on Aigina. I strongly suspect that it is due to a similarity in meaning between the words *amphoritis* and *hydrophoria*, each calling to mind vessels for (*amphoreus* and *hydria*) and acts of carrying water, that the equation had suggested itself to the scholiast. It is preferable, therefore, to keep the two *agônes* apart. Am(phi)phoritis, I argue, was most certainly an *agôn* in honor of heroes, while Hydrophoria is attributed to Apollo, and the nature of this latter *agôn* is unknown.[370]

The attempts to reach the meaning of the epithet Delphinios through etymologizing (connection to Delphi or dolphin) go back to antiquity, but they speak to the origins of cult rather than to its social function in a given local context. Dolphins play almost no role in the mythological or symbolic discourse of the Aiginetans. Of the sea creatures, it was rather sea turtles that were chosen as a symbol of the island, as they appear on Archaic Aiginetan coins and give them their characteristic name.[371] Only once in our extant corpus dolphins appear as a simile for the Aiginetans in a poetic context, Pindar *Isthmian* 9.6–7: οἷοι δ᾽ἀρετάν δελφῖνες ἐν πόντῳ. Such comparison is not surprising in maritime communities, and it would be a stretch to speculate any particular connection with the meaning of Delphinios on Aigina.

Although the epithet Delphinios in and of itself does not indicate a specific local social role for Apollo, we may at least say that the attestation of athletic contests, that is, the Delphinia and the Hydrophoria, if indeed

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370 Graf (1979, 18 and n. 141) misinterprets the scholion to Pind. *O*. 13.155. The scholion names two different festivals on Aigina: Delphinia and Aiakeia, while Graf takes them to be the same, adds Hydrophoria and *amphiphoritis* to the mix, and suggests that the latter was the technical name of the *agôn* Hydrophoria that took place during the festival Delphinia-Aiakeia. In fact, Apollo and Aiakos were not associated in cult on Aigina, Delphinia and Aiakeia were unrelated festivals, and Hydrophoria and *amphiphoritis* are not likely to be the same *agôn* (see 7.3.3). Since we have no evidence that Hydrophoria on Aigina was a racing competition for young men, it cannot support the argument in favor of seeing Apollo Delphinios as a patron of male initiations. See also Versnel 1994; Dodd and Faraone 2003 on the interpretive limitations of the initiation paradigm.

371 After 480 BCE Aiginetan coins known as "turtles" change their appearance from sea to land turtles. Cf. Walter 1993, 39: "Sie wählten die Meerschildkröte als Zeichen ihrer unbestrittenen Macht auf dem Meer (Abb. 32). Mit dem geschlagenen Bildtypus wurde das Metallstück erst zur Münze. Von 404 v. Chr. an trug die Münze das Bild der Landschildkröte." There is a type of Aiginetan coins, however, that shows both the turtle and the dolphin: on the obverse, a land turtle, on the reverse—an incuse square of Aiginetan pattern, and in one of its three divisions—a dolphin (Head 1959, 40: period III B (400–336 BCE) no. 39, Pl. 23, no. 39).

the latter was an *agôn*, in connection with Apollo on Aigina indicate that Apollo Delphinios, among his other roles, was a patron of athletics. It is possible that several Panathenaic vases found in the excavations at Kolonna were also dedicated to him for Aiginetan victories in Athens.[372]

7.6.6 *Cultic Identities and Sanctuaries: Oikistes and Domatites*

Apollo οἰκιστῆς and δωματίτης received a sacrifice on Aigina probably in the month Delphinios, according to scholia to Pindar *Nemean* 5.44a.[373] Οἰκιστῆς means "a settler, a colonist," or someone who charts the constitution of a city. Deities and heroes are sometimes worshipped in this capacity. Herakles is known as oikistes in some cities of Magna Graecia, e.g. Kroton. Δωματίτης is a much rarer word and is apparently attested only as a cultic epithet (*LSJ*, s.v. δωματίτης). The word means 'belonging to the house." Besides the Aiginetan Apollo, Poseidon in Sparta was worshipped under the title δωματείτας, at least in the Roman period.[374]

On Aigina, Apollo Domatites must have had something to do with the welfare of individual households. This notion does not exclude the possibility of a public dimension to the cult, similar to the case of Apollo Patroios in Athens. Oikistes, however, points primarily to the communal role of Apollo. In colonial contexts, the term designated a founder of

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372 Margreiter 1988, catalog nos. 225–229. The dating in the first half of the 5th century BCE, based on stylistic features, leads Margreiter (1988, 32) to the conclusion that the dedicants must have been Aiginetan.

373 Εἴη ἄν indicates that the scholiast was not absolutely sure.

374 Pausanias (3.14.7) describes a sanctuary of Poseidon Domatites near the *hêrôon* of Alkon in Sparta, in the area of the Running Course. In addition, a Laconian inscription of Roman date (*IG* V (1) 497 = *CIG* 1446) mentions Karneios Oiketas and Poseidon Domateitas. Pausanias speaks of the worship of Karneios at Sparta (3.13.3) and says that originally a deity in its own right, Karneios was later identified with Apollo. Also intriguing are the epithets, Oiketas for Apollo, and Domateitas for Poseidon, as they point to the sphere of the house. Yet, the two deities are honored with a public cult in Roman Sparta, and Poseidon at least has a public sanctuary. It is conceivable that the Spartan Karneios Oiketas and Poseidon had both public and domestic dimensions. E.g., Attic Apollo Patroios and Zeus Herkeios were worshipped both in public and domestic cults: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3; Hedrick 1988; in Rhamnous, a public sacrifice to Zeus Herkeios (*IG* II^2 2943+2944+). On Poseidon Domateitas at Sparta: see Hupfloher 2000, 130. The priesthoods of Karneios Oiketas and Poseidon Domateitas were among the six hereditary (*kata genos*) priesthoods enjoyed by the family of Tib. Claudii and both men and women served as priests (*IG* V 497 lists a male priest, *IG* V 589 lists a female one, both apparently from the same family). The fact that the same person served as a priest or priestess of Karneios Oiketas and Poseidon Domateitas does not mean that the two deities were joined in cult. The sanctuaries of Apollo Karneios and Poseidon Domateitas were separate, located by the Running Course, although at different points in that area: Paus. 3.14.6–7.

colony who was often honored with cult. Heroes, eponymous and panhellenic, such as Herakles, were sometimes worshipped as divine founders of cities, and human founders were honored with cult posthumously.[375] Apollo played a special role in Greek overseas expansion, both in his capacity as oracular god (apoikists regularly consulted Delphi before setting out) and as a leader, Arkhegetas, as if he himself led them on their expeditions.[376] Are we then to think of Apollo Oikistes on Aigina as a founder of the city? This would seem to clash with another local tradition of origin according to which Aiakos was the first resident and king of Aigina for whom Zeus created a population from ants, the Myrmidons.[377] Alternative, but co-existing traditions of origin/foundation are, however, not uncommon in Greek *poleis*: different strands could develop at different periods in response to the ideological needs of the day. So, Athenians in the late 5th century BCE found it ideologically profitable to claim a triple origin, as autochthons, Ionians, and 'children of Athena,' and thus had to develop elaborate genealogical and mythological explanations to reconcile all three traditions.[378] The testimony of Plutarch *Alc.* 2 (ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθῆνα καὶ πατρῷος Ἀπόλλων ἐστί) seems to imply that in Attica Apollo could be seen as an ancestral god (patrôos) and literally an ancestor, the progenitor of the Athenians in his capacity as the father of Ion, and Athena construed as the founder (Archegetis) of the Athenian polity.[379] Similarly on Aigina, Zeus, through Aiakos, could have functioned as the progenitor of the Aiginetan Aiakids, who represented the Aiginetan claim to the Achaean heroic legacy of the Trojan war, while Apollo, as the oikistes, could have been construed as the founder of the Aiginetan polity. However, Σ Pind. *N.* 3.21 quotes Theogenes of Aigina, an epichoric historiographer, as attributing to Aiakos all political functions of

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375 Malkin 1987.

376 In the Sicilian Naxos, founded in 734 BCE, the cult of Apollo Arkhegetas may have had a pan-Sikeliote significance (Thuc. 6.3.1). Malkin (1987, 18) cites Lampros 1873 who "emphasized Apollo's aspect as founder (particularly in mythological context)," and saw "the oikist as a reflection of Apollo." Cf. also Bourboule 1949, 61: her comparison is even more far-reaching, as in her view both Apollo Delphinios on Aigina and Apollo Karneios in Sparta are related through the function of Apollo as "leader of wandering tribe until they reach their final place of installation" who "saved them and granted them permanent dwelling places in the new country." This is part of Bourboule's argument about the origin of animal epithets reflecting the function of animals as leaders of people in search of a place to settle. Apollo in the shape of a ram and a dolphin shows the way for those in search of a dwelling.

377 *The Homer Encyclopedia* s.v. Myrmidons; [Hes.] MW 205, cf. Σ *Il.* 1.180.

378 Loraux 1993; Hall 1995, 51–56.

379 Theseus as synoikist had a further political role.

a synoikist, lawgiver and founder of political order (see 7.2.5). Here again, we should note a peculiar absence of Apollo from the Pindaric Aiginetan *epinikia*. It would seem that an all-encompassing emphasis on the Aiakids somehow disallowed Apollo's presence. Yet, a particularly slanted ideological view in Pindar's poetic commissions was not necessarily the whole story. As the epithets Oikistes and Domatites suggest, Apollo had a stake in the Aiginetan politeia as well, while the autochthonous strand was also present in Aiginetan mythology via the Myrmidons, transformed by Zeus from ants into people (see further discussion in 8.2 and 11.4).

Thus, it is conceivable that on Aigina the worship of Apollo Oikistes reflects a tradition conceptualizing the foundation by settlers from the outside, while the legend of Aiakos, son of Zeus, and of his Myrmidons postulates an indigenous link between the famous heroic line and the land of Aigina. The two traditions play different roles in the local ideology and therefore complement rather contradict each other. There is a historical tradition about the settlement of Aigina by the Argives (Paus. 2.29.5) and alternatively by the Dorians from Epidauros (Hdt. 8.46). Zeus and Aiakos, the *progonos* of the Aiginetans, could co-exist side by side with Apollo as organizer of the Aiginetan political community, possibly to be linked with the tradition of the Dorian settlement of Aigina. Theogenes' version (Σ Pind. *N*. 3.21) that makes Aiakos the leader of the settlers from the Peloponnese only exposes a poorly patched up rift between the alternative traditions. Pausanias 2.29.5 reports (speculates, would be more correct) that the pre-Dorian population of Aigina received and mixed with the Dorian newcomers:[380] μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδαυρον ὁμοῦ Δηιφόντῃ κατασχόντων, διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἴγιναν καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι, τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῃ νήσῳ. Quite apart from the question of historicity, we recognize a discursive strategy in this account that could be trying to reconcile alternative traditions of origin. The meaning of the epithet Oikistes is probably best understood in the sense of 'charterer of the constitution,' that is, founder of a polity, rather than as founder of a colony. In this sense, the epithet reflects the role of Apollo as patron of the city and of the Aiginetan political community as a whole. It is then in the capacity of a communal patron that Apollo Oikistes and Domatites received a sacrifice, whether public, private, or both, on Aigina. If it was

[380] Figueira 1993.

public, it probably took place in the main sanctuary of Apollo, perhaps on a special altar for Oikistes and Domatites.[381]

7.6.7 *Many Apollos*

Does the possibility that the sacrifice to Apollo Oikistes and Domatites may have taken place in the month Delphinios mean that Aiginetans equated Oikistes and Domatites with Delphinios?[382] It is conceivable, since Delphinios could be viewed as Apollo the Founder, yet there is no unequivocal evidence for such an equation on Aigina. Possibly the cult of Apollo on Aigina was in origin that of Delphinios, giving his name to the month, but accrued additional social meanings over time. Even more likely, however, is that the month Dephinios was the focus of several festival occasions that emphasized different social aspects of the local Apollo. Where would these sacrifices have taken place? We have established earlier on the basis of Pausanias and the epigraphic evidence that there was one temple of Apollo on Aigina. This temple may have been located in a *temenos* where other cultic installations both for Apollos and for other deities were situated: prominent sacred areas often attracted a large number of different cults, so that multiple altars and images of deities could be found together, for example, in the Altis at Olympia. Multiple stone altars have in fact been found on Kolonna,[383] as well as a monumental altar

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[381] At Olympia, Pausanias (5.14.4–5.15.12) describes sixty-nine altars of different deities inside the Altis. On Thasos, an altar of Hera Epilimenia (*IG* XII Suppl. 409) stood just south and outside of the propylon of the Posideion (Grandjean and Salviat 2009, 97).

[382] Farnell (1896–1909, vol. 4, 148) thought so because in his opinion the connection of Delphinios to the sea was not due to his innate marine nature, but to his role in colonization.

[383] Altars: (1) Possible fragment of an altar table, brown poros, Inv. Nr. A 402 (associated with Apollo temple I by Hoffelner 1996, 25); (2) Altar table: fragment of an ante, poros, Inv. Nr. A 30 (620–570 BCE, contemporary with Apollo temple I: Hoffelner 1996, 26–7; (3) two side pieces of an altar, poros, Inv. Nr. A 3 and A 4, 570–60 BCE (Hoffelner 1996, 27–30); (4) Fragment of crowning of an altar, Ionic style, Cycladic marble, ca. 520 BCE (Inv. Nr. A 271, Hoffelner 1996, 30–32); (5) Fragment: molding and wall piece of an altar, poros, 520–510 BCE (Inv. Nr. A 43, Hoffelner 1996, 32–3). (6) Triglyph altar, poros, late Archaic /Early Classical (without Inv. Nr., Hoffelner 1996, 33–5); [6]+(7) Side-piece /crowning of altar, brown poros (Inv. Nr. A 297). Hoffelner (1996, 35–7) suggests that (6) and (7) go together and present an attractive reconstruction. (8) Side-piece of an altar, Cycladic marble, 470/60 BCE (Inv. Nr. A 2, Hoffelner 1996, 37–40). Hoffelner (1996, 40) speculates, based on the dating, that the altar belonged to the temple of Artemis on Kolonna dated in the same period (Hoffelner 1994; Hoffelner 1999, 101–115); (9) Offering table with eight divisions, Cycladic marble, ca. 475 BCE (without Inv. Nr.) inscribed: AIETOΣ AN[EΘEKE . . .] O[Σ EΠO]IE (= *IG* IV^2 759).

in the southern section of the site.[384] Also, numerous votive bases and pillars,[385] as well as stone basins and perirrhanteria,[386] might be representing more cults and divine addressees than any particular Apollo. The presence of several altars dated to the same period suggests contemporaneous worship of several deities at the site of Kolonna.

Alternatively, sacrifices to Oikistes and Domatites could have taken place elsewhere, not necessarily in the same sanctuary with Delphinios. Attic comparanda suggest that sometimes names of months were derived from insignificant festivals (e.g., Hecatombaia, Metageitnia, Boedromia—all festivals of Apollo) of the Athenian calendar, which also had no connection to specific shrines in the city.[387] "In contrast, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia were prominent feast days of Apollo with important ceremonies, but even they were not closely linked to particular temples."[388]

In addition, on the same feast day, sacrifices to different Apollos could take place at different locations within a deme or *polis*, as we see

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[384] Hoffelner (1999, 117–126) postulates three consecutive altars associated with Apollo-temples I/II/III, but the structures have since been re-identified as parts of the Hellenistic fortification wall (Pollhammer 2003 and 2004). A monumental altar in the South Complex: Felten et al., 2003, 57–9; Felten et al., 2004, 116–8; Felten 2007b, 27.

[385] Votive pillars (published in Hoffelner 1996): two Doric capitals, ca. 600 BCE (the earliest known), one capital of a pillar from the 1st half of 5th century. Votive bases: (1) rectangular, marble, ca. 500 BCE, inscribed: ΣΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ] (Inv. Nr. I13 (P82) = *IG* IV² 758, Hoffelner 1996, 21, Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 60); (2) rectangular, poros, inscribed: [. . .] KAI EME, late 6th cent. (Inv. Nr. 125 (A916), Hoffelner 1996, 23–24 = *IG* IV² 757); (3) rectangular, Cycladic marble, second half 6th cent. BCE (Mus. Inv. 2461), inscribed: ΑΡΙΣΤΟ[. . .], (Hoffelner 1996, 24 = *IG* IV² 1016); (4) rectangular, Cycladic marble, (Inv. Nr. 120), end of 6th cent. BCE, inscribed: [. . . ANE]ΘΕΚΕ[Ν], (Hoffelner 1996, 24 = *IG* IV² 756).

[386] Stone containers: three stone bowls, one each of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic date (Hoffelner 1996, 45–6, all stray finds). Marble round platters (twelve with flat rim and six with rounded rim), mostly dated 6th–5th centuries BCE (A199 and S27 are Hellenistic) seem too shallow for washing, and Hoffelner (1996, 51–52) speculates that they may have served as baskets (*kanoun*), or trays for spices. Perirrhanteria were mostly found in the Archaic fill east of the temple, in wells on the south side, as well as on the east and south sides of Kolonna, and hence their attribution to the Apollonion specifically is not firm (Kerschner 1996, 63). Thirty-seven ceramic perirrhanteria have been published: one from the 2nd half of 7th cent. BCE; one ca. 600 BCE; four of the 1st quarter of the 6th cent., nine from the middle, second half of late 6th cent., seven from the 5th cent., fifteen for 5/4th cent. Kerschner 1996, (63–75) publishes a catalog and discussion of the ceramic specimens from Kolonna, with discussion of comparanda from elsewhere (76–86). In addition to ceramic, there are fourteen stone perirhanteria, of which one was (according to the account of Thiersch) dedicated to Athena. Kerschner (1996) also publishes a catalog of stone perirrhanteria (87–89) and discussion (89–94), an essay on metal perirrhanteria and a discussion of various uses of all types of perirrhanteria, as well as of *louteria* and *kordopoi* (100–130).

[387] Parke 1977.

[388] Parke 1977, 185.

in the sacrificial calendar of Erkhia.[389] In the month Gamelion, on the 7th, there were sacrifices to Apollo Delphinios (presumably at the Delphinion) and to Kourotrophos (at the Delphinion), and to Apollo Lykeios (at Erkhia); then, on the 8th, there were three more sacrifices to Apollo: Apotropaios (at Erkhia, towards (= on the road to?) Paianians), another to Apotropaios (at Erkhia), and to Apollo Nymphegetes and the Nymphs (on the same altar, at Erkhia). Thus, in one month on two consecutive days sacrifices to different Apollos took place at different locations and hence on different altars in the territory of the Attic deme of Erkhia. In the month Thargelion, on the 4th, six sacrifices took place, two of them for Apollos: Pythios at Erkhia and Paion on the Rocky Hill at Erkhia. It is not entirely clear from the calendar whether different Apollos (e.g., Delphinios and Lykeios) could receive sacrifices on the same altar; but it would appear that when that was the case, it was specifically mentioned, and we should thus assume that in all other cases sacrifices took place on different altars. Different altars do not, however, always signify different sanctuaries. Some areas in the territory of Erkhia seem to have been sacred to many deities, e.g., the Rocky Hill (Πάγος), where sacrifice for Hera Telkhinia, Zeus Epopetes, Nymphs, Akheloos, Alokhos, Hermes, Ge, Apollo Paion, and Zeus (without epithet in contrast to Epopetes) were offered at different times of the year. Clustering of altars and dedications in certain areas of a Greek state's territory is well attested.[390]

It is also evident from the calendar of Erkhia that the same Apollo, e.g., Apotropaios, had multiple altars located in different places of the deme territory. On Aigina, cape Kolonna may have been such a sacred area with temples, altars, votive pits, and rooms for ritual dining dedicated to the worship of different deities. Recent excavations in the West Complex and South Hill on Kolonna have revealed both the architectural arrangements and material evidence commensurate with the notion of cape Kolonna as

[389] Epigraphic Museum Inv. No. 13163; *SEG* XXI 541; *BCEH* 89, 154–172; *BCEH* 89, 180–213.

[390] Rupestral inscriptions and cuttings for votives in a structure near the temple of Apollo Karneios on Thera: *IG* XII 350–363, and near the same temple, but not inside the mentioned structure—additional rupestral votive inscriptions—*IG* XII 364–383 (see also Inglese 2008). Inside the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi: three built altars and three free-standing inscribed monolithic altars (to Zeus Polieus, Athena Ergane, and Athena Zosteria), and two inscribed altars next to the *temenos* wall—to Hygieia and to Eileithyia (Pendazos 1984, 80–83). Hill of the Nymphs in Athens also hosted a number of cults: Lalonde 2005, 81–93.

a center of ritual activity beyond the Archaic temple at the top.[391] Jarosch-Reinholdt interprets the ceramic, architectural remains, and grave sites on Kolonna as evidence for the co-existence of different types of cults on Kolonna: divine, gentilicial, hero, and tomb cults, and the use of Kolonna continuously, over time, as a place of gatherings (Versammlungsort) from the 10th century onwards.[392]

In light of these considerations, the information provided by the scholion to *N.* 5.81 is plausible and allows for a variety of scenarios: in one and the same month Delphinios, Aiginetans could have conducted a pentathlon of Apollo at the Delphinia festival; a sacrifice to Apollo Oikistes and Domatites; and an *agôn* Hydrophoria. These could have occurred on different dates of the month, or on the same day at different locations, or on different altars (e.g., the presumed sacrifice to Delphinios and the attested sacrifice to Oikistes and Domatites) in the same sacred area; and as part of one and the same festival, or during different festivals. As discussed above, the temple on Kolonna was most likely that of Apollo without a surname, mentioned by Pausanias. An additional reason why it may have lacked a specific epithet in the context of Aigina could be because it lay in the sanctuary where various hypostases of Apollo were worshipped and represented, which together reflected a multi-functional patronage of the deity over various aspects of the well-being of the Aiginetan polity.

Some further material objects from Aigina have been related to the worship of Apollo. For example, an upper part of a document relief (Aigina Mus. 1427) dated to ca. 400 BCE shows two presumably divine figures on either side of a tripod: on the left is a standing female draped in a cloak, resting her right arm on a spear and holding a cornucopia in her left hand. On the right is a naked male figure, holding a phiale in his right hand and a bow in his left. It seems that a headband is tied around his head. Walter-Karydi identifies the male figure on this relief with Apollo who represents Aigina as a "*polis* god."[393] The image of Apollo that Pausanias saw in the Aiginetan temple was also naked, and a bow could indeed symbolize the Far-Shooter, and yet it is not certain that the male, and not the female figure should be taken to represent Aigina in this case. Another document relief from Aigina (Nat. Mus. 1475), dated to the 2nd half of the 4th century BCE, represents a seated female deity holding torches, approached by a

[391] See excavation reports: Felten et al. 2003, 49–51; 2004, 100–118; 2005, 21–3; 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010); Felten 2003a; Felten 2007b.
[392] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 66–67.
[393] Walter-Karydi 2006, 41–42.

male figure (a hero?) leading a horse (see Fig. 11). In this case, the state of Aigina is thought to be symbolized by a female deity (see further discussion in 7.13.3). It is not inconceivable that in different periods of Aiginetan history, different deities were chosen to symbolize the island, but that makes it only harder, in the fragmentary state of our sources, to determine which representation was current when. For this reason, the document relief cited above is ambiguous as to which deity (female or male) should be seen as the representation of Aigina.

Felten recently argued that among other Apollos at Kolonna, we should also envision an Apollo Agyieus represented by a conical marble block,[394] such as κωνοειδής κίων that a scholion to Aristophanes *Vesp*. 875 describes as sacred to Apollo and in fact as literally being Apollo. κωνοειδής κίων is a "cone-shaped pillar" rather than a cone in modern geometric terms. A cone, as in a pine-tree cone, is rounded at the bottom and rounded and pointed at the same time at the top. This is the shape that we see in visual representations of Agyieus, a pillar rounded at the bottom, sometimes swollen in the middle. Also, on most representations collected in *LIMC* (II 1.1 and II 2.1, s.v. Apollon Agyieus 1–27) and showing worshippers (e.g., nos. 10, 12, 19), the pillar is taller or as tall as the worshippers. In our case, the truncated marble pillar of conical shape is only 0.567m high and could not have been higher than 0.8 altogether, so well under human height. The lack of a rounded cone-shaped bottom, of any middle swelling (in fact, the side lines are perfectly straight) and the small height of the object should caution against the identification with Agyieus. We may be dealing with a more mundane object, such as a support for a perirrhanterion.

7.6.8 *Cultic Identities and Sanctuaries: Apollo Pythios and the Thearion*

In physical details, the evidence for Delphinios and for Oikistes and Domatites stands quite apart from the evidence for another Apollo on Aigina—Pythios. Thearion is the only place on Aigina explicitly associated in our sources with Pythios. Therefore, the way we understand the function of Thearion would determine the way we understand the role of Pythios on Aigina.

The main evidence comes from Pindar, *Nemean* 3.67–70 (=114–124):

> Βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρέπει,
> ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλέι προσέθηκε λόγῳ

[394] Felten 2003b, 41–42.

καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις
Πυθίου θεάριον.

A shout (song) is due to the victorious Aristokleidas
who linked this very island with the talk of good repute
and [linked] the sacred Thearion of Pythios[395] with splendid endeavors.

Scholia to Pindar *Nemean* 3.122 give three definitions of θεάριον.

(a1) ἔστιν ἐν Αἰγινῃ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ θεωροὶ διῃτῶντο οἱ τὰ θεῖα φυλάσσοντες. θεωροὶ γὰρ οἷον θεοφύλακες. (a2) Οἱ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ οἶκος ἐστι καλούμενος θεάριον διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἳ καλοῦνται θεωροὶ, ἐνταῦθα διαιτᾶσθαι. (b) Πυθίου θεάριον: τόπος ἐν Αἰγινῃ δημόσιος, ἔνθα τὰ συμπόσια. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν θεωρῶν τῶν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα πεμπόμενων.

(a1) On Aigina, there is a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, in which *theôroi* who guard the sacred matters (τὰ θεῖα, whether objects or rituals) congregate/spend time, *theôroi* are guardians (*theophylakes*) of the sacred matters [or: of the god]; (a2) others say that in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios there is a house called Thearion after the officials called *theôroi* who congregate/spend time there; (b) Thearion of Pythios. A public place on Aigina where symposia take place, so called after the *theôroi* sent to Apollo.

Scholia define Thearion as a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Apollo Pythios where *theôroi* spend time (a1); a building (*oikos*) in the sanctuary (*hieron*) of Apollo Pythios where *theôroi* spend time (a2); or alternatively, a public place (*topos dêmosios*), named after the office of *theôroi* where symposia take place (b). Even a cursory comparison between the evidence for Apollo Delphinios (the month Delphinios during which sacrifices take place, the games Delphinia, a sacred pentathlon) and the evidence for Apollo Pythios (a sanctuary, Thearion, *theôroi*- sacred officials, or delegates) leads to the conclusion that the two cultic arrangements were quite distinct, without a noticeable overlap. It is therefore reasonable, in fact, inevitable to envision separate sanctuaries, for Delphinios and for Pythios. Separate sanctuaries for Delphinios and Pythios are known from Attica,[396] and multiple temples of Apollo situated in one city are attested in many

[395] Θεάριον in this case has to refer to a building, as scholia show, and not a social institution, which would be called a θεαρία. Therefore I agree here with Nisetich (1980, 243) who translates "Apollo's Thearion" against Race (1997, 29) who translates "the hallowed delegation of the Pythian god."

[396] In Athens, in the deme of Erkhia, precincts of both Apollo Delphinios and of Apollo Pythios were known, and there were three other sanctuaries of Apollo in the city of Athens.

parts of the Greek world.[397] On Aigina, there seems to have been only one temple of Apollo, however.

The association of Thearion with Apollo Pythios on Aigina is absolutely and umabiguously clear from Pindar *Nemean* 3.70.[398] In spite of certain differences between the three scholia that explain what Thearion was, they agree in two aspects: (1) that Thearion had something to do with Apollo Pythios, and (2) that it was a place for official (state/communal) business (civic, religious and/or sympotic) executed by *theôroi*, however their precise roles are to be understood. Since scholia to *Nemean* 3.70 mention Thearion as the only building sacred to Pythios on Aigina, and rather consistently do not define it as a temple (*naos*) of Pythios, we have no grounds for assuming the existence of a temple for Apollo Pythios on Aigina.[399] In fact, the third scholion that describes Thearion as a public area, not even a sanctuary, might at least be reflecting the most current use of the building, as a setting for symposia, in the Hellenistic period, from which our scholia derive (see below, 7.6.11). If we were to view the testimony of scholia as complementary rather than mutually exclusive, we could arrive at an image of a building much like a prytaneion in Athens or at Olympia, that is, a seat, residence, or sympotic/dining facility of civic and/or cultic officials.

7.6.9 *Have We Found the Thearion?*

The information provided by the Pindaric scholia, namely that the Thearion was used as a sympotic hall, allowed archaeologists working at Kolonna to propose a candidate for the Thearion at the site of excavations. A number of inscriptions referring to public feasts (*demothoiniai*) were found at the site of Kolonna. These inscriptions appear on architectural blocks reused for the construction of the Late Roman (3rd cent. CE) wall on the northern side of Kolonna (see Fig. 12), and date between 175 and 250 CE.

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[397] Three temples of Apollo were located within the city-walls of Hermione, according to Paus. (2.35.2): one without a surname, another of Apollo Pythaeus, and another of Apollo Horios. Examples can be multiplied.

[398] We cannot surmise an Apollo Thearios, or Pythaieus instead; the scholia are unanimous, and other circumstantial evidence also points to Delphi (e.g., Thearion, father of Sogenes, the honorand of Pindar's *N.* 7, and the role of Neoptolemos at Delphi as depicted in that ode)—on this see further this chapter.

[399] *Oikos* can mean temple, although in the context of this scholion, *oikos* is more likely a building that is a gathering/presiding place for officials, archontes, rather than a temple.

Inscriptions appear on stone blocks that were part of an Archaic building of the Doric order (I will refer to it as the Building with Inscribed Walls) that most likely stood somewhere on Kolonna until its members were taken for the construction of the Late Roman wall.[400] It is clear from the fact that some inscribed blocks are placed upside down in the Roman wall that the inscriptions were made on the original building, and not after the blocks were built into the Roman wall. Klaus Hoffelner brought these inscribed architectural blocks into association with a course of Archaic foundation blocks that runs along the north face of the Late Roman wall with inscriptions (Inschriftenmauer). The presence of Archaic foundations in situ, of Archaic blocks reused in a later construction in immediate proximity, and the content of the inscriptions that record public feasts convinced Hoffelner and other archaeologists working at Kolonna that the Archaic building to which the inscribed blocks and possibly the foundations in the immediate vicinity belonged should be identified with the Thearion mentioned by Pindar.[401] On the basis of a single characteristic block and a related calculation of other dimensions Hoffelner restored the shape of the building as a two-room square construction (see Figs. 5 and 13).[402] The precise shape of the building remains a hypothesis: the block Q85 used by Hoffelner for his reconstruction is inscribed. The hypothetical placement of this block in Hoffelner's reconstruction makes the inscription face the inside of the dining chamber.[403] This is difficult to accept, since the purpose of the public display of the inscription would not be

[400] Parallels for inscriptions carved on walls of public buildings (according to Felten 1975, 53 n. 3): Treasury of Athenians at Delphi (*FdD* III, 2); West Hall in Magnesia (O. Kern, die *Inschriften von Magnesia*, 11–69, nos. 16–87): here inscriptions appear on the interior walls of the hall; at Miletos: on the antae of the Propylon and the wall of City Hall (*Milet* I, 2, nos. 3, 4, 5). In Magnesia and Miletos, inscriptions are of Roman date.

[401] Parallels for inscribed lists of officials, as noted by Felten 1975: *theôroi* at Thasos (*IG* XII 8, 271–330; *Etudes Thasiennes* III, 239–286); *demiourgoi* from Kamiros (*Clara Rhodos* VI, 371–384, no. 2a–h; *Annuario* N. S. 11–13, 1949–51, 145–157).

[402] Hoffelner 1999, 160–171. The placement of the Hakenquader block Q85 determines the reconstruction of the ground plan of the building. The block has three connecting sides, according to Hoffelner (p. 162) one of which is W 0.613m, while the width of other two sides is 0.555m and 0.525m, respectively. The fact that we have some eighty wall-blocks that are about 0.555m wide and only five blocks that are ~0.60m wide suggests that those eighty blocks constituted the bulk of building material and had to form the walls of the structure. The blocks with ~0.60m width would have formed the antae, which would have required a much fewer number of blocks and hence, this would explain why a smaller percentage of those survives. Hence the orientation of Q85 is with the 0.613m-wide side pointing out, to form the antae wall. This orientation places the inscribed surface of the block on the inside wall of the inner chamber.

[403] Mattern (2001) finds that problematic.

fulfilled. It is more likely that the inscribed surfaces would have faced the outside, or the porch,[404] in which case the proposed reconstruction would have to be revised. Since several theories have been advanced about the Thearion and the role of the *theôroi* on the basis of these inscriptions, I proceed to discuss them here.

7.6.10 *The* Hiera Pentapolis *and Apollo Pythios*?

There are fifteen inscriptions from the Building with Inscribed Walls that record public feasts,[405] in six of them a *pentapolis* is mentioned, and one mentions *hiera pentapolis* (*IG* IV² 835):

ἀγαθῃ τ[ύχῃ
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σώστρατος (Σωστράτου)
δημωθοινήσας
καὶ καλέσας τὴν
ἱερὰν πεντάπο-
λιν καὶ οἰκέτας
πλείονας.

Felten suggested that this *hiera pentapolis*, a "sacred union of five poleis" was a cultic association around the cult of Apollo Pythios with its center on Aigina,[406] but nothing in the texts suggests a connection to Apollo. It is also most likely that the *pentapolis* was based on five Aiginetan communities, rather than uniting Aigina and four other *poleis* from outside of Aigina.[407] It is also possible that in this context pentapolis metonymically

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[404] It is not certain that the block had anathyrosis on the three sides indicated by Hoffelner: the block is built into the Late Roman wall in such a way that makes it impossible to conduct an inspection of surfaces on all sides. It is the bottom of the block that forms the face of the Late Roman wall. If there were no anathirosis, then we could suggest an alternative placement of Q85: rotated 180° with respect to the orientation proposed by Hoffelner and placed in the southwest corner of the porch. In that case, the inscribed surface would appear on the inner side of the south anta. Comparanda: The inscriptions of the Propylon in Miletos appear on the outer and inner sides of the antae. Mattern (2001, 608) also doubts the orientation of Q85 with letters facing inside the inner chamber on the same grounds of poor visibility, and mentions "teilweise erhaltene farbliche Unterlegung."

[405] Such commemorative inscriptions are known from other parts of the Roman empire as well: *IEph* 790 [τὰ] ἐξ ἔ[θους,] |ἑστιάσαντ[α μετὰ]|ἀγνείας τ[οὺς]|πάντας ᾽[—]|ἀττ[—]|ἐπὶ ἀρχ[όντων]|Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἑρω[τ—]|ὑμνῳδοῦ [καὶ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)]|Εὐτυχίω[νος]

[406] Felten 1975, 51–52.

[407] Walter-Karydi (1994, 134–135) argues for a union of five Aiginetan communities similar to the Marathonian tetrapolis in Attica. Figueira 1981, 320–21 (followed by Burnett 2005, 14–15 and n. 9) also believes that the five *poleis* were Aiginetan communities, but centered on the worship of the Argive Apollo Pythaieus (so Walter-Karydi 2006, 82),

applies to a group of people, not cities, who were representatives of some sort. Unless the reasons are stylistic and not semantic, the epigraphic formula seems to separate as two distinct acts "dining" and "calling together." Dining is either announced without the mention of parties benefitting from it, or 'all citizens' and 'all women' are named as beneficiaries: "every citizen" (*IG* IV² 836), "every citizen and every woman" (*IG* IV² 841).[408] The "calling" (invitation) is addressed to the 'pentapolis and to *oiketai pleionai*' ("many/most householders," *IG* IV² 835 and 841). In this telling example, *pentapolis* seems to be used in reference to a body of officials in contrast to the general body of citizens or local residents,[409] and not to a union of geographically disctinct communities. In addition to the public feast that the organizer Aurelius Heraklas son of Bassos gave, *IG* IV² 838 also lists donatives to the Boule, "according to custom," given presumably on the same occasion as the public feast.[410] The Boule in question must be the local Aiginetan Boule, hence again, the actions of the feast organizer seem to be focused on the local Aiginetan community. No indication of other Greek states participating is evident.

The local character of the Aiginetan pentapolis is supported by the use of the formula ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις Αἰγεινέων in a contemporary (244–249 AD) inscription (*IG* IV² 772) honoring emperor Philippos where *hiera polis* is possibly short for *hiera pentapolis*. *Hiera* was a formal status claimed by or awarded to cities in Hellenistic and Roman times, often in addition

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at least before the Hellenistic period. There is no evidence, however, to indicate a connection with the Argive cult. Felten (1975, 51) also supporting the idea that the association was based around a cult argued for external membership: Aigina, Kalaureia, Troizen, Hermione, and Epidauros. So Rutherford 2011, 116. Such geographic names as Pentapolis, Tripolis, Tetrapolis, Hexapolis, and Dekapolis were quite common in the Greek-speaking world of antiquity. They could designate political unions (*koina*) of several distinct cities, e.g., Pentapolis in Thrace was a union of 5, later 6, cities on the Western coast of Pontos: Istros, Odessos, and at some point in time Apollonia, Dionysopolos, Kallatis, Markianopolis, Mesembria (*RE* s.v. Pentapolis 1). Alternatively, the name could refer to a region that was dominated by several important cities, e.g., Lybian Pentapolis (*RE* s.v. Pentapolis 3), or the Syrian province of Seleukis (*RE* s.v. Tetrapolis 4). Finally, the name could be applied to one city, e.g., Tripolis on the south coast of the Black Sea (*RE* s.v. Tripolis 1) which consisted of several distinct parts (*RE* s.v. Tetrapolis 5, Tripolis 4), or was formed by several groups of population (*RE* s.v. Tripolis 4), or derived from several original villages (*RE* s.v. Tripolis 11).

408 It is possible that in this context γύνη refers not to gender, but to social status, meaning "wives" of citizens.

409 Figueira (1981, 319) expresses the same opinion.

410 A parallel for the gifts: *IStr* 352 (fragment of [*hiereus*] inscription of (no name), mentioning gifts to women and men; imperial?; found at Panamara):

> [—εἰς τὸ]|[Ἥ]ραιον πολυτ[ελῶς]|[κ]αλέσας τὸ πολεί[τευ]|μα τῶν γυναικῶν, [δοὺς δὲ]|ἑκάστῃ μετὰ τῶν λ[οι]|πῶν τῶν ἐξ ἔθους [ἀ]-|νὰ * α′, ὁμοίως καὶ τ[αῖς]|σὺν ἀνδράσιν|ἀνᾳ[βᾶσι γυ]|να[ικ]ὶν ἐντοπίο[ις καὶ]|[ξέναις—]

to, or in conjunction with other titles.[411] Contemporary parallels for such use with reference to Delphi, Epidauros, and Lebadeia suggest that the presence of a panhellenic sanctuary in each of these cities may have determined their status as *hiera*.[412] On Aigina, the most important cult of Roman times was that of Hekate, as Pausanias 2.30.2 reports, and we have evidence that this was a mystery cult that attracted pilgrims from outside the island (see ch. 7.13). Whatever *hiera pentapolis* was on Aigina in the 3rd century CE, it is significant that we do not hear about it in the earlier periods, and it was most likely the product of Roman times. Any suggestion of a connection with the Classical Thearion of Pythios, or with the Classical cult of Pythios, or with the office of theôroi, therefore has no evidentiary basis.

7.6.11 *Names on the Late Roman Wall with Inscriptions*

Alongside the inscribed records of public feasts built into the Late Roman wall there are inscriptions that represent lists of names, dating between the 2nd century BCE and 3rd century CE. The records of dining and lists of names sometimes appear on the same stone blocks. Felten interpreted the lists of names that date to the Hellenistic period and later as those of *theôroi*. He did not address the question why, if the institution of *theôroi* was Archaic, the need to inscribe their names arose only in the 2nd century BCE, and why the practice of recording feasts arose only in Roman times. That some officials, not necessarily *theôroi*, are recorded is more readily acceptable.[413] The relationship between the two groups of inscriptions is not immediately clear, but Felten would like to see the relationship between them as a direct continuity.[414] The relative position of

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411 Cf., e.g., the titles of Phoenician Tripolis in Roman times, *Syll. Or.* II 587: Τρίπολις τῆς Φοινείκης ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος καὶ ναυαρχίς. It is not clear what formal privilege the status of *hiera* conferred, but it seems to have often been a preliminary to the granting of *asylos* status: Bikerman 1938, 153–6; Boffo 1985, 53–70.

412 Epidaurus: e.g., *IG* IV^2, 1 612, CE 222–235, ἡ ἱερὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων πόλις; Lebadeia in Boiotia: e.g., *IG* VII 3104, CE 244–49, ἡ ἱερὰ Λεβαδέων πόλις; Delphi: *CID* 4:168, CE 238–244, ἡ ἱερὰ Δελφῶν πόλ[ι]ς. Strabo *Geogr.* 16.1.7 defines Vorsippa as a *hiera polis* of Artemis and Apollo.

413 Felten (1975, 51) begins his chain of hypotheses from this assumption. One Aurelius Asklepiades mentioned in *IG* IV^2 828 might be the same person who calls himself a *prostates* in the contemporary dedication to Dionysos (*IG* IV^2 760, after 212 CE).

414 Felten 1975, 51: "In erster Linie fällt auf, dass die Wände des spätarchaischen Baues offenbar ausschliesslich Namenlisten und Speisungsinschriften trugen. Eine solche Ausschlieslichkeit kann kaum zufällig sein, betrachten wir andere mit Inschriften versehene Bauten, wo die Wände nahezu immer Träger einer Vielzahl verschiedenartigster Texte

inscriptions on the blocks allows some further insights. The lists of names are inscribed in carefully executed letters of varying size, and individual words cross from one block to another. There is no attempt to fit inscriptions within the parameters of individual architectural blocks, rather the lists were inscribed in columns on the wall of the building and hence ran over masonry joints in a random fashion. Felten's restoration shows an irregularity in the width of columns and intercolumnia, an aspect that seems to contradict a suggestion of deliberate design in terms of columnar arrangement.

Another peculiar fact is that the records of public feasts, which are later in date and smaller in letter size, are often squeezed in-between the lists of names. This leads to two conclusions: that there was a desire to place records of public feasts on the same wall, and that apparently there was not much room left for them on that wall. This could be the case if that wall was particularly suitable for the display of inscriptions. Perhaps it faced an open square or a street where it was especially visible.[415] Unless visibility was an issue, it would be hard to explain why the feasting inscriptions had to be squeezed in on the same surface instead of being inscribed separately.

The need for visibility that apparently determined the relative placement of the two groups of inscriptions still says little about any other possible connections between them. The two groups are different in content: lists of names have no indication of hierarchy between the individuals named, and no indication of the purpose of inscribing; the later records of public feasts always name the official who organized the feast and serve to commemorate the occasion. We may consider the possibility that the reason for using the same wall for the lists of names and records of feasts was the function of the building, on which they were inscribed. This is Felten's logic: if the wall records Roman feasts, then the building may have been functionally related to the content of the inscriptions, that is, served as a dining hall, and perhaps it was used in this capacity in preceding centuries as well. The inscriptions mention public feasts (*dêmothoiniai*), but these could not have taken place in the Building with Inscribed

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sind. Von daher ist anzunehmen, dass zwischen den beiden Gattungen ein enger Zusammenhang bestand . . ."

[415] Incidentally, excavators identified a small Archaic fountain or well built against the Archaic perimeter wall (Hoffelner 1999, 179) next to a small Archaic building (Hoffelner 1999, 173–8) and the Building with Inscribed Walls, the features that support the notion that the whole area was a public square in the Archaic period.

Walls because it would be too small to accommodate "every citizen and every wife." Hence, the use of this building's walls to commemorate the feasts does not necessarily indicate what went on inside the building. The scholia, by contrast, mention *symposia*, not public feasts, that, is gatherings, which would have been much smaller in scale than public feasts and could potentially have been accommodated in the Archaic building under consideration. A continuous use over five centuries (2nd BCE to 3rd CE) of some building as a dining hall might be accepted, but it is not certain that the use of the building's walls for commemorative inscriptions directly reflects the activities that went on inside. It is more likely that the building would have been the seat of those officials who were listed in the Hellenistic period, and named as responsible for *dêmothoiniai* in the Roman period. If it was a seat of some officials, then we could still connect the meaning of the inscriptions with the building, but would not have to envision feasts as taking place inside. Many historical and political changes took place on Aigina in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: new rulers came into power and new cults were introduced, and probably new social institutions established. For instance, inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman dates suggest the introduction of new festivals or a significant elaboration of the old ones.[416] Any one of these may have involved symposia and/or the use of an old magistrates' hall. Furthermore, even if the building in question served as a public hestiatorion over many centuries, no evidence indicates that it was specifically the Thearion as opposed to some other public hall.[417]

The lists consist of given names and patronymics. It is difficult to be certain how many names were included in each list: where we have continuous lists that fit on one stone surface, a maximum of six can be found

[416] Dionysia may have become a major festival in the Hellenistic period (*IG* IV² 749, 159–144 BCE) during Pergamene rule on Aigina because Dionysos was particularly honored by the Attalid dynasty as their ancestor. Dionysia are mentioned as one of three major state festivals on Aigina in the first half of the 1st century BCE, during the Roman rule on Aigina: *IG* IV² 750 line 31. *Prostates* Aurelius Asklepiades whose name might also be recorded on the Building with Inscribed Walls was possibly the same individual who made a dedication to the "youthful Dionysos, great god, epêkoos (listening to prayer)" some time in the first half of the 1st century CE (see n. 413 above). The Attaleia, Eumeneia, Nikephoria are attested in the mid-2nd cent. BCE (*IG* IV² 749). The Herakleia are first mentioned in *IG* IV² 750 line 32, 1st half of 1st cent. BCE, although the cult of Herakles on Aigina was at least Archaic. The Romaia: *IG* IV² 750 line 32.

[417] Other dining rooms on Kolonna are on the South Slope and in the West Complex.

(nos. 814 and 815).[418] Because lists were arranged in columns and a new list apparently was inscribed below the previous one with a small interval in-between, any particular list could begin and end at any place on the surface of the block, and we do not have a single preserved example of a beginning and end of a continuous list, unless the two *vacat* in no. 811 should be taken as evidence that Menandros and Antiochos constituted a list of only two. It is notable that apparently for the purpose of these lists and for identification of individuals, only their given names and their fathers' names were significant. Since the lists do not have headings and provide no explanation for the groupings of the individuals named, it is to be assumed that the placement on the walls of a particular building was supposed to supply this missing information (unless the block with the heading simply did not survive): the function of the building could explain the nature of the lists.

The analysis of lists makes it possible to suggest that the office to which the listed individuals belonged may have been hereditary in nature: in those cases where we can trace sequences of lists in terms of chronology, the names that appear as given names in earlier inscriptions often appear as patronymics in later ones. For example, on Block 2 L (2nd cent. BCE) there is Τιμησίων Νικοκλέους,[419] and on Block 14 L (middle of the 1st cent. BCE) we have Νικοκλῆς Τιμησίωνος.[420] This is the best-preserved example. Most inscriptions are fragmentary, and either the first names or patronymics are missing. But the frequency of recurring names is suggestive. Out of some 100 fully preserved or securely restored names, 13 recur in different lists,[421] and several appear consecutively as personal names in the nominative and as patronymics in the genitive cases.[422] For example, on Block 3 and 4 L (2nd–1st cent. BCE) Κλέων Ἀσκληπιάδου is listed,[423] and on the following

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[418] Burnett (2005, 15) argues that the nobility of Aigina was divided into ten tribes that provided candidates for priesthoods, but Aiginetan *patrai* could not have been *phylai*, they were more likely clans, at most, gentilicial groups. Her evidence is ten choruses for Damia and Auxesia (Hdt. 5.83), and ten hostages taken by Cleomenes (Hdt. 6.73) due to their "wealth and family," as well as 500 Aiginetan hoplites at Plataea, presumably 50 from each of ten hypothetical tribes.

[419] Felten 1975, 43, no. 3 = *IG* IV² 806.

[420] Felten 1975, 44, no. 11, Pl. 8, 14 = *IG* IV² 814.

[421] Kleon, Timesion, Aristandros, Tetartos, Menandros, Nikokles, Demetrios, Aleximachos, Alexandros, Ieronymos, Kharmylos, Menodotos, Menedemos, Timoxenos.

[422] The figure of 100 names in this example reflects occurrences of given names and patronymics, including repetitions of the same name, and does not represent the number of individuals listed. Altogether about 80 individuals known either only by a given name, only by patronymic, or by both are recorded in the preserved lists.

[423] Felten 1975, 43, no. 4 = *IG* IV² 807.

Block 7+8 L (early 1st cent. BCE) there is K]λέωνος,[424] and on Block 11R and 12L (early 1st cent. BCE) there is Πυ[θέας K]λέωνος,[425] then Κλέων again on no. 817.[426] These examples might suggest that the same families supplied members for the office.[427] While the office may have been hereditary, the privilege may not have passed always from father to son: names could derive from a common ancestor and be used by various branches of an extended clan. The fact that most names change in consecutive lists, but recur at some interval also suggests that the office may have been a lifelong, so that a new member replaced the deceased one when the latter had died, and therefore at variable frequency: often the same name recurs with a gap of several decades.[428] The Building with Inscribed Walls may or may not have been the Archaic/Classical Thearion, and the lists of names are not necessarily those of the *theôroi*: they could be other officials that were operative in the Aiginetan *politeia* of Hellenistic and Roman times.[429] In sum, the mention of Roman *dêmothoiniai* cannot securely identify the Building with Inscribed Walls as a hestiatorion due to its small size. The use of the walls of this building must be owing to some other reason: either its role as a seat of some magistrates, or its visibility. The dining inscriptions of the Roman period are squeezed in-between earlier inscriptions on the walls for one of the two named reasons. If we trust the scholia that Thearion was one such building on Aigina, that is, a public building and a seat of archons, then our Building with Inscribed Walls could be

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424 Felten 1975, 44, no. 6 = *IG* IV² 809.

425 Felten 1975, 44, no. 7 = *IG* IV² 810.

426 Further examples: no. 814 Μηνόδοτος Ἱερωνύμου and Ἱερων[ύμος no. 815, and [Μέ]νανδρος Μηνοδότου no. 818; no. 810 Μενέ[δημος Τιμ]οξένου and no. 817 Τιμόξε[νος-------]

427 Cf. Figueira (1981, 318) who does not believe the office was staffed by only a few families.

428 Μηνόδοτος Ἱερωνύμου on Block 14 (mid. 1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 44–5, no. 11 = *IG* IV² 814), Ἱερώνυμος on Block 12 (end of 1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 45, no. 12 = *IG* IV² 815), and again Ἱερωνύμου on Block 20 (1st cent. CE, Felten 1975, 46, no. 21 = *IG* IV² 821). A certain Χαρμύλος on Block 2 (2nd cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 43, no. 3 = *IG* IV² 806) and another Χαρμύλος on Block 10 (1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 45, no. 14 = *IG* IV² 817); Μένανδρος on Block 5+6 (early 1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 43–4, no. 5 = *IG* IV² 808), Μένανδρος on Block 4 (early 1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 44, no. 8 = *IG* IV² 811), Μένανδρος on Block 12 (end 1st cent. BCE, Felten 1975, 45, no. 12 = *IG* IV² 815), [Μέ]νανδρος Μηνοδότου on Block 15 (early 1st cent. CE, Felten 1975, 45, no. 15 = *IG* IV² 818), Μένανδρος Μενάνδρου on Block 24 (2nd cent. CE, Felten 1975, 47, no. 26–27 = *IG* IV² 825).

429 A comparison with Sparta is illuminating (see s.v. Pythioi, *Neue Pauly* 10, 666–667, by A. Bendlin): the *Pythioi* at Sparta (Hdt. 6.57.2, Xen. *Sp. Const.* 15.4f.) served as envoys to Apollo at Delphi and were privileged to dine at the *skênê dêmosia* together with Spartan kings. The institution was probably dissolved after 222 BCE when the Spartan kingship terminated. In Roman times, the Spartan envoys to Delphi were called *theopropoi* (*FdD* III 1, 125, after 212/213 CE).

the Thearion. Otherwise, there is no positive identification of it as such, and the latter certainly cannot be based on the premise of public dining activities: neither are they attested for the Thearion in the scholia, nor could our Archaic building accommodate them.

7.6.12 *The Kolonna Temple vis-à-vis the 'Thearion:' A Topographic Problem*

If the Archaic Building with Inscribed Walls, north of the Inschriftenmauer, were the Thearion it would lend indirect support to my earlier argument for identifying the Archaic temple on top of Kolonna with the Apollo without a surname (Aiginatas), or as that of Delphinios, rather than of Pythios.[430] In other words, if the temple on Kolonna was that of Pythios, the Archaic Building with Inscribed Walls could not be the Thearion, and if the Building with Inscribed Walls was the Thearion, then the temple on Kolonna was not of Pythios. The scholia to *Nemean* 3.67 say that the Thearion was located in the sanctuary (*hieron*) of Apollo Pythios or that it was a public place on Aigina. If the archaic temple on top of Kolonna was that of Pythios, as Welter and Walter-Karydi maintain,[431] according to the scholia the Thearion would have to be inside the same sanctuary. The temple and the Building with Inscribed Walls, however, do not lie within the same *temenos*, and are also situated at different ground levels: the foundations of the Building with Inscribed Walls are 9m below the temple, the former being almost out of sight of the latter if one stands at the foot of the stylobate of the temple (see Fig. 14). Most importantly, the presumed Thearion was actually separated from the presumed Pythion by a monumental wall. It is rather unlikely that this kind of separation of the temple and the Building with Inscribed Walls would have occurred as a simple side effect rather than through intentional building program.

If both the temple and the Building with Inscribed Walls were dedicated to Apollo Pythios, it would be natural to expect them within the confines of a common sacred area, or in a topographic relationship that implies practical and symbolic communication. Even if we are to presume an Archaic date for a staircase outside the northeast corner of the Archaic fortification/perimeter wall,[432] the presence of the wall and the statement

[430] Welter 1938c, 50; Walter-Karydi 1994, 133ff.
[431] Welter 1938, 50; Walter-Karydi 1994, 2000.
[432] Felten 2007b, 28.

it makes about the separateness of the two realms, one on each side of the wall, stress the lack of an intimate relationship between the two structures and their functions.[433] The key factor for interpretation is the dating of construction. According to Hoffelner, the wall is contemporary (ca. 520 BCE) with Apollo temple III and with the hypothetical Thearion,[434] but Cooper lowers the date albeit imprecisely ("much later than 520 BCE").[435] Whether simultaneously or somewhat later, the wall was put up and left the temple and the Building with Inscribed Walls on different sides of it.

The fact that the Building with Inscribed Walls was left outside the perimeter wall indicates the sepateness of the two territories and the two buildings. Walter-Karydi's explanation (a need to clear more space at the Festplatz and to move outside of the temenos the buildings that were in the way)[436] could make sense if the wall was in place prior to the enlargement plan and had to be accommodated, but since the terrace and the wall were constructed at the same time, or the wall was constructed after the temple, it would indicate a purposeful, not haphazard, arrangement. The only logical answer is that the temple and the Archaic Building with Inscribed Walls did not belong to the same sanctuary, and hence if one of them belonged to Pythios, the other did not, that is, if the Building with Inscribed Walls was the Thearion, the temple on Kolonna was not of Pythios.

As supporting evidence for the identification of the Kolonna temple with Pythios some scholars have cited a relief found built into a house 300m away from Kolonna, dating to ca. 340 BCE and representing Apollo

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433 Cooper (2001, 125) notes that "ritual dining halls are far more often commonly found within the confines of a sanctuary, rather than outside the peribolos walls, as here argued for Kolonna."

434 Hoffelner 1999, 129–132.

435 Cooper (2001, 125) raises doubts about Hoffelner's dates, based on the observations of "raised fascia on some blocks, but absent on others, and mismatched jointing throughout."

436 Walter-Karydi, 1994, 133: "Hier kann nicht der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob dieses, ausserhalb der Temenosmauer errichtete Theârion der erste Bau mit dieser Funktion im Apollon-Heiligtum war, oder ob es nicht vielmehr ein älteres gab, innerhalb der Temenosmauer. Eines der sog. Pastas-Häuser, die sicher keine Wohnhäuser waren, könnte das frühe Theârion sein; moglicherweie ein Bau südlich des Festplatzes zwischen Tempel und Altar." Walter-Karydi's version of the events: when the terrace for the late archaic temple was being laid out, the builders wanted to enlarge the Festplatz between the temple and the altar, thus they not only moved the temple to the west, but also cleared the space on the terrace to the east of the temple, at the same time constructing new buildings outside the temenos wall. These new buildings were to serve the functions of the old Pastas-houses.

Kitharoidos pouring a libation on an *omphalos* crowned by two birds identified as eagles.[437] A small figure of an adorant can be seen by the side of the omphalos. The representation of an *omphalos* with two eagles reminds one of the aetiological myth of Delphi, and the figure of Apollo with a lyre suggests the Delphic context. This relief can indeed be seen as a dedication to Apollo Pythios,[438] or else as a document relief,[439] but it does not prove the attribution of the Kolonna temple. Since the scholia indicate the presence of a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Pythios on Aigina, the relief could have come from that sanctuary, and it is very possible that the latter was in the vicinity of Kolonna.

If we were to entertain further a hypothesis of the Building with Inscribed Walls being the Thearion, we may like to consider another topographical association, this time of the Building with Inscribed Walls and a small Archaic fountain opposite its entrance, as well as the nearby northern harbor.[440] We should note that this complex, situated on a plaza outside the perimeter wall, surrounding the temple precinct atop the Kolonna, lies en route from the northern harbor of Aigina into Aigina-town (see Fig. 5 and Map 2). Such positioning of public civic and/or cultic installations on the northern side of Kolonna would make sense if the northern harbor were in use in the Archaic period. Indeed, Knoblauch considers the Archaic construction date for the breakwater in the northern harbor (see Appendix 2). The Building with Inscribed Walls, we should also remember, did not bear any inscriptions until the Hellenistic period, which means that at that time the building was still positioned in an area of visibility and of regular foot traffic, insuring the effectiveness of the public display of these texts. It must have been its northern wall, as well as possibly the western, and the eastern wall in antis, that were used for writing, since the southern wall of the building would have run rather closely to the fortification/perimeter wall of the Kolonna, and would not have been visible to the passers-by. The presence of a small fountain or well in front of the Building with Inscribed Walls is also suitable for a public plaza, although many wells were scattered over the Kolonna hill, and may have been located in the courtyards of several buildings. If the Archaic Building

[437] Felten (2003b, 41) claims a different findspot.
[438] Walter-Karydi 1994, 134.
[439] Felten 2003b, 41.
[440] Hoffelner 1999, 179. Besides the fountain, there was a small auxiliary building (Hoffelner 1999, 173–8) of Archaic date, built against the perimeter wall of Kolonna and most likely designed to serve some purpose in conjunction with the function of the Building with Inscribed Walls.

with Inscribed Walls was indeed the Thearion, then its position on the way from the northern harbor into town along the northern fortification/perimeter wall of Kolonna, or on the way up to the Kolonna itself would mark it as a suitable seat for public officials, archons, if *theôroi* were that, or for delegates in state *theôriai*. It is also speculated that Pindar's *Nemean* 3, which is the only text that mentions the Thearion, may have been performed in that building. It is more plausible that a choral performance that requires some space for the chorus and needs room for an audience would have taken place outside rather than inside the confines of a building: the small plaza in front of the Building with Inscribed Walls could well suit the purpose, and the reference to the Thearion could still make sense in this context.[441] The lack of certainty, however, both about the identification of the Building with Inscribed Walls with the Thearion,[442] and about the relevance of the inscriptions on the Late Roman Wall to the cult of Pythios, leave us with scholia as the main evidence for the function of the Thearion on Aigina, and hence for the role of Apollo Pythios in the Aiginetan system of cults.

7.6.13 *Aiginetan Theôroi*

Our scholia agree that one of the activities for theôroi was 'to spend time/congregate/preside' (*diaitasthai*) in the Thearion, and this building or public place, was unambiguously linked to Pythios Apollo, according to our earliest source (5th cent. BCE), Pindar *N.* 3.122. To understand the possible function of Apollo Pythios on Aigina, we must therefore look further into the definitions of the Aiginetan *theôroi* in the scholia:

> Σ *Nem.* 3.122(a1): *theôroi* are those who guard the things/rites of the god (τὰ θεῖα), they are θεοφύλακες.
> Σ *Nem.* 3.122(a2): *theôroi* are officials, ἄρχοντες.

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[441] Cf. Rutherford 2011, 127: "If one of the duties of the Aiginetan *theôroi* was to supervise athletes at the festivals (including, and perhaps especially, the young athletes), there would be every reason to think that Aristokleidas' victory would have pleased the Thearion" [understood as a college of officials rather than a building], but if indeed this was one of the theôric duties on Aigina, celebration inside the Thearion would also be very suitable. Still, as Rutherford notes, the hypothesis raises other questions: e.g., why is this role of *theôroi* is not mentioned in other Aiginetan *epinikia*?

[442] Cooper (2001, 125) notes that both Wurster and Hoffelner make a leap of faith in identifying the Building with Inscribed Walls with the Thearion and in dating it to 520 BCE.

> Σ *Nem.* 3.122b: *theôroi* are "those who are sent to Apollo" εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα πεμπόμενοι.

The first scholion is informative unless it is an exercise in etymologizing: the term "*theôros*" ("observer") may have led to the idea of "guarding" and to defining *theôroi* as *theophylakes*. At the same time, there is nothing impossible in the idea that *theôroi* whatever their other functions were also in charge of safeguarding some sacred objects, or ritual knowledge, such as special sacred rites, possibly associated with or used in the cult of Apollo Pythios. The point of 122(a2) that *theôroi* were magistrates, ἄρχοντες, is entirely compatible with the other two scholia. It only confirms that the position of *theôros* was an official state job,[443] not an office performed on behalf of some corporate group or subdivision of the *polis*.[444] A special name reserved for the group suggests, even without the explication of a scholiast, that some formal grouping of individuals is described. This association of individuals was at least in part religious in character and related to the cult of Apollo.[445] The third definition stands the closest to what we know about *theôroi* from other parts of the Greek world, that is, that they were delegates to Apollo at Delphi.[446]

Since the text of *Nemean* 3 is explicit in the use of possessive genitive Πυθίου with θεάριον, the association of this place with Apollo Pythios is beyond dispute,[447] and it is logical to assume that the cult of Apollo with which *theôroi* had to deal or to which they were sent was that of Pythios.[448] Most scholars agree that the likely destination for the Aiginetan *theôroi*

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[443] Cf. *theôroi* on Thasos: Pouilloux 1954, 238–43, 256–86. They served in groups of three. Lists on Thasos date back to the 5th century and extend into the 1st century BCE.

[444] Rutherford (2011, 125), although seemingly accepting that the Thearion was a physical place or structure, also discusses it in the sense of an institution: "it may be we are to understand the Thearion as some sort of substitute for the patra." I cannot agree, rather *theôroi* were an institution, and Thearion—a place. On the possible indicia of the hereditary nature of officials recorded on the walls of the Building with Inscribed Walls, see 7.6.11.

[445] Rutherford's (2011, 124–5) "Thasos model" is very plausible: "the role of being a *theôros* had two components: inside the polis, serving as a magistrate; and outside the polis, representing one's city at extraterritorial sanctuaries." I would add that the dual cultic/civic role need not be not divided between 'the inside' and 'the outside' of the state, but could be applicable to both.

[446] See on pilgrimage in the ancient world: Dillon 1997; Rutherford 2000a, 2000b; Graf 2000.

[447] Pindar's phrasing (Πυθίου θεάριον), in my opinion, emphatically precludes the understanding of Thearion as a sanctuary of Apollo Thearios: cf. Rutherford 2001, 334 n. 108.

[448] The scholiast described the destination of Aiginetan *theôriai* simply: εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα. Presumably he would have been much more specific if the cult place was something less obvious than the usual destination of Greek *theôriai*, namely—Delphi.

was Delphi. Regretably, epigraphic evidence reveals no presence of Aiginetan *theôroi* at Delphi in the 6th or 5th centuries BCE, but there is evidence for *theôriai* to Delphi from other Greek cities in the Classical period. An Andrian *theôria* to Delphi is recorded in a fifth-century BCE inscription (no chorus is mentioned).[449] On the basis of this evidence, Rutherford speculates that *theôriai* did not invariably include a chorus.[450]

We do not have any direct evidence as to the purpose of hypothetical Aiginetan *theôriai* to Delphi. The indirect evidence comes from two poems of Pindar, *Nemean* 7 and *Paean* 6. The relationship between the two poems is a matter of a long-standing debate that goes back to the Hellenistic period.[451] *Nemean* 7 was written for an Aiginetan athlete, and the third triad of *Paean* 6 contains praise of the island of Aigina. In addition to the fact that each poem has a connection to Aigina, there is another, more specific, common element between them: the presence in each of a narrative version of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi. Neoptolemos was a descendant of Aiakos, and hence, according to Aiginetan local tradition, their heroic ancestor.[452]

To glean a possible role of Aiginetan theâriai to Delphi we need to analyze the performance occasions of these two Pindaric compositions, as well as the information they provide on the cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi. The marginal title of *Paean* 6 Δελφοῖς είς Πύθω indicates that the poem was written for the Delphians. The occasion of performance is announced in lines 60–61 as the Theoxenia festival:[453]

> ἀγῶνα Λοξίᾳ καταβάντ᾽εὐρὺν
> ἐν θεῶν ξενίᾳ

The second triad mentions a sacrifice on behalf of all Greece (θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελλάδος), where Delphians pray regarding famine;[454] the

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449 See Rutherford 2001, 33 for reference to the Andrian inscription.

450 Rutherford 2001, 335.

451 See relevant evidence collected in Rutherford 2001, 321, n. 64; discussion in Currie 2005, 326–331.

452 Zunker 1988, 197–226.

453 "having come to the broad gathering for Loxias in the guest-feast of the gods" (Trans. W. H. Race); "broad gathering of Loxias on the occasion of guest-festival of the gods" (Rutherford 2001, 305).

454 The Delphian prayer on account of famine at the Theoxenia has been compared to the plea of Aiakos to Zeus Hellanios on behalf of all Greece, and some have suggested a connection between the two myths and cults (see Rutherford 2001, 331, n. 97 for references; Currie 2005, 332–3 in favor); but as Rutherford (2001, 332) rightly pointed out, salvation from famine was a common pattern for aetiological myths explaining origins of festivals and rituals, and hence the two (the Delphic and the Aiginetan crises and salvations) need

Trojan war and the struggle between Apollo and the Athena-Hera alliance on behalf of the Trojans; deeds of Achilles and his death through the agency of Apollo; arrival of Neoptolemos at Troy, his nostos to Greece, and death at Delphi by the hand of Apollo. The third triad contains the praise of the island of Aigina, of Zeus Hellanios and nymph Aigina; after a lacuna in the text (lines 157–68), the song mentions the achievements of the Aiakids and concludes with exhortations on behalf of Aigina.

For a long time it was not clear why a story of Neoptolemos and the theme of Aigina should be so prominent in a Paean for Delphians, but a recently discovered marginal title helps explain this.[455] Rutherford suggested that a marginal note to line 123 of *Pa.* 6 in the London papyrus of Pindar's Paeans (*POxy* 841)—Αἰγ[ινήτα]ις | [εἰ]ς Αἰα[κὸ]ν | προσ[ό]δι[ο]ν,—should be interpreted not as a scholion, but as a title: "For Aiginetans, to Aiakos, a prosodion."[456] The third triad was also transmitted separately in Book I of Pindar's Prosodia.[457] The title of the third triad suggests that Aiginetans may have been involved in the presentation of *Paean* 6 at Delphi,[458] but seems in conflict with the title accompanying the first triad and implying that the paean was written for, and hence presumably performed by the Delphians. The major difficulty has to do with the circumstances of performance: was the whole paean performed by one chorus (Delphian), or by two choruses (an Aiginetan and a Delphian), or was the third triad a separable piece potentially performed later on Aigina? To explain the conflict of titles, Rutherford suggested several scenarios, including split performance: first two triads performed by the Delphians, and the last triad performed by the Aiginetans.[459] All hypothetical performative situations would require complicated arrangements, but are nevertheless

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not be connected. The two crises are in fact different in the two accounts: a drought (αὐχμος), see 7.2.9 and 7.19, is the reason for Aiakos' appeal to Zeus, thereby emphasizing Zeus' role as a giver of rain, and at the Delphic Theoxenia, the crisis is famine (*Pa.* 6.64–5), λιμός (of which drought could certainly be one, but not the only cause), the resolution of which is properly celebrated with a feast. Thus, in each respective case when a drought is followed by rain, and a famine is followed by feast, an aetion (of a cult in the case of Zeus Hellanios, and of a festival in the case of the Delphic Theoxenia) displays a self-dependent internal logic illustrating a common pattern rather than interdependency between two myths in question. Kowalzig (2007, 181–223) argues for the connection between two myths forged through the ritual of Delphic Theoxenia.

455 Rutherford 1997; 2001, 306.

456 Rutherford 1997, 4; 2001, 323–4; Currie 2005, 324–5.

457 Σ Pind. *Pa.* 6. 124: ἐν τῷ α [τ]ῶν προσοδί[ω]ν φέρεται. On separate transmission of the third triad as a prosodion, see discussion in Rutherford 2001, 323–4, 329.

458 Currie 2005, 323–4.

459 Rutherford 2001, 336–8.

conceivable. The debate over whether *Paean* 6 was one poem in three triads, or two poems with two and one triad respectively, goes on.[460] A strong argument for the unity of *Paean* 6 is the sameness of meter in all three triads preserved consecutively in *POxy* 841.[461] If we accept that *Paean* 6 is one poem, the praise of Aigina and the Aiakids in the third triad would have to signify the presence of the Aiginetans at the performance, and probably the presence of the Aiakids, as I explain below.

From lines 60–61 we learn that the occasion of performance was the festival of Theoxenia. What we know about Theoxenia at Delphi, apparently a yearly festival celebrated in the Delphic month Theoxenios,[462] comes mainly from the passage in Pindar and Pindaric scholia already discussed, supplemented by some further data.[463] The character of the Delphic Theoxenia is in line with what we know about this type of festival under various names in ancient Greece: rites of hosting gods and/or heroes that sometimes included animal sacrifices and the laying of tables with food; these festivals were invariably based on the principle of sharing a meal.[464] In this regard, the ample evidence for special portions awarded as honors to individuals, families, or *poleis* at the Delphic Theoxenia is noteworthy: Neoptolemos may have died fighting over them (*Pa.* 6. 118: μυριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν) and Pindar may have had them in mind as a reward for his own poetic productions for Delphi (*Pa.* 6.11: ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς).[465] Kowalzig interprets myths about Neoptolemos' conflict over sacrificial meat and subsequent death at Delphi as those of a "*theôros* whose visit to Delphi went badly wrong, and he was not permitted into god's closer

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460 See recent summaries and bibliography in Rutherford 2001, 306–7, 329–31; Currie 2005, 324–5 (in favor of the unity of *Pa.* 6).

461 Currie 2005, 325.

462 Σ. *Pa.* 6.62, according to Rutherford 2001, 310 n. 16.

463 See discussion in Bruit 1984, 341–6; Rutherford 2001, 310–11; Currie 2005, 301–303; Kowalzig 2007, 188–195.

464 See definition and detailed discussion in Jameson 1994, 35–57, also Rutherford 2001, 310 n. 15.

465 Alternatively, *emais te timais* is taken to refer to the choral first person and as spoken by the Aiginetan chorus, thus referring to the special honors for the Aiginetan delegates: Currie 2005, 324 and n. 153. Privileges and honors at the Delphic Theoxenia for (a) *poleis*: e.g., Skiathos (*LSCGS* no. 41 lines 83–84), 4th cent. BCE treaty between Skiathos and Delphi outlining special privileges of the Skiathites; see also Rutherford (2001, 310 n. 19) for evidence of possible honors for Athenians and Chians; (b) individuals and families: e.g., Pindar and his descendants (Plut. *De ser. num. vind.* 557F); see also Rutherford 2001, 310, n. 21; Currie 2005, 302. Competition for a gift to Leto (Polemon, περὶ Σαμοθράκης, Fr. Preller = Ath. 9.372a): γηθυλλίς—onion (Kowalzig 2007, 189);—turnip (Rutherford 2001, 310 n. 21).

circle."[466] Kowalzig also assigns to Theoxenia a broader function of defining who was to be admitted to Hellenic membership: in her opinion, the myths about Neoptolemos' plight at Delphi symbolize and embody historical transformations of the sanctuary from a local to an amphictyonic center, a change that has always been resisted and never complete.[467]

As is apparent from the content of *Paean* 6, the festival of Theoxenia was, on the one hand, connected with the story of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi, and on the other hand, with the presence of an Aiginetan delegation that sang a processional song in honor of Aiakos, an Aiginetan hero. Thus, the honoring of Aiakos was somehow linked to the Delphic Theoxenia. The almost certain presence of Aiginetans at the performance of *Pa.* 6 on the occasion of the Delphic Theoxenia needs to be considered in connection with the office of the Aiginetan *theôroi* who might have been the officials charged with the oversight of engagements on behalf of the Delphic or Aiginetan Apollo Pythios. Some further grounds for speculating such a possibility are found in Pindar's *Nemean* 7 written for the Aiginetan athlete Sogenes, son of Thearion, of the Euxenid clan, winner in boy's pentathlon.

While *Paean* 6 names the occasion of performance as θεῶν ξενία, nothing in the text of the ode explicitly indicates why a story of Neoptolemos' death is relevant to the Theoxenia festival. In *Nemean* 7, however, the death of Neoptolemos ("For in Pytho's holy ground lies Neoptolemos, after he sacked Priam's city") is linked to the meaning of his posthumous role at Delphi (lines 44ff):[468] "but he had paid his debt to destiny, for it was necessary that within the most ancient precinct one of the Aiakid lords

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[466] Kowalzig 2007, 195.

[467] Kowalzig 2007, 196–201. Cf. her formulation on p. 198: "In taking all the threads together one might be inclined to think that Neoptolemos personalized the problems arising over the administration of Delphi, assumed by the Thessalian-dominated amphictyons. He embodied their not entirely justified rule. Hence Neoptolemos himself remained forever an alien at Delphi." And again on p. 200: "Neoptolemos might have been worshipped by those who brought him there, but denied cult by the locals in a way that symbolically marks their resistance to the change once upon a time brought about by the amphictyons . . . The figure of the archetypal, but rejected diner Neoptolemos suggests that worship at Delphi was, or could be made, exclusive. It also suggests that practices at the Theoxenia were linked to changes introduced to Delphi by whatever it is that the Sacred War expresses and the establishment of the collective body of the amphictyons at Delphi." The link is provided by Neoptolemos' connection to the Thessalian region Hellas, which associates the dining issue with the Hellenicity of the festival.

[468] For the cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi, see Fontenrose 1960; Zunker 1988, 216–225 (with main bibliography on the subject). Archaeological evidence: Pouilloux 1960, n. 49.

remain ever after by the side of the god's well-walled house, to dwell there as an overseer of justice at heroic processions with many sacrifices."[469]

How we understand the posthumous role of Neoptolemos at Delphi depends on how we understand the term *themiskopos* and the phrase *heroïai pompai*, that is, who the hero or heroes honored with the *pompai* is. It is also a question whether the Pindaric description *themiskopos* should be seen as evidence of Neoptolemos' cultic role, or as a poetic description. In other words, is Pindar recording the facts on the ground, the acknowledged opinions, or is he innovating in poetic terms, offering a fresh take on the meaning of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi and his posthumous role there.[470] Bruno Currie argues forcefully in favor of the former: Pindar should be taken as evidence of a contemporary cult. Moreover he takes *themiskopos* self-referentially: Neoptolemos is an overseer by right of processions that honor himself.[471] Currie argues that there was a lavish cult, with hecatomb sacrifices, of Neoptolemos at Delphi as early as the 5th century BCE, but Pausanias (10.24.6 and 1.4.4) might be right that in the Classical period there was not much more than a precinct of the hero by the side of Apollo's temple,[472] and that only later (278 BCE) and for a particular reason of local significance (Neoptolemos's help against the Gauls) that the cult was enhanced with multiple sacrifices.[473] If the honors of Neoptolemos at Delphi were modest or negligible early on, Pindar's help (βοαθοῶν, l. 33) would indeed have been very welcome, at least in the eyes of Aiginetans, (and it is appropriate that such a claim should be made in the *epinikion* for an Aiginetan athlete) in articulating a rationale

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469 Curiously, Asklepiades (*FrGH* 12 F 15) reports a story about Menelaos moving the grave of Neoptolemos: Σ Pindar *N.* 7.62b = ταφῆναι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐδὸν τοῦ νεώ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μενέλαον ἐλθόντα ἀνελεῖν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ποιῆσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει.

470 Some alternative versions of Neoptolemos' behavior at Troy were already present in the *Little Iliad*, where Lesches apparently presented Neoptolemos as dragging Priam away from the altar and slaughtering him by the doors of the house (Paus. 10.25.2).

471 Currie 2005, 297: "a rightful overseer of a hero's processions consisting of many sacrifices," alternatively on p. 299 "a rightful onlooker at processions fit for a hero."

472 We should also note a tradition that tells of a re-burial of Neoptolemos by Menelaos: (see n. 469 above). According to Asklepiades, Menelaos dug up Neoptolemos' bones buried at the threshold of Apollo's temple and re-interred them close by in the *temenos*.

473 It is not necessary to see our options as mutually exclusive (as Currie 2005, 301 views it): both Pindar and Pausanias were probably right. Pindar testifies to some form of cultic honor for Neoptolemos, and Pausanias specifies that *enagismos* was added after 278 BCE. When Pausanias says that until then Neoptolemos was in little honor at Delphi, this does not mean that there was no honor at all, only by comparison with later voluminous honors, the previous ones might have seemed little.

for Neoptolemos's presence at Delphi and for presenting his death at the hand of Apollo as a form of honor, not of punishment.

That Pindar articulates a direct connection between the fact of the posthumous dwelling (*N.* 7.45 ἔμμεναι, *N.* 7.47 οἰκεῖν) of Neoptolemos at Delphi and the glories of Aigina is evident from both *Paean* 6 and *Nemean*. 7. In lines 119–120 of *Paean* 6, Neoptolemos is killed in the sanctuary of Apollo, and almost instantly, line 123 launches the praise of Aigina. This has been seen as an abrupt and unexplainable change of subject.[474] In fact, it is not a change of subject at all, but a logical transition: from the particular fate of one Aiakid (Neoptolemos) to the illustrious fame of all Aiakids. In *Nemean* 7, the transition is very similar, albeit more explicit: line 42 announces Neoptolemos' death, and lines 47–52 contain the praise of the Aiakids' illustrious virtues, while in-between is the link that was missing in *Paean* 6: lines 44–47 explain that the death of Neoptolemos in the sanctuary of Apollo was fated, so that he could remain there ever after in the capacity of *themiskopos* of heroic processions. In lines 44–45 he is specifically called "one of the Aiakid lords," linking him up with the glorious Aiakids of line 50. Thus, both in *Paean* 6 and *Nemean* 7, Pindar articulates Neoptolemos' posthumous presence at Delphi as another token of distinction achieved by the illustrious Aiakids.[475] Whether Pindar's articulation should be taken as evidence of a specific cultic role of Neoptolemos is less clear.

A closer look at the context of the second triad of *Nemean* 7 where the story of Neoptolemos' death is told reveals the purposefulness of Pindar's composition. The second triad follows upon and is thematically linked to the first triad, which tells a myth illustrating unfairly earned fame: of Odysseus who was over-glorified by Homer, and of Ajax who did not receive his fair share of glory. After Pindar states in lines 14–17 and 20–24 that a poet plays a special role in keeping records of heroic achievements straight,[476] he goes on to triad 2 and presents the death of Neoptolemos at Delphi in a favorable light: "yet honor belongs to those whose fair story

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474 Rutherford 2001, 324.

475 The most consequential aspect of Neoptolemos' death is where he dies and is buried. This is a common concern in myths that relate a hero's death, e.g., Eurystheus in Athens (Eur. *Heraclidae*), Oidipous in Athens (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*). Cf. Kowalzig 2007, 193: "the question of how Neoptolemos died is irrelevant to Pindar's presentation of the story. What matters is the fact that he does die, and why."

476 The substance of Pindar's help is to reveal Apollo's purpose in killing Neoptolemos at Delphi, giving us a clue for understanding βοαθοῶν in line 33, with its connotation of bringing aid.

a god exalts after they die." Thus, Pindar preempts his version of Neoptolemos' death by drawing a parallel between himself and Homer: what Homer did for Odysseus and Ajax, he, Pindar, will do for Neoptolemos. The logic of the transition from triad 1 to triad 2, it seems to me, would support the taking of βοαθοῶν in line 33 with the variant reading ἔμολον in line 34 registered by the scholion, thus making Pindar "a helper" ("I came as a helper") in the enterprise of establishing a certain fame for a hero, in parallel to Homer.[477]

Pindar presents Neoptolemos's death as fated, as something that was meant to be, and a special association with Apollo, by proximity to his temple, as a mark of honor, a corollary of which is the hero's role as an overseer of heroic processions. Triad 1 (with the theme of heroic fame unfairly achieved due to Homer's influence) and triad 3 (emphasizing the predestined and honorific nature of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi) frame the second triad, which details the manner of his death. Then the focus switches to Nemea, Zeus, and the figure of Sogenes, as applicable to the occasion of the athlete's victory, but the theme of Neoptolemos reappears in the conclusion of the ode: "I have never tarnished the fame of Neoptolemos."

In *Nemean* 7, the story of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi is unmistakably configured in favor of the hero. The element of Fate (τὸ μόρσιμον, ἐχρῆν δὲ—l. 44), on the one hand, and of the poet's role in producing fame, on the other, are emphasized. What might be and for centuries was perceived as a defensive tone in the parts concerned with Neoptolemos needs not be seen as apology for some specific previous offence,[478] but as a defense of a poet's right to tell the story as he sees fit, as well as an assertion of a

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[477] Rutherford (2001, 309) also takes βοαθοῶν with the poet's "I", but thinks that Pindar's help consisted in responding to the Delphians' general need of a choral song. So taken by Race (1997, 75) and Nisetich (1980, 263). Also, Lloyd-Jones 1973, 132; Segal 1967, 445. In contrast, Currie (2005, 310–11, following Köhnken 1971, 67 and Most 1986a, 1985a, 157) takes βοαθοῶν with *theos* in line 32 to refer to Apollo, and μόλεν in line 34 to refer to Neoptolemos (nn. 81 and 88—references to the earlier opinions on this matter): "Honour comes about for those whose reputation the god swells luxuriantly after their death, coming to their aid. Thus Neoptolemos came to the great navel of the wide-bosomed earth and lies in Pythian ground after he destroyed Priamos' city." The active role of a god in establishing heroic honors for a mortal is important for Currie's model of the heroisation of victorious athletes. Burnett (2005, 180 and 183) takes both βοαθοῶν and μόλεν with Neoptolemos: "An ally, he came . . . Neoptolemos, after he'd sacked Priam's city." There seems to be no sign in our sources, however, that Neoptolemos was seen as an ally of Delphians in the Archaic or Classical periods.

[478] Currie (2005, 321–2) rejects the apology theory, so does Burnett 2005, 185–6; Rutherford (2001, 322–3) entertains the apology hypothesis and cautiously concludes (337–8)

poet's power to produce and immortalize a particular kind of fame.[479] In light of this understanding, we may like to inquire deeper into the nature of Pindar's "help" and of his particular take on the role of Neoptolemos at Delphi. This closer look helps explain why I am inclined to privilege the interpretation of *themiskopos* as "overseer of justice," and heroic processions as those of other heroes, not of Neoptolemos.[480]

The overseeing of justice was the hallmark of Aiginetan identity, especially in the treatment of *xenoi*, as is clear from numerous passages in Pindar, e.g., in *Isthmian* 9 where the just treatment of *xenoi* is presented as one of Aiginetan virtues and claims to fame: οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν |ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες. In *Olympian* 8.22, Themis, this time personified as a goddess, not an abstract notion, is coupled as paredros with Zeus Xenios, the protector of guests (see discussion in 7.1.1). The same coupling of *themis* with *xenia* is expressed in the catalog of Aiginetan virtues in *Paean* 6, line 131: τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν, "virtue consisting in justice to guests," as Rutherford renders it. To highlight Neoptolemos as overseer of justice with regard to *xenoi*, and hence as a true Aiginetan, would be consistent with the image of Aigina that Pindar portrays throughout his odes. If *themiskopos* is taken as "overseer of justice," it is best to take heroic processions as referring to other heroes: that is what Aigina, and hence Aiginetans, are famous for: meting out justice to *xenoi*.[481] Σ *N.* 7.68a in fact explains that the phrase *heroïai pompai* refers to a festival of Xenia at Delphi, for which Apollo invited heroes; thus, the parallel between model Aiginetan conduct and Neoptolemos' role at Delphi is complete: he, as a local resident, oversees justice rendered (perhaps in terms of sacrifices or other honors) to *xenoi*-heroes at Delphi just like Aiginetans mete out justice to *xenoi* (mortals) coming to their island. This perhaps implies that all invited heroes need to be properly honored, and Neoptolemos' presence serves as a reminder

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that the explanation of the third triad of *Pa.* 6 as a 'compensatory supplement' squares well with the apology hypothesis.

[479] Currie (2005, 320–1) differs: the defensive tone "is explicable in relation to the indirect comparison of Sogenes with Neoptolemos and to the problems which naturally arise from a comparison of a human laudandus with a hero . . . The challenge facing the laudator is to manage the comparison while escaping the impression of contentiousness, that is without seeming to manhandle the hero." Kowalzig also sees the "necessity" of Neoptolemos' death as "Pindar's apparent fatalism" in the face of a tradition that he could not change although he would have wished. In my view, Pindar saw the tradition of Neoptolemos' death at Delphi as an opportunity, not an obstacle, in promoting the Aiginetan cause.

[480] So Rutherford 2001, 314–315.

[481] Justice as a hallmark of Aiakos—see 7.2.8.

(through the aetion of his death) that in the end it is Apollo who decides the proper measure of honor, as lines 31–32 convey: τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται ὧν θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων. Hence the didactic force of the aetion: Neoptolemos had to die in a brawl over proper shares of sacrificial meat in order to remain at the site of the sanctuary to serve as a reminder of the superiority of divine justice over human ambition.

The term *themiskopos* emphasizes "watching," "observing," and both scholia to *Nemean* 7. 68 take this literally, i.e., that Neoptolemos observes (the processions of heroes invited for the festival of Xenia: ἡροίαις δὲ πομπαῖς: γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένιαν καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας.[482] It is reasonable to equate Theoxenia and Xenia for Heroes at Delphi.[483] As Michael Jameson suggested, both gods and heroes could be visitors at a *xenia* feast.[484] Perhaps the dual name for the Delphic Xenia festival stems from the fact that the inviting side was a god (*theos*) Apollo and [Leto?], while the invited were both gods and heroes, hence both names were appropriate.[485]

The third triad of *Paean* 6 is not simply a thematic enhancement of the point that Pindar wishes to make, that Neoptolemos' tomb at Delphi is a mark of distinction for the Aiakids, and hence, a cause for pride for contemporary Aiginetans. If the third triad of *Paean* 6 was a processional song in honor of Aiakos and the Aiakids, presented by the Aiginetan delegation, it would be aptly observed by the local resident Aiakid Neoptolemos. The use of the phrase "one of the Aiakid lords" in reference to Neoptolemos shows that in Pindar's view the hero was unambiguously part of the Aiginetan, rather than of the Delphic or Molossian legacy.[486]

Currie wishes to see Theoxenia as an occasion for a hecatomb to Neoptolemos, and lines 44–7 of *Nemean* 7 as evidence for this cultic honor.

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[482] "At Delphi, a Xenia for heroes takes place, during which the god thinks it well to invite heroes for a feast of guest-friends."

[483] At Theoxenia, representatives of different states probably attended the feast (decree of Skiathos; privileges of Pindar and his descendants; Aiginetan delegation as is clear from *Pa.* 6). So, Rutherford 2001, 310.

[484] Jameson 1994, 41 and n. 25.

[485] Leto and Dionysos are attested among the invited: Polemon in Athen. 9. 372; Philodamos *Pa.* 39.

[486] In this, I sharply disagree with Currie 2005, 327 who states: "It is unclear how proprietorial Aigina would have felt towards Neoptolemos, who was more closely linked with Delphi and Molossia than with Aigina and was three generations removed from Aiakos." In fact, Pindar is emphatic in pointing out that Neoptolemos ended up in Epirus by mistake, and ruled there only for a brief time (*N.* 7.36–9), and how much Neoptolemos was in honor at Delphi during Pindar's time is precisely a matter of investigation, not an established fact.

Such unilateral focus on a local hero would seem to be out of line with the nature of a festival that focused on hosting visiting deities, and the evident presence of such heroes as the Aiginetan Aiakids processing at the festival (*Pa.* 6. 123–82) seems to militate against Currie's interpretation.[487] If we envision Theoxenia/Heroxenia as a festival to which other heroes, for example, Aiakids of Aigina, are invited, then Neoptolemos, whose precinct lay next to Apollo's temple and hence next to the processional route, would be aptly called an observer of the pompai.[488] In which form Aiakos and the Aiakids would have been present at the festival we can only guess. We may speculate that they were cult images or other representations.[489] Aiginetans had portable images of the Aiakids that traveled outside of Aigina on other occasions (see 7.2.3). Alternatively, we may note that the Aiginetan *theôroi* were in charge of guarding τὰ θεῖα on Aigina, according to scholia to *Nemean* 3. 122(a1); if the information of this scholion is genuine, these may have been some sacred symbols that *theôroi* carried to the Delphic festival.

Finally, why an *epinikion* for a victory at the Nemean Games was an appropriate place to highlight Neoptolemos' role as *themiskopos*, "overseer of justice" at Delphi? The answer may lie in the audience of *Nemean* 7. Two members of the audience are directly addressed in the *epinikion*: the athlete-boy Sogenes (l. 70: Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Σώγενες) and his father Thearion (l. 58–59: Θεαρίων, τὶν δ' ἐοικότα καιρὸν ὄλβου δίδωσι). We may also suppose that other family members, friends of the family, and community are present at the celebration in honor of Sogenes. The name of Sogenes' father, Θεαρίων, is noteworthy in this context: it is specifically often associated with *poleis* where the office of *theôroi* or a cult of Apollo Thearios were attested. In Ionic form it is known from Ioulis on Keos (Θεωρίων *IG* XII 5, no. 610.36) along with a couple of other Kean names that are also compounds of θεωρι- referring to Apollo Pythios, according to F. Bechtel.[490]

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[487] Heliodorus (*Aeth.* 2.34) in fact testifies that the sacrifice to Neoptolemos took place at the Pythia festival, not at the Theoxenia. The so-called 'Labyadai inscription' (Rhodes and Osborne 2003, no. 1), dated ca. 400 BCE lacks any mention of a sacrifice for Neoptolemos, although it mentions Theoxenia.

[488] Kowalzig (2007, 222) offers another possibility that Neoptolemos could be overseeing a "ritual for the whole array of Delphi's local protective heroes," but I do not see the advantage of such interpretation vis-à-vis others.

[489] Sometimes at the Theoxenia, objects representing supernatural guests were displayed: at Chaironeia, the scepter of Agamemnon; in Athens, a panoply of Ajax (Jameson 1994, 36).

[490] Bechtel 1917.

Kean *theôroi* are known at Delphi,[491] and there was a temple of Apollo Pythios in Poieessa, one of four Kean *poleis*.[492] Another name based on θεωρι- (Θέωρις *IG* IV 773) is known from Troizen where there was a cult of Apollo Thearios.[493] Similarly on Aigina, the name Thearion may very well have something to do with the office of *theôroi*. A name Thearion would be especially appropriate in a family that had ties with this office.

If the Hellenistic lists of names from the Late Roman Wall with Inscriptions were those of *theôroi*, then the hereditary nature of the office would help support the notion of a particular relevance of the hero Neoptolemos to a boy Sogenes whose family was probably supplying *theôroi*. It still remains a question why the lists would have begun in the Hellenistic period and not earlier. It could be that the period of exiles and other upheavals in Aiginetan history (after 431 BCE and through the 4th and 3rd centuries) when Aigina passed from hand to hand has undermined local tradition and genealogical memory,[494] and the need to keep track of proper inheritance of the office resulted in the decision to start recording names of the officials in question in order to prevent illegal candidates from claiming their posts. As we have discussed earlier, however, the relevance of the inscribed lists to the Classical *theôroi* is not certain.

If an Aiginetan delegation typically attended Delphic Theoxenia/Herôxenia, as we may surmise from the third triad of *Paean* 6, the procession of heroes, including the Aiakids, would have naturally prompted Pindar to draw a connection between the visiting Aiakids and the resident Aiakid of Delphi, and in fact to make the most of such a connection, to articulate it as a special honor for Aiginetans, perhaps even as a token of their special closeness to the god of Delphi through the agency of the Aiakid hero Neoptolemos. It is therefore indicative that Pindar chooses to describe Neoptolemos specifically as "one of the Aiakid lords" (τιν' . . . Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων) in highlighting his honorific position of residing next to Apollo's temple (ll. 44–46). To take our hypothesis further, a specific delegation to the Theoxenia festival may have included among the Aiginetan *theôroi*

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491 Cherry et al. 1991, 307.

492 Cherry et al. 1991, 320 (*IG* XII.5 571 lines 5–6, 12–13, 20).

493 In the Argolis: four Θεαρίων (at Epidauros, Hermione, and Troizen), and one in Messenia (*LGPN* III.A, p. 200). Θεαρίδας was a popular male name in the Peloponnese—fifteen altogether (*LGPN* III.A, p. 200). Also at Athens: there are five men named Θεαρίων (*LGPN* II, p. 211), and twenty-seven men named Θέωρος (*LGPN* II, p. 225). One Θεαρίων and one Θέαρος on Crete (LGPN I, p. 211). Two Θέωρος are known from Macedonia (*LGPN* IV, 168), and one Θέωρος from Boiotia: Oropos (*LGPN* III.B, 197). Θεαρίων is known from Sinope on the Black Sea (*SEG* XXX 807 and 809), and South Italy (*LGPN* III.A, 200).

494 See Welter 1938c, 1962.

Thearion, Sogenes's father. In that case, the place of Neoptolemos' myth in *Nemean* 7 for Sogenes would have been wholly appropriate: reflecting the concerns of his family with the duties of *theôroi*. So understood, *Nemean* 7 need not have been a response to *Paean* 6. Each of these two compositions would have a particular reason for relating a version of Neoptolemos' death: one due to the occasion of performance, the other due to the concerns of the athlete's family.

Thus, a link between Apollo Pythios and an Aiakid Neoptolemos underlies the thematic connection between *Paean* 6 and *Nemean* 7. The functions of *theôroi*, as far as they may have been concerned with servicing the relationship between Aigina and Delphi were probably of a periodic nature. Such was the role of similar religious offices in other Greek states. While Athenians, Siphnians and other Greek states established their treasuries at Delphi to symbolize through physical proximity to Apollo's temple, a claim or hope for a close relationship with the god, the Aiginetans of Pindar's time could capitalize on a happy connection, articulated by the poet, between their local Aiakid heroes and the Aiakid in residence at Delphi, Neoptolemos. The Delphic cult was a panhellenic religious authority, and every state stood to gain by a close association with the sanctuary and the cult. Like the relations of *xenia* between people, *xenia* relations between divinities also played out in geographical and political terms: *xenoi* were usually members of different states, and *xenoi* at the Delphic Theoxenia were apparently different epichoric heroes and the delegates representing them. The relationship between Apollo and local heroes would have translated directly into relationships between the Delphic cult and the corresponding home states of those heroes. To represent Aigina and to be responsible for upholding Aiginetan interests at the panhellenic center might have been the job of the *theôroi*. On Aigina, *theôroi* would have reciprocated by hosting Delphic heralds. Once again, the institute of *xenia* looms large in the sphere of *theôroi*, and the fitting name of Sogenes' and Thearion's clan—Euxenidai—appears far from random.[495]

7.6.14 *Conclusions*

There were several cults of Apollo on Aigina in the 5th century BCE, with distinct social roles. Delphinios gave name to a month, and to the athletic

[495] Thearion's *proxenia* towards Pindar (line 65) does not necessarily prove Thearion's specific role as a *theôros*, nor that if he was a *theôros*, that *xenia* was among his professional duties. The *xenia* relations between Pindar and his clients are well established independently of the business of *theôroi* on Aigina.

festival Delphinia. The games were of regional significance, and provided an arena for the display of male arête. Domatites and Oikistes articulated Apollo's patronage over the Aiginetan civic community and individual households. It might be that Delphinios, and Oikistes and Domatites, were interfaces of the same Apollo Aiginatas, and reflect different festival occasions rather than completely different personae of the deity. In addition, the Aiginetan Apollo was also a patron of overseas travel and trade, as can be judged from the dedication—inscribed on a broken anchor stock—of Sostratos at Gravisca. Pythios, however, was a clearly distinct hypostasis of Apollo. This deity oversaw the activities of a special board of officials, religious and/or civic, the *theôroi*, who had their gathering place in a designated building called the Thearion. The combined evidence of several Pindaric songs suggests that at least some of the activities of the *theôroi* involved *theôriai* to the panhellenic sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. In that capacity, *theôroi* were likely to be in charge of facilitating a beneficial intercourse between Delphi and the Aiginetan community, possibly in addition to some other religious and/or civic duties.

7.7 Artemis

7.7.1 *Overview: Textual Evidence*

There is no secure evidence to suggest that Artemis had a cult on Aigina in the 5th century BCE. Our earliest textual evidence is the Scholia to Pindar's *Pythian* 8.94. σὺν ἑορταῖς ὑμαῖς· τιμᾶται δὲ σφόδρα ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις. "Apollo is especially honored on Aigina, as well as Artemis." The scholia vary in date, but are not earlier than the 3rd–2nd centuries BCE. The plural ἑορταῖς seems to have made a scholiast think of plural celebrations. How much the scholiast actually knew of the Aiginetan practices at the time, and how much he guessed is impossible to say.[496] If he was looking for an explanation of the plural ἑορταῖς, the pairing of Apollo and Artemis could have been an easy guess. At the same time, it is entirely plausible that Apollo and Artemis were celebrated together on Aigina in

[496] The scholia to *P.* 8 demonstrate profusely the problem that the first-person statements presented to ancient commentators and which continue to mislead modern scholars (see relevant critique in Lefkowitz 1991), and they also demonstrate that sholiasts could and did make mistakes (see 7.1.2). The clearest reference to the Aiginetan festival is, in contrast to other two cases, unambiguous in *P.* 8.65: Pindar chooses to say οἴκοι δὲ, and here scholiasts reasonably suggest the Aiginetan Delphinia.

the Hellenistic period, or at least that Artemis was worshipped on Aigina at the time,[497] yet we cannot securely retroject this possibility 200 years back without additional evidence.

7.7.2 *Material Evidence: Sanctuary and Topography*

Archaeological evidence is unfortunately equally uncertain. The same votive relief that is attributed to Hekate (Athens, Mus. Nat. 1950) is alternatively attributed to Artemis.[498] While the blending of the two deities is attested elsewhere, it is clear that on Aigina Hekate was a distinct cultic figure. This relief is dated to the late 5th or early 4th century BCE (see chapter 7.13 on Hekate). Incidentally, while fowl is an unusual dedication or sacrificial victim, there is at least one known visual representation of Artemis on a vase where she is shown feeding a swan,[499] and deer is Artemis' companion in numerous visual representations.[500]

Finally, Pausanias 2.30 mentions a temple and a clothed image of Artemis next to the temple of Apollo in Aigina town. There was an attempt to identify some architectural remains on Kolonna as belonging to the temple of Artemis,[501] but the grounds for dating these remains to the late 6th or 5th centuries BCE, and for identifying them with the Artemision, are very slim. In dating the foundations southeast of the Apollo temple, Madritsch relied entirely on the comparison with the Hellenistic structures to the West of an Apollo temple.[502] After excluding on

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[497] *IG* IV^2 767 is a votive dedication (presently in the Aigina Museum) from a certain Niketos to Zeus, Athena, and Artemis. The inscription is of the Hellenistic date.

[498] *LIMC*, s.v. Artemis 461: Relief. Athens, Mus. Nat. 1950. De Palaiochora (Egine), described by Lilly Kahil as "2 moitíe du Vs. av. J.-C. Autel à quarte gradins à droite duquel se trouve Artemis, d'une taille surhumaine, vetue d'un chiton et tenant deux torches; vers elle s'avance une procession d'adorants, le premier portant une oie, le second faisant une libation sur l'autel et les autres amenant une biche pour le sacrifice."

[499] *LIMC*, s.v. Artemis, no. 969 (lekythos, ca. 490 BCE, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage B 2363).

[500] *LIMC*, s.v. Artemis, no. 970 (lekythos, ca. 470 BCE).

[501] Madritsch 1993, 157–171. Also, more recently and with additional archaeological objects brought into the picture: Hoffelner 1999, 101–16, "Artemistempel."

[502] "scheint eine Datierung der drei Fundamente westlich des Tempels in den Zeitraum des Hellenismus gerechtfertigt. Bei diesen demzufolge hellenistisch eingestuften Fundamenten liegen die grossformatigen Quader des beginnenden aufgehenden Mauerwerks auf einem kompakten Unterbau mittel- bis kleinformatiger Werksteine, während bei den zu untersuchenden Fundamentresten die unterste Quaderlage wie bei den archaischen Gebauden direkt in den Grund gebettet ist. Eine Datierung der gegenständlichen Strukturen dürfte daher in Vergleich zu den hellenistisch eingestuften wohl am ehesten in spätarchaische oder klassische Zeit (5.–6. Jr. v. Chr.) wahrscheinlich sein" (Madritsch 1993, 162).

different grounds the possibilities that the remains may be the foundations of an archaic monumental votive piece, or that this structure could have been the temple of Dionysos, also mentioned by Pausanias in the vicinity of Apollo's temple, Madritsch was conveniently left with the last remaining possibility, the Artemision. Hoffelner followed Madritsch in the reconstruction of the Artemision, and Mattern proposed an alternative identification as a Treasury,[503] but Pollhammer's studies of the building technique and stratigraphy of the foundations remove any possibility of associating them with the surviving loose architectural fragments of the early Classical period, and instead suggests that they belong to the fortification wall of the Hellenistic period (see Map 3).[504] The architectural fragments and roof tiles of an early Classical sacred building found in the southeast area of the *temenos* suggest the area where that building stood, but cannot be linked to any surviving foundations.

Walter-Karydi assigns a head of Athena from the Louvre and a head of a dying warrior from the National Museum in Athens to the pediments of this hypothetical temple, on the grounds of their date and relative size:[505] "[t]he subject matter may have been a feat performed by an Aiakid but there is no certainty at all that this was the case."[506] Both heads are dated to 470–465 BCE, making the construction of whatever temple they belonged to later than the dates of the late Archaic temple on Kolonna and the last temple of Aphaia. The identification with an Artemision is entirely hypothetical, and the group may have adorned another temple. The pedimental group, including Athena as a central figure, and a battle scene, are common traits of Classical pedimental groups.[507]

Most importantly, the date for the inception of the cult of Artemis remains unknown. In the recollection of the myth of Aphaia, Antoninus Liberalis (*Metam.* 40) mentions that the image of Aphaia appeared in the sanctuary of Artemis on Aigina (see discussion in chapter 7.4.1), but it is impossible to say if his information is based on the internal logic of the story, or on any real information Antoninus may have had about cult

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[503] Mattern (2001, 605) notes the orientation of the structure northwest/west as the grounds for doubting the identification as a temple.

[504] Mattern (2001, 605) observes that the blocks of the foundations appear to be in secondary use. Pollhammer 2003, 166.

[505] Walter-Karydi 1999, 77, frag. no. 40. Head of Athena (identified on the basis of helmet): Louvre Ma 3109 (Vogüe Collection); Walter-Karydi 2006, 65, figs. 38–39.

[506] Walter-Karydi 2006, 65, figs. 38 and 39 (excellent photos).

[507] Walter-Karydi 2006, 73–77. See further discussion in 7.4.6 and 11.6.

places on Aigina. In any case, once again this information would only shed light on the 2nd century CE, the date of Antoninus, and not earlier.

7.7.3 *Conclusions*

We have to concede that at the present moment we cannot be certain that Artemis had a cult on Aigina in the Archaic or Classical periods, and there is furthermore no evidence to suggest what may have been her social role in the local system of cults.

7.8 Asklepios

7.8.1 *Textual Evidence: A Healing Cult*

Our only evidence for the cult of Asklepios on Aigina is textual, and the two references in our ancient sources are separated by about 600 years.

Aristophanes *Wasps* (produced at Lenaea of 422 BCE) 121–124:

> ὅτε δῆτα ταύταις ταῖς τελεταῖς οὐκ ὠφέλει,
> διέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν· εἶτα ξυλλαβὼν
> νύκτωρ κατέκλινεν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ·
> ὁ δ᾽ ἀνεφάνη κνεφαῖος ἐπὶ τῇ κιγκλίδι.
>
> So then as he was doing no good to him by these rituals, he [Bdelykleon] sailed across to Aigina, took the old man with him, and bedded him down for the night in the sanctuary of Asklepios; but before daybreak he made his appearance at the bar of the court (Trans. A. H. Sommerstein).

The date of 422 BCE for the production of *Wasps* is our *terminus post quem non*. It makes the Asklepieion on Aigina earlier than the Athenian one,[508] and one of the earliest outside of Epidauros, but it does not tell us how much prior to 422 BCE the cult of Asklepios had come to Aigina. Since in 422 the Asklepieion was already built and functioning, there is a possibility that it may have been in place ten or more years before that, and since there is no evidence to the contrary, I include Asklepios in the Aiginetan pantheon of the 430s BCE. In 422 BCE, Aigina was occupied by the Athenians, which made it easier for Bdelykleon to use the Asklepieion on Aigina. Aigina was under Athenian occupation since the beginning of the

[508] Aleshire 1989, 7: "In Aristophanes' *Wasps* Bdelykleon plans to send Philokleon to Aigina to sleep in the temple of Asklepios there; this suggests strongly that in 422 BCE there was no public sanctuary of Asklepios in Attica . . . The most probable year for Telemachos' introduction of the cult is 420/19 BCE."

Peloponnesian war, and it is legitimate to ask whether the Asklepieion on Aigina was not an Athenian foundation. If that were the case, perhaps we would have heard about some relevant decrees of the Athenian assembly, or some information to that extent in the stories related to the foundation of the Asklepieion in Athens. The rationale for such a foundation would also be hard to find. Thus the Asklepieion on Aigina must predate the Athenian occupation of the island.

Aristophanes presents Bdelykleon as taking his father Philokleon to the Asklepieion on Aigina in order to cure him from the love of courts. The cure is expected to take place during the incubation at the sanctuary. This information squares well with what we know about typical healing procedures at the sanctuary of Epidauros: patients were laid down to sleep in the sacred precinct of Asklepios, the abaton, in order to see a vision of Asklepios in their sleep and to receive a cure or some instructions for a cure.[509] The reference in Aristophanes suggests the same type of healing practice on Aigina. Relying on this testimony we can safely deduce that the function of Asklepios on Aigina was personal healing.

7.8.2 *Location of the Sanctuary*

Pausanias 2.30.1 gives a brief description of the Asklepieion on Aigina. His topographic reference is maddeningly evasive: ἑτέρωθι καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ, "elsewhere and not here." This observation is made apparently while Pausanias is inside Aigina-town near the theater and the stadium. Still, it is not clear whether we should expect this cryptic reference to mean inside or outside Aigina-town, but probably "elsewhere, and not in this place" refers to the location outside the city and at some good distance from it. Thiersch speculates the location of the Asklepieion in the southern part of town, "which lies nearest to the cult's point of origin, Epidauros."[510] This is surely a mechanistic and simplistic argumentation that cannot be taken seriously. Welter's notion that the Asklepieion was located near the sanctuary of Aphaia (West Building A) was at least based on some material evidence, even if incorrectly interpreted: Welter interpreted the depiction of snakes on Laconian rooftiles dating to the late 6th–early 5th centuries BCE found at West Building A, near the Aphaia temple (see Map 6). Snakes were symbols of Asklepios, but also of a number of other deities, for example, Zeus Meilichios. More importantly, however, rooftile stamps

[509] See LiDonnici 1995.
[510] Thiersch 1928, 151.

do not indicate the deity, but the workshop that produced the tiles. Since Welter's day, many more stamped tiles have been found on Aigina, most of them Laconian in origin, but some stamped Corinthian tiles as well, at Kolonna, allowing for a better understanding of the distribution of the products of Laconian workshops and their clients.[511] The location of the Aiginetan Asklepieion meanwhile remains unknown.

Pausanias also describes the cult statue of Asklepios as λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον, "a sitting image made of stone." Such description is too general to help either with more precise dating, the provenance, or the social role of the deity.

7.8.3 *Conclusions*

The social function of Asklepios on Aigina is attested only by Aristophanes, and it is, as elsewhere in Greece, personal healing through incubation.

7.9 Athena

7.9.1 *The Evidence of Herodotus: A Scribal Error?*

Athena on Aigina appears as a central figure of the pedimental groups from the Late Archaic temple of Aphaia. Her presence on the pediments, however, cannot be taken as evidence for her worship at that site (see detailed discussion in 7.4.4 and 11.6).

Two other pieces of evidence raise the possibility of a cult of Athena on Aigina in the 5th, if not even in the 6th century BCE, yet both of them are questionable. The first testimony is textual—Herodotus 3.59: "but in the sixth year came Aiginetans and Cretans, and overcame them [Samian settlers at Kydonia] in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athena in Aigina."[512] The historical context of this event is the overseas policies of Samos in contesting the control of Aegean sea routes in the Late Archaic period. Samians settled in Kydonia on Crete and prospered there for five years, as Herodotus reports (3.59), but then

511 See Felsch 1990.

512 ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῴρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιήσαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται.

the Aiginetans and Cretans came and defeated them. The actions of the Aiginetans were apparently prompted by the desire to avenge the Samian assault on Aigina, which had taken place in the reign of Amphikrates of Samos. Welter dates this naval battle to 525 BCE, Furtwängler–to 519 BCE.[513]

The story of Damia and Auxesia (5.82–89) proves that Herodotus was familiar with some local Aiginetan traditions and customs, and that should make us wary of doubting his testimony about an Athena-sanctuary on the island, unless there is some strong evidence to the contrary. It has been suggested, however, that the problem was not the unreliability of Herodotus, but the vagaries of textual transmission.

7.9.2 *Circumstantial Evidence: Sculpture at the Sanctuary of Aphaia*

In 1811, the temple of Aphaia was discovered by Cockerell, and the famous pedimental sculptures, Athena among them, came to light. The appearance of Athena on the pediments eventually gave rise to the identification of the temple as that of Athena, although originally it was thought to be the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios.[514] The latter identification held on until the discovery of the inscription with Aphaia's name (Aigina Mus. 2412: *IG* IV^2 1038) in the course of the excavations conducted by Furtwängler in the first decade of the 20th century. At that time, Furtwängler readily accepted the hypothesis of Hermann Kurz that "Athena" in Hdt. 3.59 was a manuscript corruption,[515] or rather a scribal correction, of the original Aphaia: presumably a scribe somewhere in the line of transmission of Herodotean manuscripts, being unfamiliar with the name Aphaia, considered that a spelling error had occurred and corrected it to the familiar Athena: Ἀθηναίας instead of Ἀφαίας. Thus, according to this hypothesis, Aphaia became Athena in the manuscript tradition of Herodotus, while she had never been there originally. This is not impossible, especially in

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[513] Welter 1962, 53; Furtwängler 1906, 7.

[514] Cockerell 1860.

[515] Kurz (1863, 96–101) suggested the interpretive link: the Aiginetans defeated Samians in the battle for the possession of Kydonia, and the principal deity of Kydonia was Britomartis-Diktynna. Upon arrival in Kydonia Aiginetans must have recognized the affinity of the local Britomartis with their own Aphaia and ascribed their victory to her. The Goddess of the place (Ortsgöttin) has changed sides and preferred the Aiginetans. "Nothing was more natural and befitting for the returning home Aiginetans than to dedicate their war trophies to Aphaia."

light of the fact that there is no other firm evidence for the presence of an Athena sanctuary on Aigina.[516]

7.9.3 *Epigraphic Evidence*

The second type of evidence is epigraphic. Welter reported "an explicit oral communication from Curtius, in Athens, 1951: that a fragment of a perirrhanterion bearing an inscription AΘENAI(AI) stemming from the excavations of Furtwängler at the Apollo temple bespeaks the existence of a sanctuary of Athena in Aigina."[517] *IG* IV^2 755 follows Welter's later suggestion (AΘENA[IAΣ]) and describes the inscription as a dedication,[518] as it is common for perirrhanteria to be dedicated. This inscription, however, exists only in the oral communication of Curtius, and has not been seen even by Welter: presumably it has been lost since the early years of the 20th century. The hearsay nature of the report makes this testimony a shaky one, but even if we accepted the existence of a perirrhanterion with a dedication to Athena from the site of Kolonna, there is a way to explain it without postulating a sanctuary of Athena. An altar, and/or a statue of Athena may have been located inside the *temenos* of another deity. If so, a dedication of a perirrhanterion (a basin for ritual washing) would be very possible next to such a hypothetical altar. Thus, even if the testimony of Curtius were reliable, we still could not safely deduce an existence of a separate sanctuary of Athena from it.

There is also another dedication mentioning Athena, from the Hellenistic period.[519] This period represents a different political and ideological stage of Aiginetan history than that of Archaic and Classical times. The post-Classical period on Aigina is marked by Pergamene, and later, Roman ownership of the island, during which new cults were introduced

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[516] David Asheri (2007, 454) did not accept the scribal mistake hypothesis and preferred to see Aphaia as "the Aiginetan epithet of Athena," but the only basis for his view is the appearance of Athena on the pediments, which cannot serve as proof of the cult's identity (see further discussion in 10.2.5).

[517] Welter 1954, 35: "laut mündlicher Mitteilung durch L. Curtius, Athen 1951: Dass jedoch ein Heiligtum der Athena in Aigina bestand, lehrt ein Randstück eines Perirrhanterion mit der Inschrift AΘENAI[AI] aus Furtwänglers Ausgrabungen am Apollontempel." References to the same inscription: Welter 1949, 151; Thiersch 1928.2, 182, n. 3; Schäfer 1992, 30, n. 9; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1995) no. 96; Kerschner 1996, 88, n. 48 (*SEG* XLVIII 371), *IG* IV^2 755.

[518] Welter 1954, 36.

[519] *IG* IV^2 767: Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι[καὶ | Ἀρ]τέμιδι Νικέτου.

reflective of the ideology of the new rulers.[520] Thus, the evidence stemming from this period and indicating for the first time the presence of some cult, may be admitted to consideration only if that cult were to be independently attested in the earlier periods as well. Taken on its own, therefore, a dedication to Zeus, Athena, and Artemis, made by Niketos in the Hellenistic period, cannot be admitted as evidence for the presence of an Athena-cult on Aigina in the Classical period. In fact, there is weighty evidence for the particular attention paid by Attalos and the Attalids to Athena and Zeus,[521] and some of it explicitly from Aigina.[522]

Finally, a series of boundary markers (*IG* IV² 792–797) reading ΗΟΡΟΣ ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ/ΑΘΕΝΑΙΕΣ were found in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in different parts of the island. The *horoi* display the use of the Attic script and dialect, with admixture of Ionian features.[523] Already Furtwängler forcefully argued that these markers do not represent a sanctuary or sanctuaries, but rather agricultural estates dedicated to Athena and leased out for the profit of the latter.[524] Both on the basis of the Attic script and dialect used on the *horoi*, and because of the history of Athenian interference on the island in the second half of the 5th century BCE (perhaps, as early as 457 BCE) known from the textual sources,[525] the cutting of the *temenê* must be attributed to the Athenians, and hence, seen as related to their imperial policy of confiscating land in the territories of subject states. Although opinions vary as to the identity of this Athena,[526] it is most likely that the confiscated and consecrated land was allotted to the Athenian Athena, and not a hypothetical Aiginetan one. Recent finds of additional rupestral *horoi* (Polinskaya 2009, nos. 15–18) in the area south of the Oros, where I*G* IV ² 795 (Polinskaya 2009, no. 13) comes from, and of the archaeological remains on the surface indicating the

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[520] Contemporary festivals: the Attaleia, Eumeneia, Nikephoria (*IG* IV² 749.40–41); Dionysia, Herakleia, Romaia (*IG* IV² 750.31–32).

[521] *IvP* 47 (OGIS 281) is Attalos I's dedication of aparche to Athena in Pergamon.

[522] *IG* IV² 765: Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι | ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Ἀττάλου | Σατυρῖνος Καλλίμαχος | καὶ οἱ ὑπ᾽ἀυτοὺς ἥγεμόνες | καὶ στρατιῶται.

[523] Barron 1983.

[524] Furtwängler 1096, 6. More recently, Furtwängler's opinion was restated by Smarczyk 1990, 58–153, and Parker 1996, 144–145.

[525] Thuc. 1.105 (457 BCE: Athenian victory over Aigina in the Saronic Gulf, commencement of the siege of Aigina), 1.108 (surrender of the Aiginetans who agree to the demolition of walls, confiscation of fleet, and imposition of tribute); 2.27 (431 BCE: Athenian occupation of Aigina, expulsion of the local population). Xen. Hell. 2.2.9 (404 BCE: restoration of the Aiginetans to their island).

[526] Athenian Athena: Furtwängler 1906, 6–7; Barron 1983; Figueira 1991, 115–20; Parker 1996, 144–5. Aiginetan Athena: Welter 1954, 35–6; Smarzcyk 1990, 118–9.

presence of ancient farms, support the interpretation of the Attic *horoi* as markers of agricultural estates. Comparison with the Athenian practices of allocating agricultural *temenê* to the gods also strongly suggests that the Aiginetan *temenê* were allotted to the Athenian, not Aiginetan cults.[527]

7.9.4 *Conclusions*

The hypothesis of an Aiginetan sanctuary of Athena rests on shaky ground. The absence of Athena's sanctuary should not, however, be viewed as abnormal. We should not expect that every deity (even every Olympian deity) was an owner of a sanctuary in every Greek state. In some states, deities shared *temenê*, in others some deities were perhaps not worshipped at all. While I see no evidence for the presence of a sanctuary of Athena on Aigina, we cannot absolutely exclude the possibility that Athena was nonetheless worshipped in the Classical period (e.g., if the perirrhanterion reported by Curtius did exist, was Aiginetan, and of the pre-Hellenistic date), and that a sacrifice to her, or another ritual could have taken place in a sacred precinct of another deity. In the present state of our sources, however, we have too little to go by in terms of determining whether Athena was worshipped and if so, in what capacity.

7.10 Damia and Auxesia (Mnia and Auzesia)

7.10.1 *Overview: Sources*

The evidence for the worship of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina consists in an extended textual description in Herodotus 5.82–89, a brief mention in Pausanias 2.30.4, and in an inscription of the 5th century (*IG* IV^2 787). Herodotus (5.82–89) weaves an aetion of the introduction of this cult to Aigina into his exposition of the causes of ancient enmity between Aigina and Athens. He also provides information on some ritual and votive traditions associated with the cult. The nature of the Herodotean account where clearly folkloric elements are mixed in with historical and seemingly historical, or factual and seemingly factual details presents a serious challenge for a historian wishing to use this testimony (see further discussion in 3.2.3 and 10.2.3). My main concern in this chapter will be to see whether the Herodotean narrative can serve as a guide to the identification

[527] Polinskaya 2009.

of social functions of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina. Pausanias 2.30.4 adds an important detail on the sacrificial practice, while the epigraphic evidence is an inventory of the sanctuary made in the 5th century BCE (*IG* IV^2 787). The content of the inventory provides illuminating comparanda to the account of Herodotus, but adds another puzzle—the names of deities vary in a telling way in this epigraphic source, Mnia and Auzesia, in contrast to the Herodotean Damiê and Auxesiê. This is particularly intriguing because the two sources are nearly contemporary.

7.10.2 *Goddesses or Heroines?*

As I will discuss in greater detail in 11.3, Damia and Auxesia were worshipped as a pair in three locations and by three communities in the Saronic Gulf (Epidauros, Aigina, and Troizen), while in Athens, we encounter a related hybrid of Demeter Azesia. Epidauros and Aigina have a common view of the nature of these deities, but Troizen differs markedly. The aetion of their arrival to Troizen may suggest that there they were worshipped as heroines and not as goddesses.[528] In the Troizenian cultic myth, the pair of Damia and Auxesia functions in a similar way to other Cretan maidens (e.g., Britomartis, Aphaia, Ino, Leukothea), who arrive from abroad and receive divine honors after a supernatural disappearance or death. It is not always clear in Greek theology why a mortal sometimes comes to be honored as a hero, and a hero as a god. An unusual form of death might serve as one reason. Damia and Auxesia, in the Troizenian myth, are mortals who receive worship following their violent death. We may well expect them to be honored as heroines, but Zenobius 4.20, citing Didymos, identifies them with goddesses: ἱστορεῖ Δίδυμος ὅτι Δάμια μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις προσαγορεύετο· Αὐξησία δὲ ἡ Κόρη. In Aigina and Epidauros, the aetion of Damia and Auxesia is different, but the nature of this pair is not explicitly stated. When the Delphic oracle recommends the Epidaurians to install the statues of Damia and Auxesia as a remedy against drought, the oracle does not clarify who the two figures are. It might well be possible that this is not what matters: whether a divine figure is a god(dess) or a hero(ine) is of less or no consequence, as long as worshippers know what that divine figure is capable of doing, that is, in what area it can help or harm them.[529]

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[528] Kowalzig (2007, 211) calls even the Aiginetan Damia and Auxesia "heroines."
[529] So poignantly Parker 2011, 79.

7.10.3 *Herodotus 5.80–82*

The story of Damia and Auxesia (Δαμίη καὶ Αὐξησίη) in Herodotus comes up in the context of his research into the origins of the ancient enmity between Athens and Aigina. According to Herodotus, the origin of the cult on Aigina is linked to the arrival of the statues of the two deities to the island, allegedly stolen and transported from Epidauros. The story falls into the category of similar stories about the theft of cult statues or cult relics.[530] Although traditional and generic, the story has to mesh with the cultic reality of Herodotus' time as it was told about an active and functioning cult. Certain elements of the story must therefore correspond to and make sense at the contemporary practical level. It is therefore possible that some of these elements can tell us about the social meaning of the cult in its local context.

1) Land's infertility. Damia and Auxesia were recommended by the Delphic oracle to the Epidaurians as a remedy for their land's infertility (Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. 5.82), also described as συμφορά (calamity).
2) Inland location. After stealing the statues (ἀγάλματα) from the Epidaurians, the Aiginetans set them up a good distance away from the coast, twenty stades inland from their coastal city (καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μὲν ἐστὶ οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κῃ ἀπὸ πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει. 5.83). (See Appendix 2 sub Oiê).
3) One of the rituals is choruses of mocking women, 5.83: ἱδρυσάμενο δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίῃσί τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικηίοισι κερτομίοισι ἱλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἑκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἠγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας.
4) "Epidaurians have the same rites, as well as some secret rites." ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ αὐταὶ ἱροεργίαι: εἰσὶ δέ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι. (5.83). This remark seems to suggest that, in contrast to Epidaurians, Aiginetans do not have secret rites associated with Damia and Auxesia.
5) The statues of Damia and Auxesia are kneeling statues. When the Athenians attempted to drag the statues down from their pedestals (ἐκ τῶν βάθρων), "both the images together (and this I myself do not believe, yet others may) fell with the selfsame motion on their knees, and have

[530] E.g., the cult statue of Artemis Limnatis at Patrai was stolen from Sparta: Paus. 7.20.6. The bones of Orestes were most famously stolen from Tegea: Hdt. 1.67–68.

remained so from that day" (ἐς οὗ ἑλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τὠυτὸ ποῖσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλῳ δὲ τέῳ· ἐς γούνατα γὰρ σφο αὐτὰ πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρὸνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα 5.86).

6) Dress pins were designated as the suitable type of dedication to the deities: καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν. The regulation regarding pins emphasizes that the main worshippers of the deities were women, while the regulation concerning Attic objects reflects the political background of the events, and not the social roles of the deities (see discussion below, in this chapter).

7.10.4 *Damia and Auxesia versus Demeter and Kore: Similar, but Different*

The very first element of the story suggests that one of the concerns of Damia and Auxesia was the fertility of land: "The clearest evidence for Mnia and Azesia as goddesses of harvest is at Epidaurus, where the Ἀζόσιοι θεοῖ gave their name to the month which corresponds to the Attic ἑκατομβαιών."[531] A pair of female deities concerned with the land's fertility is elsewhere known in the Greek world under the names of Demeter and Kore/Persephone, but these were by no means the only deities in charge of agricultural and human fertility: Hera is attested in this role in the Argolid, Corinthia, Samos, and South Italy.[532] Pausanias 2.30.4, nonetheless, reports that he sacrificed to Damia and Auxesia on Aigina "as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis" (πλὴν τοσοῦτο γε ὅτι εἶδον τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσα σφισι κατὰ τὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν νομίζουσιν), although which Eleusinian sacrifice he had in mind is not entirely clear. There were several sacrifices during the Greater Eleusinia. The main sacrifice consisted of bulls,[533] the προτέλεια of cattle and either ewe or ram.[534] The sacrifice of pigs, Clinton suggests, did not involve burning, but deposition into pits, in the same fashion as at the Thesmophoria.[535] Presumably, if offering a personal sacrifice, Pausanias would not have offered a bull:

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[531] Jacobsthal 1956, 100.

[532] Baumbach 2004. See also Hall (1997, 101–106) on the corresponding functions of Demeter and Hera in eastern and central Argolid, respectively.

[533] Main evidence are ephebic inscriptions saying that ephebes lifted bulls at the altars for the sacrifice (*IG* II² 1011, line 8).

[534] Clinton 1988, 71, n. 24.

[535] Clinton 1988, 72–79.

cattle were typically not affordable and not customary for individuals.[536] Whether an analogy with the Eleusinian manner of sacrifice was Pausanias' own conjecture, based on the observation of similarities or if he had been informed so by local cult attendants also remains to be guessed.[537] This testimony therefore suggests an analogy, a connection, but not necessarily a complete equation between the Eleusinian goddesses and the Aiginetan pair.

While a parallel between the Aiginetan Damia and Auxesia and the Eleusinian Demeter and Kore is indicated by Pausanias,[538] the rituals associated with the worship of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina possibly corroborate this notion. As we learn from Herodotus, the Aiginetans instituted mocking choruses of females who directed their abuse at local women. George Rawlinson, as early as 1875, noted "similar customs at the Eleusinian festival, which gave rise to the peculiar meaning of the words γεφυρίζειν, γεφυριστής, and to the expression, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης. There too we hear that the women "abused one another" (Suid. in τὰ ἐξ ἅμαξων.)"[539] At the same time, Allaire Brumfield demonstrates that rituals involving women exchanging verbal abuse or speaking indecency are well attested in various cults of Demeter. These rituals are probably associated with rites of fertility and, in Brumfield's opinion, were aimed at awakening the fertile powers of the Earth. "Implicit in the myth is the magical idea that words have power, and that sexual words have power to cause fertility. These ritual αἰσχρα 'fertilize' Demeter or Earth, somehow stimulating the goddess to revive the earth's plants and animals."[540] Thus, although attested for both the Eleusinian deities and for the Aiginetan pair, choruses of mocking women can be seen as a typological and functional parallel, and not as evidence of the derivation of one local custom from another.

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536 Jameson 1997, 177; 1988, 96.

537 Pausanias may have been an Eleusinian initiate (Paus. 1.37.4, 1.37.8, Habicht 1985, 156–157).

538 At the same time, the Troizenian story of Damia and Auxesia (Paus. 2.32.2) seems to be unrelated to Demeter and Kore (see discussion in ch. 12.3).

539 Rawlinson 1875, 282; Cf. also, How and Wells 1936, vol. 2, 47, note on 5.84.3 κερτομίοισι: "Such coarse raillery was customary among worshippers of Demeter and Dionysus in Attica also. It was practiced by those who went to Eleusis (γεφυρισμός, cf. Arist. *Frogs* 384f.), by choruses of men at the feasts of Dionysus (Arist. *Wasps* 1362; Dem. *de Cor*. 122 τὰ ἀφ' ἅμαξας), and by companies of women at the Thesmophoria (Στηνία cf. ii.171,2 n.) H. implies that men were present on Aigina during this part of the festival (cf. the celebration at Bubastis, ii. 60n.), though no doubt excluded from the secret rites (ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι) which, as in worship of Bona Dea and the Thesmophoria (ii.171.2n.), were the essence of the cult."

540 Brumfield 1996, 70.

The rites involving collective verbal abuse are often secret and restricted to women, as Brumfield points out, but on Aigina men oversaw the training of the choruses, as the office of *choregoi* implies. A chorus of women was organized for each deity, and ten men were appointed to be *choregoi* for each. It is not clear why so many were necessary, or why exactly ten.[541] What this detail does seem to suggest, however, is that on Aigina the ritual mocking choruses were not restricted to a female audience, and hence, were not secret. It is plausible that as elsewhere the ritual of raillery was linked to the activization of earth's or people's potential for fertility.

7.10.5 *What's in the Name?*

As we have discussed in 1.3 and 6.3.1, divine names are a complicated matter: used locally, they simultaneously carry a potential to activate a semantic, associative, or literal connection with all other instances of the use of that name elsewhere, and yet always retain the possibility of referring to something absolutely concrete and idiosyncratic. So, in our case, we can draw one possible circle of references by looking at the region of the Saronic Gulf. This exercise will also help address the puzzling discrepancy between the names of deities used by Herodotus (Δαμίη καὶ Αὐξησίη) and Pausanias (Δάμια and Αὐξησία) and the names that are recorded in the inventory of their sanctuary in the late 5th century BCE (*IG* IV² 787): Μνία (lines 2 and 8) and Αυζεσία (lines 28 and 34).

Epigraphic evidence at Epidauros, whence the Aiginetan cult allegedly originated, provides parallels for 3 out of 4 names known from the Aiginetan sources: *IG* IV², 1, 398 (late 2nd cent. CE) is a votive inscription of Titos Stateilios Leukios, a priest of Asklepios, to Μνείι καὶ Αὐξησίαι; another priestly commemoration dating to 231 CE (*IG* IV², 1, 410) mentions Μνίας καὶ Ἀζοσίας; yet another of 307 CE (*IG* IV², 1, 434) is a dedication to Auxesia alone by Poseidônios, a priest of Apollo Maleatas and of θεῶν Ἀζοσίων for life (διὰ βίου). A month Azosios or Azesios is attested in the 4th–3rd cent. BCE at Epidauros, e.g., *IG* IV², 1, 108 (lines 133–134: μηνὸς Ἀζοσίου) and *IG* IV², 1, 103 (ll. 51, 89: Ἀζεσίου). The Classical-Hellenistic epigraphic evidence from Epidauros attests to the presence of a month Az-o/e-sios there, while the late Roman evidence suggests an interchangibility of names Azosia and Auxesia, or even a differentiation between

[541] Burnett (2005, 15) speculates a correspondence with the number of local *patrai*, which is unlikely (see my discussion in 8.7).

the Azosioi theoi and Auxesia. Finally, Mnia is attested in the Epidaurian epigraphy, but Damia is not.

If the two deities were worshipped together at Epidauros as a kind of plurality (*Azosioi theoi*) rather than a pair of two distinct deities, then an interchangeability of their names and identifications would be understandable. For instance, Hesychius in the *Lexicon*, informs us that Azesia is Demeter (Ἀζήσια. ἡ Δημήτηρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀζανεῖν τοὺς καρπούς), while Suid., on the contrary, says that Azesia is Kore (Ἀζήσια ἡ Κόρη, Ἀμαῖα δὲ ἡ Δημήτηρ). Another explanation, however, might be that in different locations of the Saronic Gulf, or in the broader Greek context, these names were understood differently. Our modern confusion does not necessarily reflect the situation in antiquity. In each of the given locations, the meaning of Damia and Auxesia or Mnia and Azesia was probably well understood and need not have been confusing.

Another telling testimony is that Sophocles apparently referred to Demeter as 'Azesia' in one of his lost plays (Ἀζήσια. Οὕτως ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καλεῖται οἱ δὲ τήν εὐτράφη (Nauck, *TGF*, Sophocles no. 894)), whereby it appears that Azesia was applied as an epithet/double name to some Demeter in Attica. That this epithet was not simply poetic, but cultic finds splendid support in the Attic epigraphic record (*Agora* XIX, H16), where we find an inscribed *horos* of the *hieron* of Demeter Azesia from the Athenian agora. Finally, in reference to the Damia and Auxesia worshipped at Troizen, Zenobius 4.20 writes: ἱστορεῖ Δίδυμος ὅτι Δάμια μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις προσαγορεύετο· Αὐξησία δὲ ἡ Κόρη. Notably, our lexicographers and Herodotus are not familiar with the name Mnia, but Sophocles and Hesychius agree that Azesia is Demeter, and so it was known in an Attic cult (for further discussion of the boundary marker of her sanctuary in the Athenian Agora, see 11.3). Possible variants of the name Damia are Damoia (Sparta, *IG* V 363: stele, 1st cent. CE), Damaia, Amaia. Mnia probably derives from *Damnia. Damneus and Domna are attested. Müller even suggests: "fortassis etiam Δαμάτηρ nihil nisi est Δαμιαμάτηρ."[542]

[542] Müller 1817, 171: "Most probably it may be connected with Mother-Earth Δημητηρ, since at Rome and in Italy the Bona Dea, an earth-goddess, worshipped exclusively by women (Ovid, *Fasti* V.150f.), was called Damia, her victim damium, and her priestess damiatrix. These names must be of Greek origin, and seen to show that the Greek deity Damia migrated from Tarentum, where the feast of Dameia was celebrated, to Rome, and was there engrafted on the Italian Bona Dea = Fauna (Fowler 1899, 102–6)." More on the names of Damia and Auxesia: Dümmler 1896 and Kern 1901.

To view Azesia as a variant of Azosia and one of Azosioi *theoi* is not a problem. If the etymology from *azainein* is correct, then we are dealing with deities who are responsible for the "withering" of crops, which is the functional antithesis of *auxein*, that is 'to increase' or 'to grow.' That the same deity should be responsible for both the positive and negative vicissitudes in the life of plants is understandable.[543] The name Auzesia, however, which seems to take the first syllable from Auxesia, and the rest from Azesia, is attested only in the Aiginetan inventory (*IG* IV^2 787). This spelling renders nonsensical what is perfectly transparent in the individual names Auxesia and Azesia. As such it must have had something to do either with the peculiarities of local pronounciation on Aigina (where *ksi* may have sounded like *zeta* in the intervocalic position), or else, with the personal understanding of the names by the letter-carver, who being familiar with both and not having the Aiginetan locals to tell him which one was meant, might have opted for a compromise. This leaves us with the problem of deciding which one it was after all on Aigina. In Epidauros, as the Roman inscriptions show, both Auxesia and Azesia were known and worshipped, and each is attested in a pair with Mnia. The difficulty is that we cannot exclude any possibility of functional variation here: equally possible is a two-faced single deity Azesia-Auxesia, who can cause plants to wither or make them grow; and equally possible is the splitting of this withering-growing concept into two separate deities, each paired instead with another (Mnia or Damia), for whatever reason.

The question remains, therefore, whether they were known as Damia and Auxesia or as Mnia and Auzesia. The inventory was in all probability composed by the Athenians during their occupation of the island in the period 431–404 BCE, and it could be a reflection of their own take on the names. At the same time, it is possible that some pre-existing inscriptions at the sanctuary could tell the Athenians the epichoric spelling of the names, which they simply copied. Herodotus, we must note, who seems to be intimately familiar with the details of the Aiginetan cult, uses the names Damiê and Auxesiê in their Ionic spelling without any comment about possible variants. It is most likely that he would have remarked on

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[543] The verb *auxô*, could also refer to the growth of humans, not only of plants, although is some cultic contexts it could been left intentionally ambiguous: in the Attic ephebic oath, the young men swear by Auxo, a deity, who might be responsible for either or both, agricultural and human growth. Parker (2005, 430) refers to a remarkable testimony that rings used to be made specifically for children inscribed: *aûxe* or *auxêsis*: Walter 1937 (*ArchEph* 108), n. 3.

that, being the aetiological historian that he was, if he had been aware of variants. We should also point out that while Damia and Mnia are particularly hard to explain, as we have no attestation in the sources of the most plausible transitional form *Damnia that could help connect the two variants, the second name in the Aiginetan inventory, Auzesia, is *hapax*, and can be explained either as an ad hoc compromise between Auxesia and Azesia on the part of the Athenian carvers of *IG* IV^2 787, or an actual Aiginetan version of the name.

The uncertainty that must remain in the matter of the epichoric Aiginetan names of the deities leaves no doubt, however, that the parties involved in the conflict described by Herodotus, had no difficulty in agreeing that the same pair of deities were at stake. The Herodotean logos necessarily postdates the appearance of the Aiginetan and Epidaurian cults, if not of the Athenian one as well (if Sophocles is to be taken as evidence), which means that both the origins of these epichoric cults and of their specific local names may have easily had vastly different reasons from those that came to play out in the ideologically loaded discourse of the later 5th century. Herodotus had to choose a particular set of variants to use in his narrative, but I doubt that we can read his choice of names in a purely political and allegorical sense, as invoking the economic and political growth of the parties involved, either Aigina or Athens. Henderson and Irwin speculate that the name Auxesiê can be read literally to mean "increase", and Damia (~ dêmos) as a reference to democracy: "these twin-set divinities 'Damiê-'n-'Auxesiê' mark the emergence of seaborne Attic power, 'the swell-of-the-*demos*.'" Irwin, following Figueira, adds: "Herodotus' treatment of Aigina's cult figures may engage with their manifestations at Athens, in which their names, Auxô and Hêgemonê, carry more obvious political connotations."[544]

The question that also remains is how to correlate these two divine emanations of withering and growth with Demeter and the Demeter/Kore pair. It is possible to speculate that Azesia and Auxesia, Azosioi *theoi*, and Mnia/Damia were a regional phenomenon separate from Demeter and Demeter/Kore, but this is not the place for such an investigation. In spite of the fact that Pausanias reported on having sacrificed to the Aiginetan deities as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis, and in spite of the similarity of ritual mocking, we might be better off not to presume that the solution

[544] Irwin 2011a, 381 and n. 17 (also referring to Figueira 1993, 57–8, 79–80), and Irwin 2011b, 445, n. 46; Henderson 2007, 305.

of our difficulties with deciding what sort of deities Damia and Auxesia were on Aigina lies in their identification with the Eleusinian pair. While considering the epichoric comparanda from Aigina, Epidauros, Troizen and Athens in our attempt to illuminate the meaning of divine names on Aigina and while noting some similarities and overlaps, we should be careful not to presume that what was the case at Athens, in Epidauros, or at Troizen, would have been the case on Aigina. The most productive association, however, appears to be with the Epidaurian names, related to the verbs *azainein* and *auxein*.

7.10.6 *Cult Images: Kneeling Statues*

The other element of the story, the description of cult statues as kneeling has prompted further suggestions for the roles of two goddesses: they were not only concerned with the fertility of land, but also with the fertility of the womb, as some scholars formulate. The kneeling position of the statues is taken to represent a birthing position, sometimes supported by visual representations.[545] How and Wells argued: "The goddesses were no doubt represented kneeling, and the story is an aetiological myth to explain this (cf. chs. 87, 88; ii.131). The true explanation (Welcker, Frazer) is that they were goddesses of childbirth. So Latona brought forth Apollo and Artemis kneeling on the soft meadow (*Hymn to Apollo*, 116f). In this posture were represented Auge at Tegea (Paus. 8.48.7), and the Di Nixi brought to Rome after the defeat of Antiochus or the sack of Corinth. Marble groups of the kind have been found at Myconus and near Sparta."[546] Perhaps indeed a connection with the birth-goddess can be traced in an inscription from Thera (*IG* XII.3, no. 361) that mentions Lok(ha)ia Damia. Some scholars interpret dedications of dresses to female deities as thanks-offering after a successful delivery, but the *peploi* attested in the inventory of Damia and Auxesia must have a different function (see below).

If the cultic meaning of kneeling was indeed childbirth, then it was entirely subsumed by the political meaning of the aetion so prominent in Herodotus, to which we return in chapters 10.2 and 11.3. Whatever we

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[545] Mitropoulou 1975, 24: "We have many examples with Aphrodite kneeling: *Mon. Piot.* 2, 1895, 174 fig. 3 (P. Jamot), p. 173 fig. 1, p. 171 pl. 21; Kerenyi 1967, 144, fig. 41; Simon 1969, 220; Langlotz p. 8, fig. 5; Fuchs 1969, fig. 329." There is also evidence of kneeling in some cults where worshippers are depicted on votive reliefs as kneeling in front of the deity, at the same time as looking up into the deity's face: e.g., 4th century BCE reliefs from the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates on Ilissos in Attica (Vikela 1994).

[546] How and Wells 1936 [1912], vol. 2, 48, note to Hdt. 5.86.3: σφι "before them."

might think about possible political readings of the Herodotean narrative, and the significance of deities' names, as well as their jesture of falling on their knees, it has to be kept separate from our attempts to understand what the kneeling position of cult statues may have signified in religious terms, for there can be no doubt that the statues had been fashioned in this way before any aetiological and political readings of them could arise.[547]

Representations of kneeling are rare in Greek art, and when they are found they often signify submission, for example, a defeated enemy, or subdued woman or slave. Kneeling cult statues are virtually unknown. Several terracotta representations of kneeling females are known from the Heraion of Poseidonia (Paestum) and Foce del Sele, as well as from the sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes, and they are identified with childbirth, but the females do not display any signs of pregnancy such as a swollen belly, or a proper birthing position with legs apart.[548] Scholars tend to separate the ideological and religious/iconographic meanings of kneeling. This might be unwarranted. If it was the birthing position that the Aiginetan statues represented—this was not the interpretation of the official (male?) political discourse—the kneeling position must have appeared strange to the Aiginetans themselves and thus necessitated an elaborate explanation, in which political, religious, and ethnic identities became thickly interwoven; so thickly, in fact, that one is inevitably drawn to the conclusion that Herodotus applied his editorial hand rather liberally in this case. After all, Herodotus would have been aware of the understanding of the statues' poses as birthing if that were current on Aigina. The absence of such an explanation is surely significant, even if it does not help us to elucidate the original meaning of sculptural poses.

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[547] The distinction between the order in which the statues' pose, the cultic aetia, and the Herodotean logos appeared should not cloud our scholarly perspective: whatever doubts Herodotus may have had on this score (see Irwin 2011b, 447 and n. 52), we can only presume that the statues had always been represented in a kneeling position. One more possibility, which has not been considered before, is that the statues may have been broken at the knees as a result of some transportation, and subsequently fixed in that position. This hypothetical possibility, is however unlikely, as Herodotus would have probably commented on such a fact more explicitly, and also because Archaic Greek statues would have represented a female torso as draped, and so the columnar shape of the statue, from the ankles, where the hem of the dress would be, and up to the waist, or under the breasts where a girdle would be fastened would not define the knees as a particularly weak area susceptible to breakage. If indeed the statues were wooden, then such breakage would be rendered further unlikely.

[548] Baumbach 2004, 112, fig. 5.11 (figurines at the Heraion of Poseidonia are of local production and date to the 4th century BCE).

7.10.7 *The Sanctuary and Its Inventory*

The inventory of the sanctuary, *IG* IV^2 787, provides precious information on the material elements of the cult (for the full text, translation and commentary, see Appendix 4). First of all, the organization of the inventory clearly indicates that the two deities did not share a temple, or oikos, but each owned a separate structure within a common sanctuary. The structures are not explicitly named in the text, although either *ho naos* or *ho oikos* would suit the masculine singular of the inscription, where a prepositional formula '*en toi* + deity's name in the Gen.' is used. The inventory lists images of Mnia and Auzesia. Their poses are not described, and hence we can neither verify Herodotus' testimony in this respect, nor learn something new about the deities' roles from them (further discussion is in 11.3).

The most striking detail of the inventory is the presence of iron dress pins (*peronai*). There were 120 whole ones as a group by themselves, and another 5 whole ones and 6 broken ones as another group next to several *peploi* (*para tos peplos*) in the hypisthodomos (possibly a back room) in the temple of Mnia. Twenty-two pins were above the entrance (line 26 starts with this subheading) to the temple of Auzesia. The next subheading, in line 28, refers to the temple of Auzesia, where 180 pins are arranged in a group by themselves, and 8 whole and 5 broken pins are in front of a *peplos* (*pro<S> toi peploi*). Altogether, the inventory lists 346 pins (whole and broken). The pins should be viewed as a prescribed form of personal offerings made by women, in accordance with the regulations adopted by the Aiginetans for the cult of Damia and Auxesia, as described in Herodotus. Dress pins (predominantly made of bronze) were also a common type of dedication in the Heraion of Perachora, and in many sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, such as the Argive Heraion, Athena Alea at Tegea, and Artemis Orthia at Sparta, to name just a few.[549]

The inventory also lists *peploi*, several (unspecified plural number) in the back chamber of Mnia's temple and one in Auzesia's. Dress pins and *peploi* highlight women's wardrobe and could be seen as gifts connected with childbirth, as dedications after a safe delivery, for example.[550] At the same time, we know, that a peplos was yearly woven and presented to

[549] Perachora: Baumbach 2004, 35; Peloponnesian sanctuaries: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984.

[550] Dress pins are attested in male graves as well (Dickey 1992, 83), but in the case of Damia and Auxesia, Herodotus is explicit that the votive practice on Aigina was that of women.

Athena on the Athenian acropolis. It may have referred to Athena's persona as Ergane. Athena's *peplos* was apparently hoisted on a mast and paraded in the Panathenaia procession.[551] A *peplos* in that context did not signify childbirth. Irrespective of the specific local functionality of a divinity, a dress as a pleasing gift to a female, whether divine or mortal, which might be the simplest explanation of the custom. A desire to placate (*hilaskomai*) and please a deity translated into the conceptualization and anthropomorphization of divine wishes: a deity may like the smoke of sacrifices, the pleasing sound of songs, the sight of choral dancing, and a personal object such as dress. Male deities are not, as far as I know, typically presented with garments, although we see depictions on Attic vases of Dionysos, clearly a wooden image, dressed in a tunic that was probably simply hung over or wrapped around the wooden armature. The fact that, although pleasing as a gift, a dress was not a universal type of dedication, does indicate emphasis on a certain function. It is possible that the original meaning of a dedicatory custom could be forgotten, and a new aetion would arise later to explain a "strange" custom. In the Aiginetan inventory, it would appear, there were only a few *peploi*. They clearly do not correspond to the numbers of pins, which must have been votive. The *peploi*, therefore, are probably best understood not as personal garments dedicated by female worshippers, but rather as ritually crafted offerings for a deity, perhaps presented and replaced on a periodic basis, similar to the *peplos* prepared by *arrhephoroi* and presented to Athena on the Acropolis, after being marched in procession, while hoisted on a mast of a float or a ship, during the Greater Panathenaia in Athens.[552]

The inventory gives a sense of capturing the state of the contents of the sanctuary "as is," by noting the position of the items within each enclosure, and relative to one another. The lists of items for the two temples follow a very similar order, which either reflects the actual arrangement of objects in the temples or the organizing logic of the recorder (see further in Appendix 4). It is notable that the inventory lists no items of pottery or jewellery, and nothing of what might be identified as small personal dedications, except for iron dress pins. Either it was not customary to dedicate any other personal items to Damia and Auxesia, or it was not in the purview of the inventorization to account for itinerant pieces of votives. Not counting the *peploi*, which must have been a form of communal offering,

[551] Parker 2005, 262.
[552] Parker 2005, 253–269, especially, 269 n. 71.

and the iron pins, which were personal offerings, the rest of the objects in the inventory appear in small numbers, sometimes in the singular. Their apparently ritual function, as well as the matching types of items in the two temples (incense-burners, lamp-stands, and sets of armour), strongly suggests that we are dealing with a list of ritual equipment. These objects suggest such rituals as libations (phialai), and possibly bloodless offerings of food presented in baskets, but all these are typical of most Greek cults, and tell us little about the specific social roles of Damia and Auxesia.

Some further items allow insights into the gender roles and perhaps the nature of cult. Two bronze pomegranates are listed in the temple of Mnia. Pomegranates are often interpreted as symbols of sexuality and fertility.[553] At the same time, in the temple of each deity, we find objects of body armor: in the *hypisthodomos* of Mnia, one shield covered with copper or bronze (*epichalkos*), one polished (*leukê*) metal shield (see Appendix 4), one bronze corselet, one small bronze shield. In the temple of Auzesia: a bronze corselet (thorax) and a polished (*leukê*) metal shield. Implements of war found in sanctuaries are usually taken as evidence for male involvement in the cult, and/or as indicators of a deity's nature. We should point out that the present objects are of defensive nature: shields and corselets. No weapons (swords or spears) are listed. At the same time, the involvement of men, in the role of *choregoi*, has already been noted above, and it is possible that men had additional roles to play. One bronze corselet and one shining metal (*leukê*) shield are found in the temple of each deity. In addition, two more shields were stored in the oikos of Mnia: one covered with bronze (*epikhalkos*) and another small bronze one (*aspidiske*). The body armor seems to indicate the involvement of men in the cult, but leaves their specific functions obscure.

Of note is a large number of seats or thrones (*thronoi*), and several *bathra*, either pedestals of some kind, or else benches. There are two large wooden *bathra* in the temple of Mnia; and ten wooden thrones, as well as a base for a throne, and a large wooden *bathron* in the temple of Auzesia.

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[553] Baumbach (2004, 117) lists terracotta pomegranates in the sanctuary of Hera at Poseidonia (Paestum) and discusses the symbolism of pomegranates where he also notes that pomegranates were used as contraceptives in antiquity (according to the 1st cent. CE physician Soranus I 62), 141. See also Nixon 1995, 86 who discusses pomegranates in relation to Demeter and Kore. Pomegranate, of course, figures in the myth of Hades' abduction of Persephone. Numerous terracotta pomegranates are also known at the Heraion of Foce del Sele: Baumbach 2004, 141 and 146 (on the cult of Madonna of Pomegranate at Capaccio near Poseidonia and Foce del Sele). Pomegranates at the Samian Heraion: Baumbach 2004, 163.

These seats may have been used by ritual or civic officiants of some kind during a festival or choral performance. Ten wooden thrones in particular evoke ten male *choregoi* appointed for each deity's female choruses.

Another interesting datum that emerges from the inventory is that Mnia and Auzesia were not the only inhabitants of the sanctuary. There was a statue of Dionysos in the opisthodomos of the temple of Mnia. Dionysos is often coupled with Demeter and Kore in cult. In the words of Walter Burkert: "Thus Dionysos may belong with Demeter as the fruit of the tree with the fruit of the field, as wine with bread;[554] but behind the facts of nature lurks the dark myth of Persephone's dismembered child."[555] Are we to see the presence of Dionysos' statue as another indicator of analogy between Damia and Auxesia and Demeter and Kore? According to the Orphic tradition, Dionysos was the son of Persephone by Zeus, and hence, the grandson of Demeter. Dionysos was dismembered by the Titans, cooked and eaten, then resurrected from the pieces rescued and collected. "One should therefore concede that the myth of the dismemberment of Dionysos is relatively old and well known among the Greeks but was consciously kept secret as a doctrine of mysteries."[556] It is difficult to be sure what the role of Dionysos in the cult of Damia and Auxesia was, but we see no evidence for mystery rites associated with Damia and Auxesia, and so the Orphic Dionysos should not be imagined in this case.[557]

7.10.8 *Conclusions*

Damia and Auxesia on Aigina were apparently the deities of fertility, agricultural and probably human. Although Pausanias sacrificed to Damia and Auxesia "as it is customary to sacrifice at Eleusis," we have no indication that the cult of Damia and Auxesia was a mystery cult, and that it was a double of the Eleusinian cult pair of Demeter and Kore. It is certain that women played a prominent part in the worship of the goddesses and

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554 In Larisa, as Burkert notes, Demeter Phylaka and Dionysos Karpios are worshipped side by side*: IG* IX 2, 573.

555 Burkert 1985, 222, and 296–301.

556 Burkert 1985, 298.

557 Paus. 8.26.1 reports that in the Arkadian town of Heraia, there were two temples for Dionysos: one was for Dionysos Auxites, "the one who makes things grow and flourish, he was the god of sap, the god of fecund humors rising from the earth, the god who could make a vine grow in a single day" (Sissa and Detienne 2000, 138). Auxites and Auxesia, the epithets of Dionysos and Demeter respectively are of note, but we have no means of ascertaining whether they indicate similar functions, or what the functions may have been in each case.

so the goddesses' functions were most likely connected to the sphere of women. The ritual of *aiskhrologia* seems to indicate fertility magic. Participation of men in the preparation of *aiskhrologia* indicates that on Aigina women and men joined in ensuring the fertility of the land and the people. It would seem that the worshipping group in this cult consisted of both Aiginetan women and men. Also, judging by the purport of the Herodotean account, the cult could symbolize the Aiginetan sovereignty and her blessedness with divine favors. Regulations regarding the types of dedications allowed at the sanctuary, and the alleged prohibition against all Attic goods, especially pottery, show that the worship of the two goddesses contributed to the expression of Aiginetan civic identity in the 5th century (see further discussions in chapters 9.2.3, 10.2, 11.3).

7.11 Demeter Thesmophoros

7.11.1 *Textual Evidence*

Our only evidence for the presence of this cult on Aigina comes up in the Herodotean account (6.91–92) of the aftermath of a failed democratic coup on Aigina, whereby an escaped commoner attempts to take refuge at the temple of Demeter Thesmophoros (See Appendix 5 for the full text and translation):

> Ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστῆρσι.
>
> They had taken seven hundred of the people alive; as they led these out for slaughter one of them escaped from his bonds and fled to the temple gate of Demeter Thesmophoros, where he laid hold of the door-handles and clung to them. They could not tear him away by force, so they cut off his hands and carried him off, and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles. (Trans. A. D. Godley).

Thus we learn that there was a structure, presumably a temple, of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina sometime in the early 5th century BCE.

7.11.2 *Location of the Sanctuary*

The location of the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros is not known. There are no grounds to read the topographic remarks of Herodotus 6.89

as the same for 6.91. In 6.89, Herodotus tells about an Aiginetan traitor Nikodromos who took possession of the "the so-called old city," τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, on Aigina, in expectation of an imminent arrival of the Athenians to whom he was going to hand over the city. When the Athenians had failed to arrive on the appointed day, Nikodromos escaped from Aigina with a group of supporters. Herodotus does not say, and we have no reason to imagine that he implied, that the rest of the demos that had risen together with Nikodromos, remained in the 'old city' after Nikodromos' departure. They just as well could have gone home, but 700 of them were eventually apprehended (we are not told how soon after the coup), and as they were being led to execution (again no reference from where to where), one of them escaped to take refuge at the Thesmophorion. It seems rather plain that there need not be any connection between the site of Nikodromos' holdout and the Thesmophorion where at some point later one of the demos tries to take refuge. Independent of the association with the Thesmophorion, the identification of "the old city" with cape Kolonna seems reasonable, as it was clearly the oldest populated part of Aigina town and also strategically important: surrounded by a wall and in immediate proximity of the main harbors.[558]

7.11.3 *Material Evidence at Kolonna*

Felten identified an "extensive architectural ensemble" on the South Slope of the Kolonna hill with the Thesmophorion (see Map 2). His main grounds are: stone-built sacrificial shafts, and female terracotta figurines and masks.[559] The layout of the complex, consisting of small rooms and courtyards spread over three terraces from south to north. The entrances to the small rooms are off-center, which suggests their function as dining rooms, where such position of doorways is determined by the placement of couches. Felten argues against the secular purpose of the structures on the following grounds: one of the rooms had a red plastered wall identical to the flooring of the pronaos, cella, and propylon of the Aphaia temple;[560]

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[558] Wolters 1925a, 10; Felten 2007b, 28: "Thesmophorion, mentioned by Herodotus as situated in the "so-called old town"—a name that perhaps again indicates the consciousness of the Aiginetans of the old history of the Kolonna hill." A different view on "the so-called old city" is in Welter 1949, 146–7 (see Appendix 2).

[559] Felten 2003b, 44; Felten 2007b, 28.

[560] Felten 2003b, 43.

the presence of symposium ceramics;[561] the types of small finds and the presence of low subterranean pits. The protomes, in particular, led Felten to propose a cult of Chthonic deities, with parallel types of dedications in different parts of the Greek world. This hypothesis, in Felten's opinion, is corroborated by the evidence of numerous subterranean installations scattered around the complex: rectangular or circular pits lined with small stones to a depth of 1.5m. Since these pits are not plastered, they could not have served for water storage, and must be seen as sacrificial pits in a Chthonic cult, which Felten promptly equates with the Thesmophoria. The position of this complex at the foot of Kolonna hill, which Felten calls the acropolis, also, in his mind, supports an identification with Demeter because her sanctuaries are found in such locations. He finds some of his best parallels in Magna Graecia and Sicily, as well is in another Dorian realm, Corinth, in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[562] Felten also assigns to the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros an under life-size statue of a sitting goddess found in the northeast section of the Kolonna hill, in secondary context, and dated to the 2nd century CE. If indeed this figure of a female seated on a rock, a votive dedication of a woman, was Demeter, then the statue's date in the 2nd century CE would give us grounds to expect that a Demeter sanctuary was located in the vicinity or on the Kolonna at the time of Pausanias's visit to Aigina, and since we know from Herodotus that it was a temple with a doorway (πρόθυρα), it would seem to have been monumental enough, at least in Herodotus' time, that had it survived, it should have attracted Pausanias's attention.[563] If the Roman statue is that of Demeter, and the findspot should suggest her sanctuary, then an identification with the Thesmophorion of Herodotus would lead us to imagine a temple with a monumental doorway, which if it continued to function in Roman times, and was located on Kolonna, should have been mentioned by Pausanias along with the temples of Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos, which he tells us were situated next to each other, and which we tentatively place on the Kolonna hill. Pausanias does not, however, mention a Thesmophorion or any sanctuary of Demeter on Aigina.

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561 Felten 2003b, 43: BG jugs, skyphoi, cups, bowls, as well as amphoras and pelikes (in a well nearby).

562 Felten 2003b, 44–45.

563 Felten 2001, 130.

7.11.4 *Social Roles*

Herodotus refers to Demeter's presence on Aigina in passing, as part of the bigger story of civil strife on Aigina, and of her conflict with Athens. The events of civil strife on Aigina, according to Herodotus, occur ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο, i.e., some time between 490 and 480.[564] The act of sacrilege, committed by the Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες, "the rich men of Aigina," who cut off the hands of a man who had taken refuge at the doors of the Thesmophorion, led to a curse sent by a goddess: Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἵλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. The goddess who sent the curse was presumably Demeter whose temple was defiled by the shedding of blood and violation of a refuge-seeker. The curse, which the Aiginetans could not expiate by sacrifice, or take precautions against, was their later exile from the island. We may ask whether Herodotus lived long enough to witness the exile of the Aiginetans (not absolutely clear whether only the rich and the noble, or the common folk as well; I suspect the latter) inflicted by Athens in 431 BCE. If so, the curse realized itself only half a century later.[565] If that was the case, we could be confident that Demeter Thesmophoros was still an active member of the Aiginetan pantheon in the 430s BCE.

What does the story about a refuge-seeker and a goddess' curse tell us about the social functions of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina? Could we say that one of her functions was protection of refugees, or was it purely accidental that a refuge-seeker ran to the Thesmophorion? Was the Thesmophorion simply the closest sanctuary on his way of escape? In that case, the episode tells us nothing about the specific social role of Demeter Thesmophoros in the Aiginetan pantheon: any sanctuary had the potential of serving as an *asylon*. Moreover, all of these considerations are relevant only if we are confident that the whole episode did actually take place, or at least if it did, that it took place at the Thesmophorion, and not at some other sanctuary.

Against the doubt about the specificity of details in this Herodotean story it may be said that Herodotus was evidently very familiar with Aigina and at least with some local traditions (as is especially clear from the case of Damia and Auxesia), and that he may have had some specific knowledge in this case. It is also likely that had he "confused" some facts,

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564 Godley 1922, vol. III, 243, n. 1.
565 Figueira (1991, 120) seems to think so.

he would have been checked in his "creative writing" by the potential familiarity of his audience with matters Aiginetan.

If we can take the evidence of Herodotus as valid in only one respect, namely, that there was indeed a sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina in the 5th century BCE, we are already not so badly off. The cult of Demeter Thesmophoros is one of very few cults in the Greek world, which demonstrates a strong uniformity from one Greek location to another, and the cultic epithet everywhere seems to suggest a fertility cult, "concerned solely with the fertility of the field and the fertility of the womb."[566] It is not my purpose here to evaluate different theories of the origin of the epithet and its meaning. It is enough to know that the meaning of the ritual and cult to have in all the locations of Greece where we know this cult to have existed (about 30 places)[567] was very similar, everywhere performed by women and concerned with fertility.[568]

7.11.5 *Conclusions*

Although we do not have any local data for the social role of Demeter Thesmophoros on Aigina, in this particular case, I maintain, it is safe to assume the general character of the cult from the outside sources and to suppose that on Aigina, as well as elsewhere, the social function of Demeter Thesmophoros was to insure the fertility of the local land and her people.

7.12 Dionysos

7.12.1 *Cult Image and Its Location*

The inventory of the sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia (*IG* IV^2 787.9–10) records the presence of a statue of Dionysos in the opisthodomos of the temple of Mnia. This is not enough to suggest a separate cult of Dionysos, but his image (*agalma*) indicates some cultic association with Damia and Auxesia. Until Pausanias 2.30.3 who mentions a temple of Dionysos in Aigina-town with a bearded cult image (this type is known from the Archaic period onwards), there is no evidence for the presence of a separate cult of Dionysos. It is possible that his cult comes together with the

566 Farnell 1896–1909, vol. 3, 103.
567 Brumfield 1981, 70–103.
568 Burkert 1985, 242.

construction of the theater and is not earlier than the 4th century BCE. This date is hypothetical, as we have no archaeological remains or other evidence to suggest a definite date. The only hint of chronology is the comparison with the theatre in Epidauros that Pausanias 2.29.11 casually slips into his narrative: τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ θέατρόν ἐστι θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπήν. Pausanias must have had in mind the small theatre at the foot of the acropolis in the town of Epidauros, not the one in the Epidaurian Asklepieion, as a model for the Aiginetan one.[569] The small theatre at Epidauros is built of marble and dates to the 4th cent. BCE. It is fruitless, however, to speculate about the date of the Aiginetan theatre on the basis of its relation to the Epidaurian one, and about the possibility of its connection to the cult of Dionysos on Aigina. The inventory of Damia and Auzesia is, however, a solid evidence that in the late 5th century BCE, Dionysos had an active, if uncertain, role in the local pantheon, in connection with the cult of Damia and Auxesia.

This connection must have been meaningful and possibly indicative of Dionysos' social roles. Mnia and Auzesia were apparently the goddesses of fertility, especially of land and crops. Cultic connections between Dionysos and Demeter are known, and some of them point to the common area of agricultural concerns: grain and grapes,[570] yet we cannot securely ascertain this connection for Aigina.

7.12.2 *Conclusions*

The lack of evidence prevents us from identifying the social function of the Aiginetan Dionysos in the 5th century BCE, yet the presence of his image in the sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia allows us at least to map his relative position in the assemblage of local cults, even if we are not able to fill it with meaningful information for the time being. As a matter of guess, we may speculate that Dionysos' association with Damia and Auxesia was due to their common concern with agricultural fertility.

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[569] Goette 2001, 337.

[570] Paus. 8.26.1 mentions the Arkadian town of Heraia with two temples of Dionysos; one of the temples was dedicated to Dionsysos Auxites (see n. 557 above). The epithet Auxites is the same as the name of the Aiginetan goddess, only in the feminine form,—Auxesia. Burkert (1985, 222 n. 62) refers to an inscription from Larisa (*IG* IX 2.573) that mentions Demeter Phylaka and Dionysos Karpios.

7.13 Hekate

7.13.1 *Overview: Sources*

The most direct evidence for the existence of Hekate's cult on Aigina is textual (Lucian *Navigium* 15; Paus 2.30.2; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.22; Libanius, *pro Arist.* 426B; *CIL* VI.1779, 1780 (Praetextatus monument)),[571] but none of it is earlier than the 2nd century CE. There is one piece of indirect evidence, which, if correct, suggests the presence of the cult as far back as the 5th century BCE.[572] Pausanias (2.30.2) says that the statue of Hekate that he saw in her sanctuary on Aigina was a *xoanon* and a work of Myron. *Xoanon* in Pausanias always means "a wooden image," but on its own it is not a sure indication of the age of the statue.[573] Myron is dated to the 5th century BCE, and if Pausanias' attribution is correct, we may put the *terminus post quem non* for the existence of the sanctuary of Hekate on Aigina no later than Myron's *floruit*, that is the 5th century BCE. Lippold dates Myron's statue of Hekate on Aigina to 456 BCE, based on the fact that Myron's other three known statues at Olympia can be dated to 456, 446 and 444 BCE.[574] The comment of Pausanias that the statue had one face and one body does not add any further corrective to the date in the 5th century BCE, since such representations of Hekate generally range from the 6th to the 1st centuries BCE.[575] In later times, the Aiginetan Hekate was represented as a three-bodied figure, as can be shown by coins[576] and a sculpture, assumed to be from Aigina.[577] If absent from the Archaic cults of Aigina, Hekate must have joined them no later than the middle of the 5th century BCE. It is this possibility that requires us to consider whatever other evidence we have for this cult, albeit Late Roman in date.

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571 Kahlos 2002, T28 and T29, dated 385 and 370 CE respectively. The texts refer to the wife of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Aconia Fabia Paulina, who was initiated in the rites of Hekate on Aigina. We might note that this is spelled out in T28 ("sacrata apud Eginam Hecatae"), but T29 has "sacratae apud Aiginam deabus" (the two goddesses" might still be referring to Hekate, but in the plural (Hekates), as we can see in T23 in honor of Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius: he was a hierophant of Hekates ("hierofanta Hecatar(um)", although the latter reference does not necessarily pertain to Aigina).

572 It is not however, the mistaken reference in *RE* (VII, 2781, s.v. Hekate) to Arist. *Wasps* 122, which is, in fact, a reference to the shrine of Asklepios. Unfortunately this 'floating error' continues to float: e.g., Kowalzig 2011, 164.

573 Donohue 1988, 140.

574 *RE* XVI, 1124, s.v. Myron.

575 *LIMC* VI Addenda, s.v. Hekate, 985–998, nos. 1–111.

576 Severus's time: the three-bodied Goddess with torches (Milbank 1925, pl. IV, 14; V, 8).

577 Mitropoulou 1978, fig. 27, no. 9 VR, once in collection Metternich.

The sanctuary of Hekate was somewhere outside Aigina-town. There is no indication at present where it may have been, apart from Thiersch's reading of Pausanias' route as leading out of town in a southerly direction. Thiersch, therefore, speculates that the remains of walls in the area of Paliopyrgos, are a good candidate for the Hekateion.[578] Apart from Thiersch's speculation, we have no evidence to connect the alleged remains, by now all gone, with the Hekateion (see Appendix 3 for further discussion).

7.13.2 *Social Roles: Mystery Cult*

Thus we are left with the late Roman evidence to determine Hekate's role on Aigina. It is clear that by the 2nd century CE, the Aiginetan cult of Hekate was identified with the Thessalian Enodia.[579] Lucian (*Navigium* 15) describes a group of characters sailing to Aigina to participate in "the rites of Enodia." The dialogue takes place on the way to Piraeus. Lykinos is dreaming of owning a big ship: καίτοι πρῴην καὶ ἐς Αἴγιναν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἐνοδίας τελετὴν, οἶσθα, ἐν ἡλίκῳ σκαφιδίῳ πάντες ἅμα οἱ φίλοι τεττάρων ἕκαστος ὀβολῶν διεπλεύσαμεν. "Besides, the day before yesterday we sailed over to Aigina for the *telete* of Enodia, you know, in a little boat, all friends together at four obols each."

Enodia as an epithet of Hekate is known from other sources.[580] This epithet and other ones referring to roads describe a belief, common to certain Greek locations, that Hekate was prone to make her appearance at intersections of three roads. Farnell thought that Enodia was related to a custom (as in Athens) of placing Hekateia before the gates of a temple or a house, as reflected in the epithet προθυραία.[581] Their function was clearly apotropaic there. In my mind, the two epithets should be distinguished. Enodia seems to be associated with the rites of Hekate performed at *triodoi* (cf. Sophocles, *Ριζοτόμοι*, fr. 490) and there, at intersections of three roads, she would have nothing to guard (e.g., a temple or a house), or avert evil from. *Triodoi* would be themselves the locus of evil, and of demons. In such locations Hekate's infernal character was most prominent. On Aigina, as well, it might be pointing to the guise of an "underworld" Hekate.

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578 Thiersch 1928, 152.

579 On Hekate: Johnston 1999, 203–208. On Thessalian Enodia: Morgan 2003, 135–142.

580 Soph. Ριζοτόμοι, fr. 490 (Einodia Hekate); Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρίοδος οὕτω γὰρ ἡ Ἑκάτη. αὕτη καὶ ἐνοδία ἐκλήθη, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εὑρέθη ὑπὸ Ἰνάχου, τριοδῖτις δὲ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις τετίμηται. On Artemis Enodia, see Farnell 1896–1909, vol. 2, 601 n. 23e.

581 Farnell 1896–1909, vol. 2, 516.

The word τελετή used in Lucian is indicative. In the singular it is used to describe "mystery rites" specifically. Pausanias (2.30.2; ca. 175 CE) uses the same word in his account of the worship of Hekate on Aigina:

> θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾷκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἓν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα.
>
> Of the gods, the Aiginetans worship most Hekate, in whose honor every year they celebrate mystic rites (τελετή) which, they say, Orpheus the Thracian established among them. Within the enclosure is a temple; its cult image (ξόανον) is the work of Myron, and it has one face and one body. (Trans. W. H. S. Jones).

Libanius (*Orat.* 14.5), writing in the 4th century CE, speaks of Hekate's *orgiai* and bands of worshippers, *thiasoi*, and, Origen in *Contra Celsum* 6.22 mentions initiates (*myomenoi*) in the rites of Hekate on Aigina.[582] All this Roman evidence shows that in that period it was a mystery cult. What kind of mysteries they were, we can hypothesize from the reference in Pausanias to Orpheus as the founder of the *telete*, and from Lucian's description of Hekate as *Enodia*. Enodia was one of the guises of a goddess of the Underworld. A reference to Orpheus the Thracian possibly points to the Orphic rites. Hekate's mysteries on Aigina may have been Orphic in character. One of the main concerns of Orphic rites was the afterlife and the fate of an individual after death. As in other mystery cults, it was the state of being and the fate of an individual and not of the community that was the focus of ritual activity. This aspect in no way suggests that such a mystery cult had no social force. The presence of cult in a community determines its social importance: it addresses a particular sphere of concerns within the range of social interests of the community. In the range of various "needs" that a community might have, the fate of an individual is one among many that require divine attention. It thus defines a special sphere of social functions performed by the deities of a local pantheon. In very broad terms, we can therefore define the social role of Hekate on Aigina as the fate of an individual after death, which presumably determined their specific modus vivendi in life. I need to stress again that this was probably the function of Hekate on Aigina in the Roman period. It

[582] See full texts and translations in Appendix 5.

will be a retrospective guess to suppose that Hekate's function in the earlier periods was the same.

7.13.3 *Material Evidence*

A different view of the role of Hekate on Aigina relies on the material evidence. There is a votive relief from Palaiochora (see Fig. 15),[583] representing a procession of adorants approaching a stepped structure surmounted by some object, behind which a goddess with torches can be discerned (carved in a very faint and shallow relief). This deity has been identified as Hekate, and Welter interpreted the style of dress (short chiton) on the two adorants as that of workmen, farmers, fishermen, or sailors.[584] The latter category gave him the idea that Hekate was a sea-goddess (Seegottheit) on Aigina. Welter summons some evidence from other Greek locations where Hekate is indeed attested in this role, and lays much stock by the fact that the Aiginetan sanctuary was visited by seafarers (Seeleuten) as we read in Libanius and Lucian. Finally, he seems to believe that a stepped structure in the left corner of the relief is not an altar, but a monument of some kind, possibly a model of a ship.

Van Straten, accepting the unusual iconography of the relief, points out that an altar of this shape is neither inconceivable, nor unparalleled.[585] I doubt that the short chiton on the two adorants of the party of six is a strong enough indication of their marine profession. It is impossible to say, as Welter himself acknowledges, whether an object on the stepped base is a ship or something else. The passages from Libanius and Lucian cannot be taken as evidence of worship by Seeleute. Although in both cases the worshippers sail to Aigina to participate in the rites of Hekate, this is not because they are professional sailors, but because the particular cult of Hekate they want to participate in is located on an island, and there is no other way of getting there except by water. In sum, there are no good reasons "to read" this relief as an indication of the marine nature of Hekate on Aigina.

In the Roman period, the Aiginetan Hekate was a deity concerned with the personal fate of individuals, but this function is not discernible in the Classical reliefs. The first representation, on the votive relief, does not

583 NM, Athens, no. 1950; First published in Ephem. 1901, pl. 6.
584 Welter 1938a, 537–38.
585 Van Straten 1995, 84.

contradict our proposition. The adorants on the relief look like private individuals rather than an official delegation representing a community. However, as already mentioned, this votive relief is very problematic. Van Straten has pointed out that it is unusual in practically all the elements represented. The stepped structure, the object on top of it, the types of animals (fowl? and a fawn), the identity of the goddess, are all unknowns. The only indication that Hekate might be the goddess represented is the presence of torches. However, we know that other goddesses, such as Artemis,[586] Demeter,[587] and Persephone[588] could be represented with torches. Hekate and Artemis, moreover, are in some cases equated. A fawn is sacred to Artemis, but a goose (if that is the animal that is being presented) is not characteristic of either Hekate or Artemis. On the Lokrian votive reliefs, a goose is sometimes held by Hades, and is also carved on the back of the throne. In addition, there were votives in the shape of geese in some sanctuaries of Persephone.[589]

Both Artemis and Hekate were worshipped on Aigina, but we know nothing certain about Artemis' worship or even presence before the Hellenistic period. Hekate is left as more probable only because we know about her worship on Aigina more than about Artemis, and not because iconography suggests such identification. On these grounds, this votive relief adds little certainty to our knowledge about Hekate in the Classical period on Aigina.

Another representation is on a document relief dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE. On the right is a goddess seated on a rock, holding torches in her hands. A dog is seated next to her. A hero leading his horse is approaching from the left.[590] Below the relief was a text of about thirty lines in length which is regrettably largely illegible: only a few letters can be discerned in the upper left section of the inscribed field. The text would have definitely solved the puzzle of the identity of the

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[586] Thiersch notes Hekate's similarity to Artemis Phosphoros (an analogy: Judeich 1931, 205–6).

[587] When alone, Demeter is usually with one torch and a sceptre, e.g., *LIMC* IV (II) 23, 29, 220, p. 576.

[588] Persephone is represented with torches usually when Demeter is also present: *LIMC* IV (II), s.v. Demeter, no. 222, 234, 269.

[589] Fowl: goose—see Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 160. Elsewhere goose is represented with Aphrodite, but in Lebadeia again with Persephone (Paus. 9.39.2). See Thompson 1936, 329.

[590] Athens, NM 1475. First published in *Expedition de Moree* III, pl. 43. Described and briefly discussed in Svoronos 1908–1937, 595–6, no. 243, pl. 105. See also Thiersch 1928, 152.

female represented. An explanatory label in the museum used to say: "part of decree relief. The goddess Hekate is represented seated, holding torches in her hands. A hero is approaching followed by his horse. From Aigina, 2nd half of 4th century."[591] Thiersch's interpretation: "Hekate as a representation of the whole island seated on a rock facing the *heros equitans* Hippolytus of Troizen who greets her."[592]

The two iconographic elements, torches and a dog, led to the identification with Hekate. As said earlier, the same elements are as often found in the representations of Artemis. Unfortunately, we have no local Aiginetan material, sculptural or other, to be able to form an idea of how Artemis and Hekate would be distinguished there iconographically. If we approach this relief from a different angle, we might ask which Aiginetan deity would be likely to represent the island in international relations. To know the answer would be both desirable and important, and this is precisely why I am reluctant to apply guesswork in this situation. The reason why identification of a local deity from the iconographic symbols (see also 6.3.3) has to be approached with due caution becomes clear in 8.6, where I discuss overlaps in the functions of local Aiginetan deities.

On Aigina, we know of the presence of Artemis and Hekate who could be potentially confused iconographically, but also of such deities as Aphaia who are identified by some scholars with Artemis, by others even with Hekate. From what we know about the importance of Aphaia in the Archaic period, it would be quite acceptable to see her as representing the island, but in the fourth century BCE Aphaia's cult was not as prominent, as far as we can judge from the archaeological evidence (see 7.4.5). This may indicate that Aphaia would not be a likely candidate to represent Aigina on the international arena in that period. About Artemis, again, we know next to nothing in that period. If Hekate is the only possibility, against which there is at least no evidence to the contrary, and if it is she who is represented on the document relief, what was her social role on Aigina? If chosen to represent the island, she should be seen as not only concerned with the fate of individuals (as is suggested by the evidence of the Roman period) but with the community as a whole. What might have been her communal role is hard to guess: our textual evidence, late though it is, gives us no hint in that regard.

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[591] Since the reopening of the National Museum in Athens for the Olympic Games 2004, the stele is no longer on display.

[592] Thiersch 1928, 152.

The sculptural representations of Hekate with a single body and a single face, as reported by Pausanias, and later as a three-bodied figure, shed no light on her social functions on Aigina. In addition, it is necessary to remark that a reference in *RE*, s.v. Hekate, to Aristophanes *Wasps* 122 is a mistake, "a floating error." Aristophanes speaks of Asklepios and not Hekate, and therefore, Hekate is wrongly assigned a healing role: "zur Heilung von Wahnsinn nahm der Kranke daran teil."[593]

7.13.4 *Conclusions*

The two representations on *stelai*, even if they could be firmly assigned to Hekate, do not speak clearly to the function of the deity represented. We have no epigraphic or archaeological evidence for this cult. The location of the sanctuary has not been determined. In sum, our evidence allows only tenuous and hypothetical suggestions about the social functions of Hekate on Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods.

We can suggest that a concern with the conduct of individuals in their life on earth and their fate after death was among the functions of Hekate. This we can surmise from the textual sources with some certainty, based on the references to mystic rites and a legendary connection with Orpheus. It is possible that the cult of Hekate on Aigina was a mystery cult already in the pre-Roman period, but we have no means of ascertaining that. The possibility that Hekate might have had other social functions on Aigina has to be left open.

7.14 Herakles

7.14.1 *Overview*

The evidence for the cult of Herakles on Aigina mainly consists in textual and epigraphic sources. Pindar *Nemean* 7.93–94 says that an Aiginetan athlete's house is embraced by a precinct of Herakles. Xenophon (*Hell.* 6.1.10, 388 BCE) mentions the Herakleion on Aigina as a topographic reference point: a military detachment of Athenians passes by the Herakleion on the way to the place called Tripyrgia on Aigina. A single piece of epigraphic evidence is *IG* IV^2 1068: *hεραϰλέος*, "of Herakles." This inscription

[593] Heckenbach, *RE* VII, 2781.

is alternatively dated to the 7th and 5th cent. BCE,[594] and is interpreted as a boundary marker of the sanctuary.[595] A boundary marker is welcome evidence for the existence of cult, but it is helpless in revealing its social function. There are some sculptural representations of Herakles found in the northwest of the island,[596] but even if they come from the Herakleion, they also do not speak to the cult's social function. There is a possible depiction of Herakles on the pediment of the Aphaia temple, and if that is the case, it would add to the understanding of the social meaning of both cultic figures, Aphaia and Herakles on Aigina, yet the identification is not certain, and Sinn proposed to view the lion-helmeted archer as a Heraklid Hyllos (see ch. 7.4.6).

7.14.2 *Location of the Sanctuary*

The boundary-marker of the Herakleion was allegedly found in the place called Κήποι/Kipi (see Map 1), which is a tiny cluster of ruined houses on a steep slope running down to a small bay in the southeast corner of the island. Today, and no doubt in antiquity, it is best accessed by boat from Perdika on the west coast, or from Portes on the east coast, each of which one can reach by a motorway. Aiginetan residents from the village of Anitsaion at the top of the mountain ridge to the north of Kipi, maintain plots of land at Kipi where they grow vines, and they hike down (from Vlakhides, which they can also reach by car) to the coast at Kipi to check on them.[597] The stone of the inscription is reddish basalt, as described in the *IG* entry, which fits the geology of south Aigina, where volcanic rock, such as andesite and basalt, are the natural bedrock. At the same time, it is very hard to imagine a sanctuary of Herakles in this isolated spot, on the coast, and while reachable by sea, still very remote in relation both to Aigina-town and to Ag. Marina, two of the main population centers of ancient Aigina. It is difficult, also, to square the possibility of Kipi as the location of the Herakleion with the information provided by Xenophon (see below). Some unlikely scenarios, such as two different sanctuaries of Herakles, or an earlier sanctuary (at Kipi) and a later one elsewhere,

[594] 7th century: Jeffrey *LSAG* p.110, plate 16, no. 3 and *IG* IV^2; 5th century: *SEG* XI (1954), no. 3: "s.Va, in loco qui vocatur Κηποι. Ed. A. D. Keramopoullos, *Arch. Eph.* 1932, 6 c."

[595] Welter 1938b, 122: "Horosstein (um 550 BCE) von der Ostseite der Insel."

[596] Walter-Karydi 1987, no. 67 (a torso of Herakles) found in Aigina-town: Walter-Karydi assigns the figure to a pedimental group from an early Archaic temple (Hoffelner's Apollo-Temple II). See 7.6.4.

[597] It is a strenuous hike, which I can confirm from personal experience.

come to mind. Also, a possibility of an agricultural plot of land for Herakles, a *temenos*, but not a sanctuary, at Kipi, could be considered. In sum, the alleged provenance of the boundary marker presents significant difficulties.

Another candidate for the location of the Herakleion has been proposed by Thiersch, who notes the presence of medicinal hot springs (*thermai*) on Aigina, in the area of Souvala, in the middle of the northern coast of the island (see Map 1).[598] Thiersch's hypothesis is, however, based entirely on external comparanda, whereby Herakles is found associated with healing springs, hot springs, and hot baths.[599] No ancient evidence indicates that Herakles should be associated with hot springs on Aigina. The area of Souvala, however, should not be dismissed out of hand as a potential site of the Herakleion for a different reason, namely that it presents a possible landing point on the northern coast of Aigina, easily reachable from Attica, which acts as a potentially better fit with the evidence of Xenophon (see below).

Just one last sidetrack before we move on to Xenophon's testimony. On a map of Aigina, apparently prepared and published by E. N. Lampadarios, a local doctor, in 1904,[600] the area of quarries near the coast (in the north of Aigina, between the villages of Moulos, modern Kavouropetra, and Khalasmeni, modern Kypseli, see Map 1) is marked as Αρχ. Ηρακλειον, "ancient Herakleion." We have no information what may have led Mr. Lampadarios to this conclusion. It may have been no more than an educated guess, to which we then need not pay much attention, or it may have been based on some archaeological finds that were known to him as a local resident of the island at the time, that is, over 100 years ago, and which are now lost to us, in which case we should keep his suggestion in mind.

We now come to the testimony of Xenophon who provides, if inadvertently, a potentially indicative topographic information on the location of the Aiginetan Herakleion in *Hellenica* 5.1.10–11(388 BC):

> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρᾳ, πελταστάς τ'ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὁπλίτας. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ

598 Thiersch 1928, 155.
599 Salowey 2002.
600 A full-scale color version can be seen in the Blegen Library of the ASCSA, and a small black and white version in Mpetros and Lykoudes 1927, 462.

> συνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται.
>
> After this Khabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aigina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Herakleion. Then, at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demainetes, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Herakleion, where the so-called Tripyrgia is.

Gabriel Welter was correct to note that for Khabrias' ploy to work, the landing and the ambush had to take place away from Aigina-town,[601] and at night, so that the locals noticed nothing and were not able to raise alarm. At daybreak, the Athenians would come and land presumably at the same spot and openly, triggering an alarm, and would keep marching until they met Gorgopas and the Aiginetans mustered in response to the report of their landing. As the Aiginetans marched out of the city to face the Athenian hoplites, somewhere outside of the city at the place called Tripyrgia, Khabrias waited in ambush, and attacked them from the back. Welter argued that since there were only two good harbors on Aigina, in Aigina-town on the west coast, and at Ag. Marina on the east coast, then Khabrias must have landed on the east coast at Ag. Marina, and that is where we are to look for the Herakleion. This is an entirely plausible scenario, considering the fact that the east coast of Aigina is the closest to Attica, and that both sailing and approaching Aigina's coast at night would have been a tricky business, unless it was a well-known harbor: the island is known for shoals and underwater rocks that can make approaching it rather treacherous. Having said that, we should note that there is another operational harbor on Aigina today, at Souvala, roughly in the middle of the northern coast, where modern modest-size ferries can anchor. It is quite small but sufficiently deep, so that one trireme could probably approach and unload a contingent of men without too much difficulty. Thus, both possibilities remain, of the Herakleion being near Souvala, or near Ag. Marina. Either location, however, would leave the findspot of the boundary-marker at Kipi quite puzzling unless it marked an agricultural *temenos*. Welter further theorized that the Herakleion, as well as the temple of Aphaia, and that of Athena, was located inside

[601] Welter 1949, 146.

the "so-called old city," which he identified with the area of the Aphaia sanctuary and Ag. Marina (see Appendix 2). He also connects his theory with a more concrete set of remains (see Map 6): "walls preserved to a good height west of the Aphaia temple and the Building C."[602] Against the hypothesis of locating the Herakleion in the immediate vicinity of Aphaia, I see two main objections: first, that since the temple of Aphaia was such a dominating landmark, Xenophon would not have failed to use it rather than the Herakleion as the main topographic reference if Aphaia had been in the vicinity; second, the temple of Aphaia is not near the coast, and although certainly visible from the coast, its area could not be a convenient spot for an ambush, which is described as "a hollow" and which would have had to be close enough to the coast, so that Khabrias' men could hide, but did not have far to go to get back to their ship in the morning. So, if we are to look at the area of Ag. Marina as Khabrias' landing place, then we should look closer to the coast, for example, at cape Kavos, where Faraklas reported an ancient settlement and a cultic building (see Map 1, Appendix 3 for more details).

Another topographic visualization of Khabrias' landing on Aigina, as well as of the location of the Herakleion is presented by Logiotatidou, who locates Tripyrgia in the area of Nisida, east of Vagia, on the northeast coast of Aigina, and who envisions the position of the Herakleion on an elevated plateau (oropedion) just east of the rema of Koukouli/Mounti (see Map 1).[603] His calculation of distances is, however, not acceptable as Tripyrgia, according to Xenophon, had to be 16 stadia from the Herakleion, while the latter had to be very close to the coast. Logiotatidou incorrectly reverses the positioning of the two (Tripyrgia on the coast and the Herakleion inland from that), and the distance of sixteen stadia (even if we calculate one stadion as 180m) would take us much further inland (west of Aphaia, towards Misagros) than his proposed location (see further discussion in Appendix 2, sub 'Tripyrgia' and sub 'Kryptos Limên').

If any social significance is to be deduced from the topographic position, we may note that the Herakleion was situated outside of Aigina-town and perhaps close enough to the coast to be visible from the sea. These topographic indicators are not enough in themselves, from my point of view, to suggest the cult's social function, either through the designation

602 Welter 1949, 147.
603 Logiotatidou 1902, 12–13.

'extra-urban',[604] or through an association with hot springs, or through proximity to a harbor. We could generate some understanding of the Herakleion's location only if we could map in onto the social topography of the island, but unfortunately such data are either inadequate or unavailable at present.

The information provided by Pindar's *Nemean* 7 not only adds a new dimension to the topography of the Herakleion, but also gives an insight into some of the social functions of the hero. Despite its length, it is necessary to quote the relevant passage in its entirety:

Διὸς δὲ μεμναμένος ἀμφὶ Νεμέᾳ (80)
πολύφατον θρόον ὕμνων δόνει
ἡσυχᾷ. βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει
δάπεδον ἂν τόδε γαρυέμεν ἡμέρᾳ
ὀπί· λέγοντι γὰρ Αἰακόν
νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φυτεῦσαι,
ἐμᾷ μὲν πολίαρχον εὐωνύμῳ πάτρᾳ, (85)
'Ηράκλεες, σέο δὲ προπράον'
ἔμμεν ξεῖνον ἀδελφεόν τ'. εἰ δὲ γεύεται (86)
ἀνδρὸς ἀνήρ τι, φαῖμέν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι
νόῳ φιλήσαντ' ἀτενέϊ γείτονι χάρμα πάντων
ἐπάξιον· εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι,—
ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὃς ἐδάμασας, εὐτυχῶς (90)
ναίειν πατρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων
θυμὸν προγόνων ἐϋκτή-
μονα ζαθέαν ἄγυιαν·
ἐπεὶ τετρᾰόροισιν ὤθ' ἁρμάτων ζυγοῖς
ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει τεοῖς, ἀμφοτέρας ἰὼν χειρός. ὦ μάκαρ,
τὶν δ' ἐπέοικεν Ἥρας πόσιν τε πειθέμεν (95)
κόραν τε γλαυκώπιδα· δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκάν
ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν.
εἰ γὰρ σύ ἵν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοτον ἁρμόσαις
ἥβᾳ λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις
εὐδαίμον' ἐόντα, παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχοιεν αἰεί (100)
γέρας τό περ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον ὄπιθεν.

But after mentioning Zeus, set in motion
the famous sound of hymns for Nemea,

[604] Some scholars are more than happy to assign significance to the extra-urban position of sanctuaries, but in our case, we do not know whether the position outside of Aigina town necessarily means that there was no other settlement, perhaps even large, in the vicinity of the Herakleion. As we learn from Pindar, Sogenes' house was in immediate proximity, and the latter may have been part of an individual estate, or of a larger settlement.

softly. It is fitting to sing of the king of the gods
on this holy ground with a gentle
voice, for they say that through the mother
who received his seed he begat Aiakos
to be ruler of cities in my illustrious land,
and, Herakles, to be your kindly guest-friend
and brother. If man has any enjoyment
of his fellow man, I would say that a neighbor who loved
his neighbor with fixed purpose is a joy to him worth
everything. And if a god should also uphold this
principle,
then with your help, subduer of the Giants,
Sogenes might wish, as he cherishes a spirit of tenderness
for this father, to live joyfully on the well-built
sacred street of his forefather;
for like the yokes of a four-horse chariot,
he has his home in your precincts
on either hand as he goes forth. Blessed one,
it is fitting for you to win over Hera's husband
and the grey-eyed virgin, for you are often able to give
mortals defense against desperate difficulties.
I pray that you match a steadfast life
to their youth and splendid old age and weave it
to a happy end, and that
their children's children may always have such
honor as they now enjoy and even greater hereafter. (Trans. W. H. Race).

While, the central part of the ode is taken up by the myth of Neoptolemos (see discussion in 7.6.13), the very end of the third and the entire fourth triad of *Nemean* 7 (lines 80–101) are an address and a prayer to Herakles on behalf of Sogenes, the athlete celebrated in this *epinikion*. What is striking in the final part of the poem is the effect of immediacy. While much of the ode either refers to mythological times, or to recent past events (e.g., Sogenes' victory), the finale addresses the actual moment and place of the performance of *Nemean* 7. Pindar refers to "this sacred ground" (δάπεδον τόδε), and addresses Herakles in the second person (four times) as if the latter were present at the scene.

The use of δάπεδον in line 84 has been interpreted to mean "the island of Aigina."[605] Since it appears in the sentence which mentions the union

[605] So, Race 1997, 79, note 5; Currie 2005, 296. Howie (1989, 65–66) made a totally unsubstantiated proposition that *dapedon* refers to the Aiakeion. He comments on *N.* 7, 80–86a: "It is fitting to speak of the King of the Gods on this spot [probably the Aiakeion, the shrine of Aeacus]," and then on page 66: "The poet begins by urging reverent language at the local hero Aeacus' shrine."

of Zeus and nymph Aigina, and we know that the latter took place on the island Aigina, we can imagine that the poet describes the whole island as sacred due to the union of two divinities consummated on its soil. The period, within which δάπεδον appears, is, however, longer, starting in line 82 and ending in line 87.

> It is fitting to sing of the king of the gods
> on *this holy ground* with a gentle
> voice, for they say that through the mother
> who received his seed he begat Aiakos
> to be ruler of cities in my illustrious land,
> and, *Herakles*, to be your kindly guest-friend
> and brother. (Trans. W. Race)

Together, the reference to the place "this now" and the direct address ("Herakles, your friend") strike me as references to a more specific place than the island of Aigina in general. δάπεδον mainly refers to precincts of gods, as usage in Pindar shows, in fact, in lines 34–5 of the same ode, δάπεδον describes the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.[606] Here, as well, I think we have a reference to a specific precinct, that of Herakles. It might be argued, however, that a prayer to Herakles can be uttered anywhere, and not necessarily in his precinct, but in the present case, there are additional indications to suggest that the prayer is uttered at least in the sight of Herakles' sanctuary, and so to speak, in the direct line of sight of the hero. In lines 90–94, when Herakles is addressed the second time, his intimate connection to Sogenes is revealed: Sogenes's house is located inside, it would appear, the *temenê* of Herakles, in fact, it appears to be lodged between the *temenê* "like a yoke in a four-horse chariot." This is a very precise description, which must be referring to the actual position of the relative structures on the ground. This is also an explanation, which Pindar himself provides for line 92: there he prayed that Herakles may ensure Sogenes' happiness on "the well-built sacred street of his forefathers." The street (ἄγυια) is sacred (ζαθέα) because it transects the precinct(s) of Herakles. It is a fascinating and separate question, how Sogenes' ancestral home and a hero's precinct(s) happened to be located in such close proximity. Meanwhile, there are strong grounds to suggest that the performance of *Nemean* 7 takes place in the residence of Thearion, Sogenes' father, on Aigina in the immediate vicinity of the Herakleion, which prompts and necessitates the amount of attention devoted to the acknowledgement

606 Slater 1969, 117.

of Herakles and his role in Sogenes' wellbeing. The grounds of Thearion's estate and the grounds of the Herakleion envelop each other, so that the presence of the Herakleion gives an aura of sacredness to the entire area, hence ζαθέαν ἄγυιαν and δάπεδον τόδε. What might the plural *temenê* mean in this context is intriguing: is Pindar speaking in plural because Sogenes' estate transects Herakles' property in two, or were there in fact two separate *temenê*, for some reason? I am inclined in favor of the former, but we cannot exclude either possibility.

7.14.3 *Social Roles*

As argued above, I think we have grounds to believe that *N.* 7 is performed in or near the Herakleion. I take the prayer to Herakles to be a cultic prayer, that is, a prayer uttered on behalf of a specific individual, in "the presence" of the divinity, on a particular occasion. Therefore, I submit, we can view characteristics of Herakles that appear in this prayer as having relevance to the particular cult of Herakles on Aigina. The most direct reference to the social role of Herakles is in lines 96–97:

> δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκάν
> ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν,
>
> you can give mortals courage against desperate difficulties.

While such a function of Herakles may be evident outside of Aigina as well, I think it would not have been mentioned here unless it was also relevant to the specific local circumstances. But what does it mean: "to give courage against desperate difficulties"? Perhaps such a general statement can be made about any divinity at all. The following lines 98–101 contain a specific wish for the well-being of Sogenes' family: "would that you [i.e. Herakles] match a steadfast life to [Sogenes'] youth and splendid old age and weave it to a happy end, and that their children's children may always have such honor as they enjoy now and even greater hereafter." The wish for Sogenes' family's well-being generation after generation entrusted to the care of Herakles portrays the hero as a patron-deity of the family. This role is often attributed to divinities who are either installed, like Apollo Agyieus, next to an oikos, or reveal their presence there through ominous signs, like heroes who demand attention to their bones. Jeffrey Rusten borrows from Aristophanes (*Wasps* 389) a term, which he applies to the whole category of divine neighbors: γείτων ἥρως.[607] However, as Rusten

[607] Rusten 1983, 289–97.

acknowledges, there is a difference between γείτων ἥρως such as associated with your home only, and a *herôon* of communal significance, which happens to be close to your home. Such apparently was the case of the Herakleion on Aigina next to Thearion's house. A divine neighbor could be and most likely would be considered to be partial to his/her human neighbor, and such "appropriation" or "domestication,"[608] as Rusten calls it, most often affected hero-cults. *Nemean* 7 seems to portray Herakles as a personal patron of Sogenes and his family, since he asked to watch over the happy duration of the athlete's life and that of his posterity. Perhaps this particular wish, to prolong Sogenes' life, implies protection from such calamities that might interfere with the normal course of it, such as war, illness, and death. A wish for posterity might also be expressing a hope for Sogenes' productive marriage and the continuation of his family's line.

Herakles can also be appealed to for help in "desperate difficulties," as *Nemean* 7 states. This characteristic could be a pointer to the care of individual worshippers, and/or of communities. There are some indications that the cult of Herakles had some civic importance for the community as a whole and not just for separate individuals. The genealogical connection between Aiakos and Herakles (both were sons of Zeus) and Herakles' relationships of *xenia* with the Aiakidai are important ideological motifs in Pindar's odes. It would not be so prominent in the Aiginetan *epinikia* unless Pindar felt that it would resonate well with the local audience and, perhaps, it reflected more than local sentiment, but also local cultic practice.

It is possible that Herakles also appears on the pediment of the Aphaia temple, and in fact helps to define the subject of the pediments. If that was the case, we can safely expect that Aiginetan viewers would have made a connection between the pedimental appearance of Herakles and his prominent role in the local myth and cult (see 7.4.6). Besides playing the role of a guardian hero and serving as a source of help for individuals, Herakles may have been worshipped as a communal patron, perhaps as a helper of the Aiginetan community in the vicissitudes of war or in other "desperate difficulties." Sinn wished to attach much more significance to the lion-helmeted archer on the Aphaia pediment, identifying him with Hyllos and surmising the theme of the pediment as the Return of the Herakleidai, thus suggesting that Herakles was worshipped in conjunction with Aphaia because the latter was also, according to Sinn, a

608 Rusten 1983, 296.

central Stammgottheit, a tribal deity of the Dorians (see 7.4.6). Welter, some decades before Sinn, also postulated the eastern side of the island in the area of Ag. Marina as the original settlement of the Dorians, the "so-called old city," and it was the presumed location of the Herakleion in that area that led him to that hypothesis (see Appendix 2 and 3). We have no evidence, however that Herakles was worshipped in the sanctuary of Aphaia (his presence on the pediments is certainly no evidence for that), and the whole notion of the 'coming of the Dorians' as a historical and practical event that could result in a purely Doric settlement on the island in its eastern part bears the stamp of outdated theories, and cannot be supported by any material evidence (see further discussion in 9.2.1).

7.14.4 *Conclusions*

Herakles' roles on Aigina concerned the interests of both individuals and of the community as a whole. Herakles was invoked for help in personal endeavors, and as a guardian of an individual's fortunes throughout one's life. Success in athletics may have been one kind of individual endeavors in which Herakles could assist. In Aiginetan myths, Herakles is a *xenos* and an ally of the Aiakids. He may have also been invoked as an ally by the Aiginetans of historical times (e.g., in situations of war), although we have no direct evidence to confirm this supposition.

7.15 Koliadai

7.15.1 *Overview*

Our only evidence for the cult of some divine figures called Koliadai is a dedicatory inscription on an offering table (see Fig. 16): *IG* IV^2 1057. It comes from the site of Zeus' sanctuary at the northern foot of the Oros. Welter dated the inscription to the Archaic period and suggested that there was a small shrine at the foot of the rock formation on the terrace where the Festival Grounds for Zeus were later constructed.[609] Jeffery gives a different date for the inscription: ca. 475–450 BCE.[610] It makes sense to discuss what we know about the Koliadai on Aigina in conjunction with the discussion of the role of Zeus, since the only piece of evidence referring to Koliadai has been found at the site of Zeus' sanctuary. This is an

[609] Welter 1938b, 92.
[610] Jeffery, *LSAG*, p. 113, no. 17.

inscription on a massive slab of dark gray volcanic rock (andesite), the same as the bedrock at the Oros. *IG* IV^2 1057 gives the text as:

vacat Κολιάδα|ις *h*αβλίον ἐποίεσ[[.]]ε *h*αλ|τίλλο. *vacat*

The editor notes that letters ΑΒΛ are written over an erasure. *CIG* 2138 provides a different edition: Θεὰ]ν Κωλιάδα ἐς Ἀβαῖον ἐποίησε Ἄλτιμο[ς.[611] I agree with Klaus Hallof's edition, except for the reading of the last word. In my opinion, the letter forms allow the reading Ἄλτιμο: if we compare all the proposed lambdas, we note a clearly discernible difference between the alleged two final lambdas in *h*αλ|τίλλο and the other two lambdas, one in *h*αβλίον and another, the first lambda of the name in question. The difference is that the undisputed lambdas have a longer left stroke and a shorter right stroke, and they visibly lean to the left. By contrast, the alleged final lambdas of the last word, the patronymic, are perfectly centered and have left and right strokes of equal length. Of the four strokes that are being construed as either two lambdas or one mu, the central strokes touch at the base line. To my eye, this combination of strokes looks like a very good candidate for a mu, and a name, which is a compound of *timê* makes good sense in Greek.

The top surface of the stone is roughly trapezoidal in plan. The longer preserved side is ca. 1.345m, and one of the shorter sides meets it at about a straight angle. The edges of the top surface are uneven and somewhat jagged. The top surface is hollowed out in the center, leaving a flat and smooth depression, with a narrow raised edge running around the perimeter, which is inscribed on three sides. The bottom of the block is uneven and sloping, one end being much thicker (ca. 0.39m) than the other. Roughly in the middle of the un-inscribed edge on the top surface we find a shallow groove, perhaps too shallow to be effective in draining liquids, but perhaps the incline on the bottom of the slab was designed in conjunction with the groove to aid in drainage.

7.15.2 *Social Roles: Material Evidence*

How are we to identify this inscribed slab? According to *IG* IV^2 1057, it is a sacred table, while Fraenkel (*IG* IV 6) identified it as an altar, and Gill listed it among cult tables. The shape of this slab is possibly unusual, as

[611] Walter-Karydi (1987, 46–47) relies on this reading to get the name of the sculptor Haltimos.

Gill notes.[612] If indeed the rim were complete, it would look quite normal for an offering table, as many examples in Gill's monograph show. However the distinctions between altars and tables are not clear-cut. "One area," says Gill, "where the uses of altar and table do not overlap is that of burnt offerings."[613] Altars are used for burning victims and for pouring libations. The need for drainage might be more pressing in altars, but in reality many altars do not have any drainage channels. Tables are used for placing dry goods and liquids in jars, and therefore, should not need have any drainage channels. So what about our table/altar? Even if the hypothetical draining activity (derived from the possible intentional design of a groove) is to be imagined, we cannot allow our imagination to leap any further and follow Gill who suggests: "if the Koliadai were a genos, one might imagine that this stone served as their grave trapeza. The libations poured on it could run off and into the ground."[614] It is neither possible to envision a *genos*' cemetery in this rocky landscape, nor to interpret the name of Koliadai as that of a *genos* based solely on Plutarch's remark (*QG* 14; *Moralia* 294c–d) about the *genos* of this name on Ithaka. It thus seems to me very difficult to determine the exact cultic use of our table/altar, and as such it cannot help us in determining the function of the presumed divinities Koliadai.

The form of the inscription suggests a dedication. Who is the recipient of the dedication? This depends on how one interprets Κολιάδαις as a personal name or a place name. *IG* IV 6 interprets it as a personal name, and Roehl, in *IG* 352, as a place name: (τᾷ θεᾷ τᾷ ἐν) Κωλιίαδαις Ἀβλίων ἐποίησεν Ἀλτίμου. I do not see any grounds for taking the latter view: the inscription is fully preserved and, in a dedication, there is no reason why a place name would be more important to include than a deity's name. Koliadai is more likely to be the latter.[615]

As already said, we have no other evidence for Koliadai on Aigina except for this inscribed slab. We are seriously limited in what we can surmise about the function of these figures in the Aiginetan pantheon. One thing that we can say is that the slab that was used for this altar/sacred table was quarried on site. It is made of trachyte, or andesite, the natural

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[612] Gill 1991, 54: "I know of only three other Greek table-tops with similar drains in the *eschara* rim. The first two seem to have been cult or grave tables. The third is less certain."

[613] Gill 1991, 24.

[614] Gill 1991, 53–4.

[615] Hallof (*IG* IV^2 1057) suggests nymphs or other divinities whose name derives from the Attic promontory Kolias where Aphrodite Kolias was worshipped.

volcanic rock found in south-central Aigina; the slab is massive and heavy and would not have been brought there from a far-away place. Thus we can safely assume that since it was found at the site of Zeus Hellanios' sanctuary, the Koliadai must have been worshipped at the site, and therefore they had to be somehow connected to the cult of Zeus. We cannot say if Zeus and the Koliadai always shared the sacred space, or one came earlier, and the other later.[616] The letter forms on *IG* IV² 1057 are dated to 475–450 BCE.[617] This makes the altar roughly contemporary with the dedication of an inscribed bronze hydria to Zeus Hellanios (*IG* IV² 1056).

7.15.3 *Koliadai: What's in the Name?*

Having thus exhausted the interpretive links allowed by the local evidence, we have to see if the name of Koliadai is known outside of Aigina, and consider whether any related data might be useful for our inquiry.[618] Tambornino's article in *RE* is perhaps the most informative in this respect. He connects Koliadai with a deity Kolias worshipped on cape Kolias in Attica, near Phaleron. Kolias appears there as a surname of Aphrodite who was worshipped in company with Genetyllides, the deities of childbirth. Aristophanes (*Lys*. 2) lists Cape Kolias as one of the places of attraction for Athenian women. Tambornino mentions Ἀφροδίτη Καλιάς of Samothrace as a possible relation of the Attic deity.[619] Although a connection with the Attic Kolias is theoretically possible, we cannot presume that the meaning and functions of the Aiginetan Koliadai were the same, or even similar. If they were to be seen as somehow representing women's sphere of interests (based on the possible affinity with the Attic Kolias), the presence of their shrine at the foot of the Oros, and what we know about the functions of Zeus at that site could not offer any support to such speculation. The only gift to Koliadai on Aigina is presumably made by a man, Hablion.

Gabriel Welter labeled Koliadai "nymphartigen Gottheiten,"[620] nymph-like deities. Indeed, nymph-like deities are known and worshipped under plural titles throughout the Greek world. Nymphs are also often connected

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[616] Welter (1938b, 92) seems to think that a small shrine of the Koliadai was originally at the foot of a rocky outcropping where later the East side of the terrace for the festival grounds of Zeus was built.

[617] Jeffery, *LSAG*, 113, no. 17.

[618] Parker (1996, 304) lists Κωλιεῖς as a *genos* from Kolias that may have supplied priestesses for the cult of Aphrodite Kolias in Attica.

[619] *RE* XI.1, 1074–1076.

[620] Welter 1938b, 92.

to water, mountains, and caves.[621] The Vari cave of Pan and the Nymphs in Attica contained a pool of water. The presence of cisterns at the site of Zeus' festival grounds on the Oros may be indicative (see Map 7). Although the cisterns are built up in the upper parts (see Figs. 17, 18), it is possible that they are built over natural sinkholes, and there are a number of those on the island. There are at least two more sites with natural sinkholes south and east of the Oros. If there were natural sources of water at the site where we later find an altar/table for Koliadai, perhaps we can surmise that the deities and a little shrine came to be associated with this source of water. Nymph-like divinities can be associated with water, and Zeus Hellanios was concerned with rainwater. It might be then that water was the sphere of interest that brought Zeus and Koliadai together in one sanctuary.[622] Independent of the roles of Zeus and Koliadai, water is important for any festival occasion, and the presence of cisterns in sanctuaries is common in ancient Greece.

Still today the cisterns at the church of Taxiarchi (Zeus' festival grounds) provide water for local herds of sheep and goats. There are also ancient olive trees some hundred yards to the North of the church. Just as today, the foothills of the Oros may have been used for grazing and for olive production in antiquity, and a local source of water would have been very important for ancient shepherds as it is for modern ones. It is conceivable that such a source of water could serve as a locus for nymph-like divinities.

7.15.4 *Conclusions*

Although the inscription *IG* IV^2 1057 and a slab, on which it is inscribed, should be seen, in my opinion, as evidence for the cult of some divinities called Koliadai, I do not think we can rely on speculations, however plausible, to suggest a specific social function for these deities in the Aiginetan pantheon. At the same time, the topographical connection between the Koliadai and Zeus Hellanios must be indicative of a cultic and functional overlap, perhaps related to rain and water.

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621 Larson 2001, 8–9.

622 Cf. Aphrodite Kalias worshipped on Hymettus: Photius, p. 185, 21.

7.16 Kybele

7.16.1 *Sculptural Representations*

There is no textual evidence for Kybele's cultic presence on Aigina at any point in history. Archaeological evidence is limited to three (possibly four) statues of Kybele found on Aigina. Only one of them is possibly early enough to be relevant to my enquiry into the local Aiginetan pantheon. It is described as "Relief in poros stone (measurements unknown) from Aigina . . . Cybele sitting in a naiskos without attributes. On her lap lies a lion. Very small and primitive."[623] Lynn Roller dates this type of statuette to the second half of the 6th century BCE.[624] This singular find, however, is hard to take as an indication of a public cult. Since this relief is a small object that would travel easily, it could have been transported to Aigina on a number of occasions, possibly in periods later than that of its production.

The presence of two marble statues, under life-size, suggests that they could have been dedications. Iconography of the marble statues no. 525 and 526, as well as terracotta no. 527 (Aiginetan provenience uncertain) in Vermaseren's catalogue, suggests the dates in the 4th century BCE or later. It is possible that there was some small shrine of Kybele in Aigina-town, founded in the late 4th century or sometime in the Hellenistic period, or she may have shared a sanctuary with some other deity.

7.16.2 *Conclusions*

Even if Kybele was worshipped on Aigina, there is no evidence of a communal relevance of her cult. The sculptural examples, at best, represent expressions of individual religiosity, and it is impossible to surmise through them a social function of the deity in the local system of cults.

7.17 Pan

7.17.1 *A Single Datum*

The evidence for the presence of a cult of Pan on Aigina is an inscription that was found during the excavations at the Aphaia sanctuary in 1985:

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[623] Vermaseren 1982, no. 524, pl. CXVII top. Athens, NM Inv. 1873; Svoronos 1908–1937, 623, no. 279.

[624] Roller 1999, 133 n. 59.

IG IV² 1036. My knowledge of this piece comes from a personal communication of the late Fred Cooper who saw the inscribed block soon after it had been discovered and received explanations from the director of excavations Martha Ohly. A few days after March 27th, 1985, Cooper visited the site of Aphaia and was shown a poros block with a large well-cut inscription ΠΑΝΟΣ (see Fig. 19), found only a day or two before his visit. Martha Ohly told Cooper that the inscribed block had been found at the bottom of a trench or well by the south precinct wall near the *propylaia*.[625] Besides the kind communication I had received from Fred Cooper, I found that some information about the presence of Pan at Aphaia had also slipped into the publication of pottery fragments by Dyfri Williams: A9 and A45 in his catalogue of pottery from the second limestone temple were "found south of South Terrace wall in the neighborhood of the sanctuary of Pan."[626] In a recent archaeological guidebook, Hans Goette proposes that the cave "at the north-east edge of the plateau served as a sanctuary of Pan."[627]

7.17.2 *Function of the Inscription*

The inscribed block must either be a boundary marker of a shrine or a dedication to Pan. Although the Genitive case is found on dedications, as on pottery (e.g., *Artemidos*) meaning "possession, property of," it is less likely on a stone block, which is not in itself a considerable gift. A nicely cut block inscribed ΠΑΝΟΣ in large letters (0.035–0.04m) is more typical of a boundary marker. If that is the case, we may have to envision a shrine dedicated to Pan by the south precinct wall of the Aphaia sanctuary. If Pan was at some point worshipped on Aigina, at the site of Aphaia, one has to wonder why the inscription was found discarded, in the fill of the terrace wall that had supported the Late Archaic temple. This observation suggests that during the reconstruction of the Aphaia temple, or perhaps even earlier, the shrine of Pan was eliminated. If the shrine had ever existed, we have no means of telling when it had started and how long it lasted. Boundary markers are usually placed outside and are exposed to the elements. Our stone, in contrast, is beautifully preserved and shows hardly any signs of weathering. If the block was reused in the fill of the

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[625] *IG* IV² 1036 provides a different findspot on the opposite side of the sanctuary, near a 'cave' below the sanctuary of Aphaia: "ante murum gradus septentrionalem ad speculaeum sub Aphaeae delubro situm." My information is based on the personal communiation of Cooper.

[626] Williams 1987, 634, 644.

[627] Goette 2001, 342.

terrace supporting the last temple of Aphaia, which was built in the early decades of the 5th century, the shrine to Pan may have existed prior to that.

7.17.3 *Conclusions*

The single datum that we have for the worship of Pan on Aigina is tantalizingly real, and at the same time completely opaque with respect to revealing a possible social function of the cult.

7.18 Poseidon

7.18.1 *Overview: Textual Evidence*

When and in what way the Aiginetans worshipped Poseidon is not a simple question to answer. There are mythological accounts of Poseidon's struggle with Zeus for the possession of Aigina, but they cannot be taken as evidence for an early cult of Poseidon on the island. Although linked to Aigina, the stories conform to a traditional type, in which Poseidon appears as a contester with another deity for the possession of some piece of Hellenic land.[628] In Plutarch's version of the myth, the struggle took place on Aigina.[629] The logic of the 'ritualist' approach, expecting a ritual behind every myth, has long been found unsatisfactory. A series of *horos*-stones dated to the second half of the 5th century BCE (*IG* IV^2 798–801) found on Aigina and each referring to a *temenos apollonos poseidonos* in all likelihood refer to Attic, not Aiginetan deities.[630]

A more certain, but much later reference to Poseidon on Aigina is Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 44 (301E–F):

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[628] Poseidon strives against Athena in Attica, and against Apollo for Delos and Kalaureia.

[629] Harland (1925b, 47) with references to Pythainetos in Σ Pind., *I.* 8.92 (Orphika, fr. 255), Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, IX, 6, p. 741 (in *Moralia*, vol. 4, p. 372). Harland's view derives from his theory on the antiquity of Poseidon's worship. According to Harland, Poseidon was a deity of the Aegean (*Aigaion*) sea, which gave its name to many islands and coastal areas, including Aigina, and in many of these locations Poseidon was worshipped. It is then only too obvious for Harland that the myth of Poseidon's struggle against Zeus for the possession of Aigina reflects a historical supplanting of the prehistoric cult of Poseidon Aigaios by the later cult of Zeus. Since this myth is told about Aigina, it must follow, according to Harland, that there was a cult of Poseidon on Aigina at an early stage. Harland sees no difficulty in supporting his theory with much later evidence: "furthermore, the existence of a hieron of Poseidon in Aigina is attested by inscriptions (*IG* IV 33–36)."

[630] See Polinskaya 2009. Mylonopoulos (2003, 49–52) relies on earlier studies.

> ‘Τίνες ἐν Αἰγίνῃ οἱ μονοφάγοι;’ τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν στρατευσάντων Αἰγινητῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπώλοντο, πλείονες δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος. ὀλίγους οὖν τοὺς περιλειπομένους οἱ προσήκοντες ὑποδεξάμενοι, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους πολίτας ὁρῶντες ἐν πένθεσι καὶ λύπαις ὄντας, οὔτε χαίρειν ᾤοντο δεῖν φανερῶς οὔτε θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ κρύφα καὶ κατ’ οἰκίαν ἕκαστοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους ἀνελάμβανον ἑστιάσεσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις, αὐτοὶ διακονούμενοι πατράσι καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀλλοτρίου μηδενὸς παρεισιόντος. ταῦτ’ οὖν ἀπομιμούμενοι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἄγουσι τοὺς καλουμένους ‘θιάσους’, ἐν ᾗ καθ’ αὑτοὺς ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἑκκαίδεκα μετὰ σιωπῆς ἑστιῶνται, δοῦλος δ’ οὐ πάρεστιν· εἶτα ποιήσαντες Ἀφροδίσια διαλύουσι τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ‘μονοφάγοι’ καλοῦνται.
>
> Who are the *monophagoi* (solitary diners) on Aigina? Of the Aiginetans who fought at Troy, many died in battles; still more died due to a storm during the sea voyage. Relatives receiving those few that had remained and seeing other citizens in grief and sorrow thought that it was not proper either to rejoice openly or to sacrifice to the gods, but in secret and at home each received the survivors with meals and friendly greetings, serving themselves among fathers and kin, and brothers, and householders, with no stranger present. Therefore imitating that, they conduct a sacrifice to Poseidon, the so-called *thiasoi*, whereby they dine by themselves in silence for eleven days, and no slave attends them. Then, having conducted the Aphrodisia, they end the festival. On this account they are called “solitary diners.”

The aetion provided by Plutarch for the festival of “solitary diners” is intriguing, yet we have no evidence how much earlier before the time of Plutarch the festival may have been celebrated on Aigina. No other ancient source mentions a sanctuary or a festival of Poseidon on Aigina, and Plutarch does not call this feast Poseidonia. There are two possible explanations for the silence of our earlier sources on the worship of Poseidon. First is that it indicates the absence of a sanctuary and of a cult of Poseidon on Aigina in the period of our interest. Second is that it indicates the absence of a public sanctuary at any time in history (since even if it were a post-Classical, or even Roman introduction, then Pausanias would have been likely to note its presence). The silence of our sources about a public sanctuary does not necessarily mean the absence of a cult of Poseidon.

7.18.2 *Family Worship*

The aetion recorded by Plutarch suggests that *thiasoi* in honor of Poseidon were family celebrations. The emphasis on fathers and brothers who were participants of the feast in mythical times and whose actions the present ritual imitates makes it possible to suggest that perhaps this ritualized dining brought together in particular male members of extended families

(*syngeneis*) and also presumably male householders.[631] This conjecture makes the festival a celebration of patrilineal groups, conducted household by household. Death during the storm at sea was probably caused by Poseidon. The significance of eleven days is unclear.

Sacrifices for Poseidon that take place at home and the feasts that follow indicate a domestic cult of Poseidon, which is not unknown in the Greek world. A cult of Poseidon "of the house," Ποσειδῶν Δωματίτης is known from Sparta (Paus. 3.14.7). Incidentally, on Aigina, it is Apollo who bears the same title, Δωματίτης. Another peculiar fact is that a priestess of Ποσειδῶν Δωματίτης in Sparta was at the same time a priestess of Καρνειός Οἰκέτας identified with Apollo (*IG* V 497 = *C.I.G.* 1446). This fact, however, does not mean that in Sparta, Poseidon Domatites and Apollo Karneios Oiketas were somehow connected in cult: it was common, in Roman times, for prominent families to accumulate priestly offices.[632] On Aigina, my hypothesis of a possible cult of Poseidon rests on the assumption that it would have been a domestic, not public cult. If Poseidon's cult had this domestic character on Aigina in earlier times (even Archaic and Classical) it may not have left any traces in public settings.

Besides indicating the domestic character of the festival of the *monophagoi*, Plutarch mentions that the feast of Poseidon concluded with the Aphrodisia. In connection with this information, Pirenne-Delforge considers the passage in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13. 588e: Ἀρίστιππος δὲ κατ' ἔτος δύο μῆνας συνδιημέρευεν αὐτῇ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τοῖς Ποσειδωνίοις·. "Aristippus every year spent two months with her in Aigina, at the time of the Poseidonia." Pirenne-Delforge thinks that the festival mentioned is the one that took place on Aigina, and that courtesans had some role to play there, which may explain the connection with Aphrodisia that are said to have ended the feast of *monophagoi* for Poseidon. In other words, she suggests a connection between the Poseidonia and the Aphrodisia, the latter involving licentious behavior on the part of participants.[633] Pirenne-Delforge acknowledges that Plutarch's testimony is not enough to draw conclusions, but neither, we may add, is Athenaeus' (see discussion of

[631] Welter (1954, 43) envisioned a sanctuary with offering pits covered with omphalos-shaped lids (one of which was inscribed ΦΡΑ (*IG* IV^2 1003; Welter 1938c, 100, fig. 85) next to what he identified as a sanctuary of Apollo-Poseidon on Kolonna. Current excavators have uncovered further evidence of dining in the West Complex and South Hill of Kolonna: see excavation reports by Felten et al. from 2002 to 2011.

[632] See Hupfloher 2000, 130, and her section 4.4.

[633] Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 177.

the same evidence in 7.5.3). Since we do not know what the nature of the Aiginetan Aphrodisia was, it is doubly hazardous to project the same hypothetical role onto another cult.

7.18.3 *Poseidon's Sanctuary: On Aigina or at Kalaureia?*

Let us return to the issue of Poseidon's sanctuary on Aigina. Considering that Aigina was a prominent maritime power throughout its history and especially in the Archaic period, the apparent absence of a public sanctuary for Poseidon, a deity so often worshipped as a patron of maritime activities, is surprising. One reason for the absence of a public sanctuary to Poseidon on Aigina may lie in the fact that a different deity or deities took care of the maritime concerns of the locals. One such deity was Aphrodite, worshipped under the epithet Epilimenia. The epithet is known from an inscription, possibly a boundary marker of her precinct, and Pausanias tells about the location of her temple next to the harbour "where most ships anchor."[634] Another such deity may have been Aphaia. With Aphrodite and possibly Aphaia taking care of Aiginetan sailors, the absence of a Poseidon sanctuary on Aigina is still noteworthy in the regional context of the Saronic Gulf, which is dotted with important sanctuaries of Poseidon along its coasts. There were well-known sanctuaries of Poseidon at Sounion (east Saronic), Isthmia (northwest Saronic), and Kalaureia (southwest Saronic). Perhaps, however, Aiginetan involvement in one of these sanctuaries, namely Kalaureia, could explain the puzzling absence of Poseidon's sanctuary on Aigina.

Strabo (8. 374) tells us that "around this hieron [of Poseidon at Kalaureia—*IP*] was an amphictyony of seven cities which took part in the sacrifice. They were Hermione, Epidauros, Aigina, Athens, Prasiai, Nauplia, Minyan Orchomenos; the Argives contributed through the Nauplians, and the Spartans through the Prasians." This information is supported by a fragmentary inscription dated to the 3rd century BCE (*IG* IV 842): the word *amphiktyony* is securely restored in line 9: Ἀμφικτ[ύοσι. Kalaureia is an island at the south end of the Saronic Gulf, southwest of Aigina, and immediately off the coast of Troizen. In the Classical period, the island was part of the Troizenian territory.[635] The dating of the cult of Poseidon and of the amphictyony there is very difficult: the Archaic sanctuary is located atop the remains of the Bronze Age period, which gave

634 *IG* IV^2 1005; Paus. 2.29.6.
635 Paus. 2.33.1; Welter 1941, 7, 10–11.

rise to the dating in that period.[636] Some of the small finds from the site are dated to the Geometric period, hence the predominant opinion that cultic activity at the site started in the 8th century BCE. Until recently, the earliest evidence for monumental construction at the site of the sanctuary dated to the second half of the 6th century BCE,[637] but in the 2003 excavation season, the Swedish team unearthed part of a structure with sealed deposits of Geometric pottery adjacent to the wall of this structure. Thus, for the first time, we have secure evidence that already in the 8th century BCE votive dedications were made at a built-up shrine at Kalaureia.[638]

Strabo's information has no indication of the date for the creation of the amphictyony, so two possibilities have to be entertained: that either a local cult, perhaps initiated by the Troizenians, later became a center of the regional amphictyony, or that the cult was from the start a foundation of a newly shaped amphictyony. Membership in an amphictyony presumes a form of political interaction at state level, thus participation in the Kalaureian sacrifice would have involved Aiginetans as a political community. The difference between the feasts of "solitary diners" on Aigina (if ever they were Archaic or Classical) and Aiginetan participation in the Kalaureian sacrifice, therefore, would be the difference between the domestic and public worship of Poseidon. Because Aiginetans presumably sacrificed to Poseidon at Kalaureia on behalf of the entire community, and also due to the territorial proximity between Aigina and Kalaureia, we may view Poseidon Kalaureios as one of the Aiginetan deities.

What was the character of Poseidon at Kalaureia is yet another question without answer. Schumacher identifies the function of the Kalaureian sanctuary as that of an asylon,[639] but that tells us nothing about the social character of the deity. Many sanctuaries dedicated to different deities had the status of asylia. The Swedish excavators at Kalaureia favor the notion of a deity realted to seismic activity,[640] but the current evidence is not conclusive. The character of the Kalaureain Poseidon is thus unclear: the

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[636] Harland (1925b, 103–104): Late Helladic (1400–1100 BCE) as terminus post quem; Hägg 2003; Kelly (1966, 117), collecting all the pertinent bibliography on the dating of the amphictyony, argues for the terminus ante quem ca. 680 BCE; Welter (1941, 45): beginning of the 8th century BCE. See also Figueira 1981, 185–88, 219–20.

[637] Wide and Kjelberg 1895, 271.

[638] Wells et al. 2005. The excavators at Kalaureia are also inclined to favor the notion that Poseidon was the deity worshipped at Kalaureia from the early Archaic period, if not earlier, from the Early Iron Age (Wells et al. 2004, 79; Wells 2003). See further excavation reports: Pentinnen et al. 2009; Wells et al. 2008.

[639] Schumacher 1993.

[640] Wells et al. 2003, 79.

epigraphic sources shed no light on the function of cult, and the textual sources consist in Strabo's testimony alone.

7.18.4 *Conclusions*

On Aigina, Poseidon may have been worshipped in a domestic cult, in which the prohibition on speech and on the presence of slaves at the feasts of the *monophagoi* may reflect the perception of a dangerous aspect of the deity that had to be appeased (as always in the case of prohibitions). At the same time, participation emphasized male family members, perhaps indicating a focus on the generational perpetuity of the oikos, of patrilineal kinship groups. The somber nature of the feast resembles a feast of mourning, which is corroborated by the aetion: the feasts of celebration for some were the days of mourning for others. Although the aetion suggests sensitivity to the feelings of others as a reason for private, silent feasts, it rather appears as an apotropaic device aimed at deflecting potential dangers somehow associated with the power of Poseidon.

A different Poseidon was worshipped by the Aiginetans at Kaleureia where they were members in the Kalaureian amphictyony, although the social role of Poseidon there cannot be ascertained with precision. Perhaps, the amphictyony was primarily a political rather than a religious association, formed as a counter-weight to the Isthmian cult of Poseidon, and hence in opposition to Corinth and her control of the Isthmus (see further discussion in 10.4).

7.19 Thebasimakhos

7.19.1 *Evidence*

A hexagônal pillar, cut out of poros, the Aiginetan variety of limestone, was discovered on Aigina in the early 20th century, bearing an inscription (*IG* IV^2 754): Θε̂βαϙ̣ι̣μαχộι̣ |Θαλε̂ς | με αν[εθε]ϰεν (see Fig. 20). Hallof dates it to the 6th century BCE.

Jeffery's date for this dedication is 550–525? BCE.[641] The verb αν[εθε]ϰεν unambiguously defines this inscription as a dedication. What is being dedicated is not entirely clear, however: usually such dedications appear on statue bases or other objects that serve as a gift to a deity. The entry

[641] *LSAG*, 112, no. 5, pl. 16.

in *IG* IV² 754 describes a hole at the top of the *cippus* suggesting it could have accommodated a crowning element, and lists the inscription among dedications.

The use of the verb αν[εθε]χ̣εν also strongly suggests that Thebasimakhos, who is the recipient, must be a cultic figure. The name is descriptive: someone "who fights against (or together with?) the Thebans." Such a name brings to mind the Seven against Thebes, and the Epigonoi. Aigina had mythological and historical connections both with Argos and Thebes. According to some traditions, Aigina was populated in historical times by Dorians of Argive derivation (Pindar Σ *O*.8.39b, Paus. 2.29/5, Strabo 8.8.16).[642] According to another mythological strand, Aigina and Theba were sisters, and the two communities considered each other *syngeneis* (Hdt. 5.80–81). At the same time, no Aiginetan myth mentions an Aiginetan involvement in the mythical struggle between Argos and Thebes. A Thebasimakhos is also not attested anywhere else in the Greek world. It is not difficult to envision a hero of this name, but why it should be an anonymous, generic Thebasimakhos, as opposed to any one of the named and known Seven or of the Epigonoi is unclear: we may conjecture that a dedication was meant in the plural (*Thebasimakhois*), and the final sigma was omitted by accident. Some alternative otherwise unattested epichoric tradition cannot be ruled out.

7.19.2 *Conclusions*

Although a hero Thebasimakhos is a possibility among the divine figures worshipped on Aigina in the Archaic period, the dedicatory inscription we have does not allow us to learn anything specific about his possible social function.

7.20 Zeus Hellanios

7.20.1 *Overview*

The worship of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods is firmly established by the textual, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. Each type of evidence is informative of the deity's social roles, as the following analysis will show. I begin with the discussion of textual

642 Alternatively, it was the Epidaurians who came to settle on Aigina (Hdt. 8.46.1).

evidence. The 'Zeus-saga' on Aigina consists of the following episodes: Zeus' abduction of Aigina from Asopos, conception of Aiakos on the island Oinona/Aigina, creation of Myrmidons as a subject population for Aiakos, marriage of Thetis to Aiakos' son Peleus, Zeus' response to Aiakos' plea for the termination of drought.[643] The sequence of stories, thus comprising a particular local saga, is a product of mythographic tradition and does not indicate the time period, in which each episode was created and circulated. Our purpose is to identify the stories that shed some light on the social functions of Zeus on Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods. Of these stories, the two main ones are about: (1) Zeus' union with Aigina on the island, and the siring of Aiakos;[644] (2) Zeus' gift of rain in response to Aiakos' plea at a time of drought (see further this chapter).

7.20.2 *Mythical Personae: Zeus the Rain-Giver and Zeus the Father*

In all accounts of the story of the drought, of which Pausanias is the fullest (see Appendix 5), the main elements of the plot are the same: (a) there was a drought in Greece (Paus. 2.29: beyond Isthmus and in the Peloponnesus); (b) the Delphic oracle (Pausanias says "Pythia") advised the envoys of the afflicted Greeks to propitiate Zeus through the agency of Aiakos; (c) Aiakos prayed (Pausanias adds "sacrificed") to Zeus on the Oros on Aigina; (d) Zeus heeded his plea and sent rain; (e) Aiakos established a sanctuary of Zeus at the site of his supplication.

It is notable that this myth is not directly recited in Pindar's extant corpus of poems for the Aiginetans. Instead, we find oblique references, such as to the altar of "Father Hellanios" in *Nemean* 5.10–12 (dated to 483 BCE):[645]

> πὰρ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου (10)
> στάντες, πίτναν τ' ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἁμᾶ
> Ἐνδαΐδος ἀριγνῶτες υἱοί
> καὶ βία Φώκου κρέοντος.
>
> Standing by the altar of the Father Hellanios, they stretched out their hands to heaven, together the famous sons of Endais and the 'might of the lord Phokos.'

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643 Zunker 1988, 58.

644 205 MW *Cat. of Women*; Bacch. 13, Pind. *N.* 7.50, *N.* 8.6–8, *I.* 8.16–21, *Pa.* 6.134–140; Zunker 1988, 58–59.

645 Nisetich 1980, 250–51.

This reference constitutes the earliest textual testimony for the existence of a cult on Aigina in addition to the evidence of *Paean* 6.

The myth of the drought is also recollected in the scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 5.17b (see full text and translation in Appendix 5), which reports a difference of opinions about the cause of the calamity: 3rd–2nd cent. BCE): φασὶ γὰρ αὐχμοῦ ποτε πιέζοντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔνιοι δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ. The fact that the scholiast knows of the versions, in which the affliction was different, not a drought, but a flood, suggests that the purpose of the aetion was not to explain the nature of the affliction, but the origin of Zeus' epithet "Hellanios" and to emphasize the scope of the trouble—Greece as a whole—as well as the result, Greece's salvation: τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωτηρίαν. If in some versions of the myth, a flood and not a drought was the affliction, it is likely that the solution was not the sending, but the stopping of rain. In that case, Zeus would still have been the relevant authority to appeal to: he who dispenses rain is able to stop it. Both versions of the story ultimately articulate Zeus's dual role as the master of rainfall, and the savior of Greece (see also the chapter on Aiakos, 7.2.9).

The myth was known not only on Aigina, but regionally (in the area of the Saronic Gulf) and perhaps even farther away, at least as early as the Classical period, of which one testimony is Isocrates 9 (*Evagoras*), 14–15 (full translation in Appendix 5):[646]

> Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰακὸς ὁ Διὸς μὲν ἔκγονος, τοῦ δὲ γένους τοῦ Τευκριδῶν πρόγονος, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ὥστε γενομένων αὐχμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθαρέντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἦλθον οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν, νομίζοντες διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐκείνου τάχιστ' ἂν εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν. Σωθέντες δὲ καὶ τυχόντες ἁπάντων ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατεστήσαντο κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων,[647] οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν εὐχήν.

There is also a reference to a Zeus Hellanios in Aristophanes *Equites* 1253, but whether it is a reference to the Aiginetan cult is not certain. Yet this reference prompts a recollection of the same Aiginetan myth in the scholia (see Appendix 5 for full text and translation). The same myth is also

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[646] Lived between 437–338 BC, date of composition: 370–365 BCE. Evagoras, who was the king of the Cyprian kingdom of Salamis, and in whose honor the oration—eulogy is written, was murdered in 374 BCE. It was written on the occasion of a festival held by Evagoras' son Nicocles in memory of his father.

[647] This designation of the sanctuary of the Aiginetan Zeus as κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων is important to note. Such status is ascribed in epigraphic sources only to Delphi.

recounted by Diodorus Sicilus 4.61.1–3 and Clement of Alexandria Stromata 6.3.28–29 (see Appendix 5). Finally, Pausanias 2.29.7–8 gives a full account of the myth (see Appendix 5). Even in his time, the middle of the 2nd century CE, the myth is alive on Aigina: Pausanias comments that the aetion for the cult, as represented by the Aiginetans of his time, is the same as the one reported by others, that is, by non-Aiginetans (αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν). He reports the story in connection with a relief on the gates of the Aiakeion:

> ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες·
> . . . τῶν δὲ ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Αἰγινῆται.
>
> Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks once sent to Aiakos . . . and the Aiginetans made these images of those who came to him.

All the versions of this story, from the Classical period onwards, portray Zeus as the power in charge of rain. The aetiology of cult, highlighting the calamity as either drought or flood, clearly points to the function of Zeus Hellanios as rain-god, and other textual, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence confirms that this was one of his roles. Theophrastus (380–288 BCE), who lived in Athens for many years and certainly knew the surrounding region well, selects as an example for his general thesis on rain forecasts the case that must have had regional significance (περὶ σημείων 1.24): καὶ ἐάν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ [καὶ] ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς Ἑλλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται. "And whenever a cloud sits on [the summit of] Zeus Hellanios, then, in most cases, it rains." Theophrastus refers to the peak of the Oros on Aigina as simply "Zeus Hellanios." This is also how the present day Aiginetans refer to it; those living in the foothills of the Oros might call it Profitis Elias after the chapel that now crowns the height, but those from other parts of Aigina would not, since there are several chapels of Profitis Elias on the island, while there is only one peak "Ellaniou Dios".[648]

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[648] Contemporary Aiginetans tell a similar story about salvation from drought attributed to the agency of the prophet Elijah who had prayed to God for rain on the peak of the Oros and was then honored with a chapel there: Faraklas 1980, 75 n. 5.

7.20.3 *The Sanctuary and Social Roles*

The location of the sanctuary of Zeus on Aigina is suggestive of a nature-god. Scholars have thought for a long time that the site of the sanctuary of Zeus was on the northern slope of the Oros (see Maps 7, 8, and Fig. 21),[649] but the finding of three fragments of an archaic marble altar[650] (none are published, two are now missing), fragments of Archaic roof-tiles of the Corinthian type, and potsherds of Corinthian and Black Glaze pottery on the summit of the Oros (I personally saw both types of shards on the site) strongly suggest that there was at least an altar, and possibly a small naiskos (judging by the presence of roof-tiles) at the summit of the Oros, at least as early as the Archaic period.[651] Oros is a steeply rising peak, especially on its northern and eastern sides, but there is a small level area at the top, nowadays supporting the chapel of Profitis Ilias. The foundation blocks, which support this chapel (see Fig. 23), are likely the remains of an ancient terrace that must have born a roofed structure. This cult of Zeus is certainly a mountaintop cult, and there are numerous parallels to our case in the use of mountaintops for the worship of Zeus the Rain-giver.[652]

The altar and naiskos at the summit and the sacred area down on the northern slope of the Oros are presumably parts of a single sanctuary of Zeus. A pathway must have connected the two sites, and may have been marked with special piles of rocks (in a manner similar to that used by modern shepherds in Greece and on the Oros, in particular). An Archaic/Classical? inscription (*IG* IV² 1058), roughly cut in large letters on a

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649 Until the discovery of *IG* IV² 1038, which firmly established the true identity of the sanctuary of Aphaia, and until the discovery of *IG* IV² 1056 at the site of the Oros, Aphaia's sanctuary had been identified as that of Zeus: Cockerell 1860.

650 One small marble piece is still on the Oros. I would like to thank Professors Frederick Cooper and John Camp for informing me about the existence of this fragment. F. Cooper made a drawing of the molded profile of the altar during his visit of the site in 1985, and J. Camp made a photograph of the same on his own visit (see Fig. 22). I thank him for allowing me to publish his photo. Goette (*AR* 47, 19) identifies the altar as of Cycladic type, and its marble as Parian.

651 Harland 1925b, 83: "Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote to me that a roof tile with several letters of the god's name had been found on this site." Goette (*AR* 47, 19) interprets fragments of poros stone found at the summit as indicating that the naiskos was made of that material. As recent excavations at the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia have shown, the remains at the site of the ash altar suggest ritual activity going back to the Bronze Age. A similar scenario is possible, but not yet substantiated at the Oros. Cf. Bintliff 1977, 152: "on the major peak of the isle, 'Oros,' a large Mycenaean site might represent a temple complex, its excavation revealing numerous house remains, rich metal material (including gold) and a substantial wall (for the 'temenos'?)."

652 For a list of peak shrines dedicated to Zeus, see Cook 1925, 869–889, and Langdon 1976.

boulder was reported from the northern slope of the Oros, somewhere between the summit and the lower part of the sanctuary. In the edition of *IG* IV^2 1058, it reads: μὲ ἐκ τᾶς *h*οδô | λ*h*αβὸν λίθον | στάσες σκοπὸν ἀλ -?- . | *vacat*. The text appears to be incomplete, but gives a warning against the removal of stones marking a path, which is rather poignant in this rugged landscape where even today it is hard to trace with a naked eye a path winding up from the foot to the top of the Oros.[653]

The lower part of the sanctuary of Zeus on the Oros was presumably the setting for the distribution and consumption of sacrificial meat, as is testified by the presence of numerous animal bones with traces of cuttings.[654] In addition, the function of two large (approximately 2m × 1m) rectangular andesite blocks located in the center of the grounds (next to the south wall of the modern chapel of the Taxiarchi) may have had something to do with the serving or preparation of meat. A smaller, but still very substantial block, also found at the site, was shaped into a more distinct table: one surface leveled and planed with a slightly raised border running on three sides and bearing a votive inscription to Koliadai (see 7.15). At the foot of a rocky outcropping on the East side of the area, a Π-shaped stoa was constructed in the post-Classical period and expanded during Attalid rule on Aigina (210–41 BCE) (see Fig. 24 and Map 8).[655] The stoa with its courtyard would have served as a shelter from the elements for attendants of the festival. We must take the indications of recent investigations on the site with caution because their extent was small and the sample of datable artifacts also very limited. The extent of the Archaic construction is only suggested, but not established beyond doubt.[656] The sanctuary on the northern slope of the Oros was created by means of erecting a retaining wall on the northern side and packing the gap with soil and rubble to establish a level area (see Fig. 25). One trench laid along the northern side of the western section of the terrace wall, made of polygonal masonry

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653 The division of a sanctuary into two zones at different elevations is paralleled at the sanctuary of Zeus at Mt. Lykaion: ash altar at 1400m and subsidiary structures, including a hippodrome, 200m below.

654 According to H. R. Goette who published a brief report of his excavations: *AR* 45, 20 (1998–99).

655 Welter 1938a, 91–92, 1938b, 8–16; Goette (*AR* 45 (1998–99), 18–20), and Goette 2001.

656 *AR* 44 (1998), 45 (1999), 121 (2001). Kowalzig (2007, 205) gives imprecise descriptions when she says that "archaic predecessors" of "both building and terrace" are "clearly visible under surviving Hellenistic structures. Sixth-century architectural remains are scattered along the slope." It is not clear what her evidence for "great numbers of mainly archaic drinking vessels" is, and she also seems to speak of only one building, the hestiatorion, for which bone finds provide identification.

(see Fig. 26), revealed fragments of Archaic pottery and was dated by Hans Goette to the 6th century BCE. Another trench cut through the ramp to the bedrock also revealed fragments of Archaic, specifically Corinthian, pottery "in the lower undisturbed strata."[657]

Already Welter's drawings show an Archaic wall running east-west through the center of the Hellenistic stoa, now partly overlaid by a Byzantine wall forming the *temenos* of the church and turning south to form an enclosure oriented north-south, also indicated by Welter as Archaic and confirmed to be of that date by Goette who cut three diagnostic trenches at the foundations. A Doric capital made of poros is thought to come from the superstructure of this archaic building whose foundations are made of andesite. Goette speculates the function of the building as a dining hall, and thinks that this Archaic building was removed in the Hellenistic period and a stoa was instead built to the east of this presumed hestiatorion. Goette provides no information about the findings of either pottery or bones that could confirm the function of the building. Numerous bones, some charred and with signs of cutting, as well as findings of charcoal were indentified, however, in the fill of the lower terrace suggesting that the area in general was used for dining, although Goette does not report that any special analysis was conducted to determine the age of the remains, or the nature of victims. If, as Goette suggests, the Archaic building was replaced with the Hellenistic stoa, we should presume that the stoa took over the function of the Hestiatorion, or that dining was done in the open. Welter did not think that the stoa served as a hestiatorion, but was only a hostel for pilgrims, but this is perhaps because he believed it was a four-isled fully roofed structure with a central colonnade, whereas Goette's excavation has shown it to be a regular Π-shaped stoa, presumably with an open courtyard.[658] Still, even if we cannot be sure about the function of individual structures inside the sanctuary, we can be sure that the feasting associated with the cult of Zeus Hellanios took place in this section of the sanctuary rather than at the summit.

Whether the sanctuary always consisted of two parts, at the summit and at the northern foot of the Oros, is difficult to say. The material objects at the summit date earlier (Geometric period) than at the festival grounds (Archaic) and, on the surface of it, suggest two stages in the development

[657] *AR* 45 (1999), 20: the lowest layers also revealed prehistoric shards.
[658] Welter 1938a, 13–14; Goette, *AR* 45 (1998–99), 18–19.

of the cultic complex on the Oros, with the initial focus on the mountaintop and a later addition of the festival grounds on the northern slope.[659] A more thorough excavation, however, could either confirm or alter this impression.

Up the slope, south of the walled area of the festival grounds one finds two built-up water reservoirs—they are formed in a depression, or cleft, in the andesite bedrock and are built up with courses of masonry—small rectangular, brick-shaped stones (see Figs. 17, 18). Goette's investigations in the summer of 2000, when the water in the cisterns had completely dried out, allowed him to probe the bottom of the cisterns and discover, "at a great depth and at the very edges, close to the masonry lining," shards from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. This evidence is suggestive, but not conclusive, as the shards cannot be said to come from sealed deposits.

Reservoirs collect seasonal rainwater and are used today by local shepherds and goatherds to water their flocks. They certainly served this purpose for many centuries, perhaps since classical or prehistoric antiquity, but they may have been reserved as sacred sources of water in antiquity when the sanctuary of Zeus was still in operation. Sanctuaries need water for ritual purposes, and in the mountainous landscape of central-south Aigina, these natural water reservoirs are the only sources of water during the dry season. In addition, all seasonal streams and springs are much further down the slopes of the Oros. Water from these cisterns was certainly used for festivals' needs.

The presence of cisterns needs not, in itself, suggest any ritual associated with Zeus' function as rain-giver, although in other places, such as the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia, a nearby spring and pool of water served for sympathetic rites for inducing rainfall.[660] Another piece of evidence, however, might have something to do with the rain-function of Zeus. At the bottom of one of these cisterns, the bigger one that is closer to the festival grounds, during the partial excavations of the 1905 season (when the cistern was almost completely dry at the end of that summer),

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[659] Welter seems to have been thinking along the same lines, cf. Welter 1938a, 14.

[660] Cf. the pool of water used in some kind of sympathetic rite, reported by Pausanias to have been practiced by the priests of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia. In case of droughts, the priest of Zeus Lykaios would go to a spring called Hagno on Mt. Lykaios and "after praying towards the water and making the usual sacrifices, lowers an oak branch to the surface of the spring, not letting it sink deep. When the water has been stirred up there rises a vapour, like mist; after a time the mist becomes cloud, gathers to itself other clouds, and makes rain fall on the land of the Arcadians" (Paus. 8.38.3, trans. by W. H. S. Jones).

Ludwig Curtius found a beautifully preserved bronze hydria, now in the Piraeus Museum, with a dedication to Zeus Hellanios:[661]

> Πλάθων Ἐκεσθένης ἀνέθεν
> *h*υιοὶ Προκλέους *h*Ελλανίῳ Διί
>
> Plathon [and] Ekesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated to Hellanios Zeus.

The hydria and the dedication are dated to 470 BCE.[662] We have no way of telling whether this hydria was purposefully thrown into the cistern or fell in accidentally. Even if it was thrown there intentionally, we can only guess about the significance of such placement,[663] but the type of the vessel, hydria, a water-jug, might be significant. Another water-related structure on the island was brought into connection with the cult of Zeus: Thiersch promised, but never carried out his promise to develop an idea that the head-station of an Archaic Wasserleitung (aqueduct) on Aigina was connected to the cult of Zeus, the rain-giver.[664] This idea may have been nothing more than a fanciful theory, however, because all other evidence points to the origin of the aqueduct in the area of Kontos, about 2km southeast of Aigina-town (see Appendix 2). The rest of the votive material from the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios, excavated by Welter, remains unpublished, presumably stored at the Piraeus museum, and only a bronze statuette at the Princeton Art Museum, said to have come from Aigina and identified as "Zeus hurling a thunderbolt,"[665] might be a glimpse of the objects associated with the cult of Hellanios.

While the function as rain-god is apparent, it was not the only function of Zeus Hellanios. Another prominent role was genealogical. On Aigina, Zeus is a "Father"-figure. He is the ancestor of all Aiginetans, through Aiakos, who was the first king and ruler of the island. This role of Zeus is emphasized in the Aiginetan myths, but can be also heard from the Athenian side of the Gulf (Isocrates, *Evagoras*). We find a strong emphasis on this role of Zeus in Pindar's Aiginetan odes and Paeans. The union of Zeus and the nymph Aigina, the siring of Aiakos and the continuous favor displayed by Zeus towards Aiakos are Leitmotifs in Pindar's Aiginetan

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661 Curtius 1950, 264, *IG* IV² 1056 = *SEG* XI 7; *SEG* XXIX 294; Gallavotti 1979, 101.
662 Harland 1925a; Robinson 1942, 180; *IG* IV² 1056: 480–460 BCE.
663 Diehl 1964, 31.174.218 B 108.
664 Thiersch 1928, 164–5.
665 Walter-Karydi 1982, 84, no. 61: "H. 15,1 cm. Es fehlen die Hände und der Unterteil des leicht verbogenen rechten Beines. Am Haupt ein Reif, Hinterhaar aufgerollt. Princeton Art Mus. Acc. No. 37.343, aus Aigina. Taf. 44.45".

odes (see 7.2 for further details). Zeus' role as Father, for example, *Nemean* 5.10 is so prominent in the Aiginetan odes that it must be seen as a reflection of an ideological stance, in the sense that the parentage of Zeus was central to Aiginetan identity,[666] and it is reasonable to expect that this role would have had a cultic expression. When Pindar prays to Zeus for a continuous prosperity of athletes, their families, and the island of Aigina (*P.* 8.103–105; *O.* 8.84–88; *N.* 3.62–63), he does not address Zeus as the rain-god, but as the Father and patron of Aiginetans, strongly indicating a specific social function.

Unfortunately, neither the reports, nor the finds from the excavations on the Oros conducted by Curtius and later by Welter were ever published. Therefore, I was not able to analyze the material objects as possible indicators of the social functions of cult. We are thus limited to the consideration of the evidence still on the ground. For instance, if we compare the cultic establishment for Zeus Hellanios with other peak or mountaintop shrines, especially those for Zeus the rain-giver, we will see that it is on a much larger scale. All the Attic mountaintop shrines of Zeus consist of altars, often with numerous votive deposits, but nothing similar to the built-up terrace with a staircase ramp supporting festival grounds and a hestiatorion as we find on the northern slope of the Oros. This impressive arrangement, to my mind, testifies to the civic role of Zeus' cult on Aigina, to his status of Zeus the Father, and not only to his role as rain-god.[667]

Two more material objects, still present at the site of the festival grounds, corroborate the civic centrality of the cult. They are statue bases made of local andesite, one free-standing, another reused in the construction of the church at the site of the sanctuary. The former was found sometime in the first half of the 19th century, lying by the ruined church of St. Michael (τοῦ ἁγίου ἀσωμάτου), the present day church of the Taxiarchi. This is an inscribed circular pillar (1.52m in height) made of locally quarried andesite (see Fig. 27), the same stone as was used in the construction of the ramp and the terraces.[668] The use of local stone suggests that the pillar

[666] Cf. Walter-Karydi 2006.

[667] Comparable again is the status of Zeus Lykaios, primarily, and perhaps in origin, a rain-god, but also a pan-Arkadian patron, and hence central to the articulation of Arkadian civic identity.

[668] The eastern side of the festival ground is formed by a wall of trachyte bedrock which was continuously quarried in antiquity to provide construction material, at the same time making level space for the festival grounds; quarry marks are still visible on the rock surfaces all around.

was probably worked and inscribed also at the site. The statue, however, may have been produced elsewhere.

The inscription reads:[669]

> Ὅς τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε,
> Φιλόστρατός ἐστ' ὄνυμ' αὐτôι
> πατρὶ δὲ τôι τένο Δαμο-
> φόον ὄνυμα.
>
> He who set up this image,
> his name is Philostratos
> and his father's
> name is Damophoon.

Philostratos was presumably an Aiginetan, although the script and dialect of the inscription with more certainty testify to the origin of the stone-craver than the dedicant, unless they are the same.

A rectangular shallow cutting on the top of the pillar would be suitable for a wooden or a marble statue. We cannot determine what or whom the *agalma* represented. Even not knowing the identity of the image, we can deduce some insights from the presence of votive bases. Dedication of a statue in a sanctuary was a common Greek practice, directed both at the divine and human audiences, being an act of worship and a vehicle for the dedicant's social ambitions at the same time. It was always a matter of effort and cost to produce and install a statue. The center of political life on Aigina must have been Aigina-town, at the northwestern tip of the island. Considering that the sanctuary of Zeus on the Oros was significantly remote from the main citadel of Aigina,[670] the dedication reveals an expectation on the part of the dedicant that his conspicuous display will pay back in some form: it is likely that the festival of the god attracted significant numbers among the local population. Public display of personal dedications is most effective in places of civic importance where the act of dedication adds to the honor of the dedicant.

Is it possible to deduce a specific social role of Zeus from this type of dedication? Dedications to Zeus, the rain-giver, at his other shrines usually consist of smaller objects.[671] A statue on a tall base and the metric

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669 *IG* IV² 1055, *CEG* I.349, *LSAG*² s.v. Aigina, no. 15, c. 480–470? BCE.

670 It is situated in the southern part of the island, which due to its geology has little arable land and would not have been as densely populated as the northern part, an inference supported by the settlement pattern today.

671 Langdon (1976, 51–78 and 100–112) for the sanctuary of Zeus on Hymettos, and for other mountaintop sites.

form of the text[672] better suit Zeus the Father, the civic patron of Aiginetans. At the same time, the commemoration of drought and Aiakos' supplication to Zeus depicted on the reliefs of the Aiakeion was a public statement,[673] while the dedication of Philostratos, son of Damophoon, was apparently personal. Droughts are by definition communal calamities, the supplication and gratitude for the amelioration of which are likely to take public forms,[674] whereas an act of addressing Zeus the Father can be equally pertinent as personal or public. Therefore as a personal dedication, the statue put up by Philostratos was most likely meant to please Zeus the Father rather than Zeus the Rain-giver.

There is a second statue base at the site. This one has been reused in the construction of the late Byzantine church of the Taxiarchi and is now built into its northern wall (see Fig. 28).[675] This is a rectangular block with only one side exposed. In this surface, there are two deep sockets, such as would be used to anchor a bronze statue. Incidentally, the dimensions of this block match the dimensions of a rectangular depression in a huge pavement block placed tight against the foundation course of the terrace wall, west of the ramp.[676] Perhaps it is necessary to mention that we cannot entertain the possibility that either of the statues was a cult statue as opposed to a votive statue,[677] for we assume that there was no temple building at the festival grounds. If it is true that our second statue base originally rested on a block in front of the external wall of the terrace, at the northern approach to the site, we have to imagine that the visibility factor would not have been the last consideration here, as the image would have stood out against the dark background of the terrace wall, in view of all visitors approaching the site from the north. In sum, we have at least two statues dedicated and placed in the sanctuary of Zeus, one

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672 *CEG* I.349.

673 It was more of a testament to the prestige and reputation of Aiakos: so that [all] Greeks recognized him as the only person capable of moving Zeus to action.

674 In the case of the Aiakeion reliefs, of course, we do not have a commemoration of some historical drought and salvation, but an illustration of a myth. The latter glorifies Aiakos' role in supplicating Zeus, the close relationship between Zeus and Aiakos, and hence it celebrates the patronage of Aiginetans by two divinities upon whom the wellbeing of other Greeks (the suppliants from afflicted communities were wrought on the gates of the Aiakeion) ultimately depends.

675 The possibility of its removal is slim and depends on the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities, which has so far not been granted. We are therefore unable to check the other sides of the block for a possible dedicatory inscription.

676 H. Goette suggested to me in personal communication that that was the original setting of the statue.

677 Such distinctions have been traditionally made, but are now called into question.

of marble or wood, another of bronze. Presentation and public display of votive statues underscores the civic importance of the cult.[678]

The diachronic development of the sanctuary adds weight to the argument that the presence of statues should be attributed to the social role of Zeus as the patron-deity of the Aiginetans, rather to his role as rain-giver. In chapter 9.2.1, I look into the history of the cult in more detail, while here it is enough to point out that the architectural remains that are still visible at the site, including the ramp and the terraces, were constructed in the second half of the 6th century BCE. Even if there had been an earlier architectural phase,[679] something prompted Aiginetans to undertake a new construction project here specifically in the late 6th century. We should view this construction project in connection with the building projects at other major cultic sites on the island, which took place at about the same time (see further discussion in 9.2).

7.20.4 *Aiginetan Zeus at Naukratis*

In the role of Father and patron, Zeus represented Aiginetan interests and Aiginetans themselves. Such representation is usually required not so much at home, as on the international arena where members of one social group come into contact with other idiosyncratic groups and have to identify themselves as a coherent and distinct community. In ancient Greece, the prominence of some deity in a particular territory often became that territory's hallmark (Apollo for Delphi; Artemis for Ephesos, etc.), and via geographic association came to serve as a token of local identity for the inhabitants of the area. Sometimes, however, more than one deity could serve as such a hallmark. We have indicative if complicated evidence that Zeus was one of a group of such divinities on Aigina who came to represent Aiginetans outside of Aigina. The international context was Naukratis, where Aiginetans were engaged in trading activity at least as early as the mid-6th century BCE, but perhaps even in the late 7th century. These

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[678] A distinction between "cult" and "votive" statues is not always helpful or well-grounded. It is particularly important to keep this in mind, since (as we know from our ancient sources) it was not uncommon to set up statues of deities on mountaintops (e.g., statue of Zeus on Mt. Anchesmos in Attica, Paus. 1.32.2; or, statues of Zeus and Hera on Mt. Arachnaion, Paus. 2.25.10, etc.) For a fairly complete list, see Langdon 1976, 100–112.

[679] Goette, AR *45* (1998–99), 20: "the few small poros fragments that came to light also in the lowest fills of the Archaic foundations of the stepped ramp must be interpreted as indications that some architecture had already existed here before the large, impressive terrace complex with its Doric festival building was erected."

dates are suggested by the pottery found at the site.[680] Boardman thinks that "it is likely that most or all of these states [*known to have been present at Naukratis from our textual sources*—I.P.] were active in Naukratis from the early days of its Greek history."

Herodotus 2.178–179 is our main and only source for the role of Zeus as patron-deity of the Aiginetans in Naukratis. To understand the full impact of this testimony we need to study its context, hence a lengthy quote:

> Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐνοικέειν, αὐτόσε δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. Τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε πόλιές εἰσι αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ· Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη.
>
> Amasis liked the Greeks and granted them a number of privileges, of which the chief was the gift of Naucratis as a commercial headquarters for any who wished to settle in the country. He also made grants of land upon which Greek traders, who did not want to live permanently in Egypt, might erect altars and temples. Of these latter the best known and most used—and also the largest—is the Hellenion; it was built by the joint efforts of the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. (Trans. A. de Sélincourt)

The next passage is of particular importance to us, because here Herodotus draws a distinction between the group of cities that together founded the Hellenion, and the other cities that did not participate in the Hellenion.

> Τουτέων μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιές εἰσι αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. Χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν ἱδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης, καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου·

"This *temenos* is of those cities, and they are the ones who provide administrators of the emporion." The next sentence is ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. This sentence, simple though it seems, is quite important for highlighting the sense of the following

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680 Cf. Boardman 1980, 121–22: the earliest datable pottery, Corinthian, dates ca. 630–20 BCE; the bulk of the pottery is ca. 600 BCE. Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006 list four Aiginetan pieces.

lines, where the Aiginetans and Zeus are mentioned. Godley translates: "If any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part."[681] A. de Sélincourt offers a clearer translation, but of the same import as Godley's: "Other cities claim a share in the Hellenium, but without any justification."[682] The problem is that the verb μεταποιεῦνται in the first instance has no object stated, or rather the object is implied and has to be supplemented from the previous section. All of the earlier commentators supplied "Hellenion" as the object. While possible, this interpretation does not fully, if at all, explain the contrast which Herodotus obviously tried to set up between the first group of cities that establish a common *temenos*, and another group of cities, each member of which builds one's own precinct. For it is hard not to see in χωρὶς δέ an attempt to represent a sharp contrast. Herodotus strings, one after another, such phrases as χωρὶς δέ and ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν that strongly state "we stand apart, we are on our own," an attitude that makes Aigina, Samos and Miletos so different from other Greek cities in Naukratis. I translate: "but apart [from others] Aiginetans, by themselves, established a precinct of Zeus, and the Samians a different one of Hera, and the Milesians [another one] of Apollo." If we read continuously, the conventional rendering—"other cities claim a share in the Hellenium, but without any justification . . ." "but apart [from others] Aiginetans, by themselves, established a precinct of Zeus, and the Samians a different one of Hera, and the Milesians [another one] of Apollo"—we can see that the logic of the narrative stumbles here. If Aiginetans, Samians and Milesians stand apart, why would they want any share in the Hellenion? The present tense of μεταποιεῦνται is, I believe, significant. If we had a reflection of a historical sequence here: first, all those cities had built a Hellenion, then Aiginetans, Samians and Milesians claimed a share, were denied it and built temples of their own, then we would expect the verb in the past tense. The verb is, however, in the present. We are told that both sets of cities already have their precincts in place, and yet there are some that lay claim to the Hellenion in which they have no share. Why? If some cities were laying claim to something that did not belong to them, Herodotus, being the kind of aetiological historian he is, probably would not have left us in the dark. I do not think he did so in this case either.

The meaning of ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται is slightly and at the same time significantly different than

[681] Godley 1922.
[682] Selincourt 1996.

what has been previously proposed. The object that I suggest we should supply for the first μεταποιεῦνται is τέμενος, not Ἑλλήνιον.[683] The translation would run as follows: "whichever other cities lay claim to a *temenos*, they do not lay claim to a *temenos* that is shared between them," i.e. which is common to them, [but each to their own]. οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν is best understood as "no *temenos* to them common," σφι embraced by οὐδέν and μετεὸν directly pointing to something that is shared internally by the members of the group implied by σφι rather than something shared by this group with others outside this group. The syntactic construction strongly points to the former meaning. Altogether, my translation of the passage would read: "whichever other cities lay claim to a *temenos*, they do not lay claim to a *temenos* that is shared between them, but apart [from others] Aiginetans, by themselves, established a precinct of Zeus, and the Samians—a different one of Hera, and the Milesians—[another one] of Apollo."

Understood in this way, the sentence ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται becomes a logical link between the details of the organization of the Hellenion and the facts about the other three temples: a contrast between a *temenos* that is shared and the *temenê* that are not shared. In light of this new reading, we can now evaluate the information given by Herodotus. The difference between Aigina, Samos and Miletos, on the one hand, and the group of cities to which the Hellenion belongs is that the former cities did not share a *temenos*.[684] Each chose to build a separate *temenos* for itself. This fact shows that cults come to represent the individualism of their cities. If we consider the identity of the deities chosen, we immediately see that it is the major deities of these cities that become the hallmarks of their individualism. Hera was the best known divinity of Samos, the same is true for Apollo of Miletos. Even if we did not know about the role of Zeus on Aigina as a patron and father, the divine ancestor of the Aiginetans, we could deduce his role by analogy with the choice of deities by Samos and Miletos. In Naukratis, Zeus represents Aiginetans as much as Hera represents the Samians. To the outsiders Zeus speaks Aiginetan identity, Hera speaks Samian identity, and Apollo speaks Milesian identity.

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[683] We may supply τεμένους (Gen.), since μεταποίεω in the Middle voice usually takes Gen., but sometimes Acc. as here: οὐδέν μετεὸν.

[684] Kowalzig's (2011, 142) remark that "Aiginetans participate in the Greek emporion and the Hellenion at Naukratis, and erected their own temple of Zeus as if it were their local god" escapes me.

After treating the evidence of Herodotus in this way, we ought to ask whether there is any archaeological evidence that we can summon in support of the argument. Have we found a temple of Zeus in Naukratis? Do we know of any dedications to Zeus there? Regretably, the history of early excavations at Naukratis makes it virtually impossible to ascertain today whether there was a temple of Zeus there. Excavations conducted by W. M. F. Petrie (1884–85), E. A. Gardner (1885–86) and D. G. Hogarth (1899, 1903) were patchy, identification of sites was based on scattered fragments of painted dedications on pottery. By 1977, when the Naukratis Project had begun under the direction of W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, Jr., the entire area of the earlier excavations was found to be under five meters of water.[685] A lake had formed in the depression created by the excavations of seventy years prior. This circumstance precluded any possibility of re-excavating the site and solving the numerous puzzles that had remained unsolved or, in fact, have been added by the early excavations. The early excavators claimed to have found the sites of several sanctuaries: those of Aphrodite, Apollo, Hera, the Dioskouroi, as well as the famous Hellenion.[686] The identifications of sanctuary sites were based on the finds of inscribed potsherds that indicated dedications to particular deities. No structure was identified as the *temenos* of Zeus. There are, however, a few potsherds that bear fragmentary inscriptions that could be restored as dedications to Zeus.[687] Two of them can be restored if we assume that the epithet Hellênios was used by the dedicant:[688]

]ỊΤΩΙΕΛΗΝΙΩ[that is Δι] ỉ τῶι Ἑλ(λ)ηνίω[ι
]ΗΝΙΩΙ[that is Ἑλλ]ηνίωι

We have no information about the findspots for these sherds. Although for some sanctuaries the approximate locations seem to be well established, as for the *temenos* of Aphrodite, as well as of Apollo, judging by the great numbers of inscribed potsherds in those locations, for other locations of sanctuaries the identifications are less strong: potsherds inscribed with the name of the same deity were reportedly found in different parts of the

685 For a full history of excavations see Leonard, Jr. 1997, 1–35. Also Coulson and Leonard 1981.
686 Höckmann and Möller 2006.
687 Cook and Woodhead 1952.
688 London, British Museum no. 840 + Oxford 1888.218; Oxford G.114.6.

site.[689] Thus, we have hardly any archaeological evidence to confirm the presence of the sanctuary of Zeus in Naukratis.

The lack of archaeological support for the testimony of Herodotus should by no means lessen its value. In my opinion it unambiguously tells us that one of the roles of the Aiginetan Zeus Hellanios was to represent Aiginetans and their interests on the international arena.[690] We should now confront a possible objection to the designation of Zeus Hellanios as a marker of specifically Aiginetan identity. Some scholars would argue that the cult of Zeus Hellanios was panhellenic,[691] and hence Aiginetans could not reserve it for their exclusive use. The grounds for such an argument are the possible implications of the cultic epithet Hellanios.

7.20.5 *Epithets: Hellanios and Panhellenios*[692]

The epithet of the Aiginetan Zeus in the Archaic and Classical periods was Hellanios.

Zeus is addressed as Hellanios on a bronze hydria of ca. 480–460 BCE (*IG* IV^2 1056):

> Πλάθων Ἐκεσθένης ἀνέθεν
> *h*υιοὶ Προκλέους *h*Ελλανίῳ Διί

Pindar (*Pa.* 6.125; *N.* 5.10) uses the epithet Hellanios, as does Aristophanes (*Equ.* 1250). Theophrastus (περὶ σημείων 1.24) uses *Hellanios*. It is notable that both speakers of the Attic dialect, Aristophanes and Theophrastus,

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[689] Leonard, Jr. 1997, 15. Continuing the work of Petrie and Gardner, Hogarth excavated an area to the East of the Petrie's *temenos* of the Dioskouroi, and found pottery dedications to Dioskouroi, Aphrodite, Herakles, Apollo (?), Artemis, and the Gods of the Greeks. The latter convinced him that he had found the Hellenion.

[690] I cannot agree with Bowden (1996, 24) that the Aiginetan sanctuary of Zeus at Naukratis was not that of Zeus Hellanios.

[691] Howie 1989, 68 on Zeus Hellanios, "god of all Hellenes, with a shrine on Mount Oros."

[692] Harland (1925b, 81) argues that there were cults of Zeus Hellanios on the island of Tenos (*IG* V 910), at Syracuse (Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 180 and 183; *BCEH* XX, 400), and Sparta (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* VI). Harland (1925b, 85) on the origin of the "Hellanios" epithet: "the epithet of this Aiginetan Zeus apparently had tribal significance and is to be connected with the 'Hellenes' . . . if it did not it is hard to see how the cult epithet could have later changed to Panhellenios . . ." Hellas in the *Iliad* is in south Thessaly, in the valley of Spercheios river. Possibly earlier this name was applied to the district around Dodona, e.g., Achilles prays to Zeus of Dodona (*Iliad* XVI 233–34). The priests at Dodona were called Helloi (Strabo VII 328; Σ *Iliad* XVI 234; Σ Soph. *Trachiniai* 1167), and Hesiod calls the region around Dodona—Hellopia.

preserve the Doric Aiginetan form of the epithet: *Hellanios*. Scholiast to Pindar *Nemean* 5.10 uses the Ionic form *Hellenios*.

Only Pausanias 29.8 and a spurious inscription *CIG* 2138b (*IG* IV 1551) ΔΙΙΠΑΝΕΛΛΕΝΙΩΙ,[693] give Zeus' epithet as Panhellenios. Also a scholion to Aristophanes *Equites* 1253 says that Panhellenes came to plead with Aiakos to approach Zeus. Pausanias, living in the Antonine period, might be reflecting the aftermath of Hadrianic policies in Greece that promoted the cult of Zeus Panhellenios,[694] that is, the cult of Hellanios on Aigina might have been refashioned as Panhellenios in Hadrian's time, or Pausanias applied his own "adaptation" in equating Hellanios with a more readily understandable, in his time, Panhellenios.

The origin of the cultic epithet is recounted in almost all the aeitological accounts of the origin of the cult. The aetion of the cult in fact has two distinct elements: one is the drought and Zeus' rain received through the agency of Aiakos, the other is the delegating of envoys from all Greek cities to ask Aiakos for help. It is this second element that explains the epithet. Most accounts say that Zeus is called Hellanios because [all] the Greeks (Hellenes) came to plead with Aiakos, while one (Isocrates) says that it is because they established a common shrine of the Greeks. Can we rely on the aetiology of the cult epithet to suggest a regional or even a panhellenic status of the cult? If that were the case, would we have to review the argument regarding the role of Zeus Hellanios as the marker of local Aiginetan identity?

The only indication that the sanctuary had panhellenic or regional significance in the Classical period is in Isocrates' *Evagoras*, dated to 370–365 BCE, (9.15) where he describes the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina as ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ . . . κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. As far as we know, there was no athletic competition associated with it, nor was it an oracular or healing shrine. How could the story of Hellanios Zeus become relevant and familiar to the surrounding territories then? Perhaps some explanation is to be found in the testimony of Theophrastus (see above) and in the topographical position of the Oros. The peak of the Oros is easily recognizable and clearly visible from practically any point along the coast of the Saronic Gulf. It is certainly clearly visible from the West coast of Attica and Athens, the elevated parts, such as Acropolis (see Fig. 29), or the Philopappou Hill, or Lykavitos, as well as from the slopes of Hymettos,

693 See *IG* IV², p. 167: comparationes numerorum for *IG* IV 1551.
694 Hadrian's policies: Romeo 2002.

Parnitha, Penteli, and Aigaleos facing the Gulf. It is not surprising that it could thus become a regional weather barometer, and that a story came to be associated with it that incorporated both elements: the location of the Oros on Aigina (therefore the role of Aiakos) and the relevance of the Oros-barometer to "all" Greeks in the Oros' scope of visibility (note Pausanias' reference to the Isthmus and Peloponnese, that is, to the outline of the coastal areas of the Saronic, but Diod. Sic. explicitly includes Attica). If we see in the aetiological story simply an indication of the relevance of the Oros as a weather barometer to the region of the Saronic Gulf, then we do not have to look for the signs of a panhellenic cult. Isocrates must be etymologizing and inferring from the story of Hellenic suppliants a notion of "a common shrine of the Hellenes," but no other account indicates such status for the sanctuary of Hellanios at the Oros. A scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 5.10 seems to offer the most reasonable explanation: οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωτηρίαν Ἑλλήνιον παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις τιμῆσαι Δία, "thus due to the salvation of Hellas, Zeus is honored as Hellênios by the Aiginetans." This scholion explains why specifically Aiginetans (and not someone else) worship Zeus under the epithet Hellanios.

Two more textual references have been cited to support the notion that at some historical point Zeus Hellanios became a symbol of panhellenism for the ancient Greeks. In Aristophanes, *Equites* 1250 (staged in 424 BCE) we hear an invocation of Zeus Hellanios: Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον. In addition, in Herodotus 9.7 Zeus Hellanios appears as a symbol of Greek religious unity. Neil writes in his commentary on the *Equites* 1253: "Whatever was the origin of this Aginetan surname of Zeus, it had become by the Persian wars a symbol of Greek unity and a Panhellenic call, as in the Athenian protest, Herod. 9.7, ἡμεῖς Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι. So this line is the keynote of the play: Cleon's fall will be the victory of Panhellenism."[695]

The question we need to address is whether there is any connection between Zeus Hellanios of Aristophanes and Zeus Hellenios of Herodotus,[696] on the one hand, and the cultic figure of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina, on the other? Do Aristophanes and Herodotus mean the cultic

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[695] Neil 1909, 164–65.

[696] The difference in dialectal spelling, *alpha* in Doric, and *eta* in Ionic and Attic is perhaps significant here. The fact that Aristophanes, in spite of his native Attic dialect, uses the Doric articulation might be indicative of his intention to point to a specific local Zeus, that of Aigina.

figure of Zeus Hellanios, or a non-specific Zeus Hellanios, the Hellenic Zeus, the supreme god of the Greeks? It seems to me, in the case of Herodotus, we in fact have an abstract divine authority rather than a specific cultic figure of some location.[697] Zeus Hellenios is part of the Herodotean panhellenic rhetoric that so many of his characters engage in, usually in conjunction with the notion of shame and honor, e.g. it's a matter of honor to avenge the common shrines, because of τὸ Ἑλληνικόν (8.144); πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων (5.49), and so on. In Herodotus 9.7, where Zeus Hellenios is mentioned (see above), he again appears in the same context: rhetoric of shame and indignation in the Athenian message to the Spartans: "But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused" (Trans. A. D. Godley). The theme of things panhellenic (those that characterize or are relevant to all Hellenes) in Herodotus comes up always in the situations where the honor of the Greeks in the face of the Persians is at stake. Herodotus does not get tired of highlighting the difference and the contrast between the two cultures. In the face of Persia, Athenians, Spartans, Corinthians, Boiotians, and other inhabitants of various Greek locales, they all are Hellenes. This is the point of view and the message of Herodotus. We can debate whether Herodotus adequately reflects the views of his contemporaries, but what is doubtless, is his own agenda: to frame a long stretch of Mediterranean history as a conflict between Greece and Persia, West and East, civilization and "barbarians."[698] In this context, a concern with shame in the eyes of Zeus Hellenios (9.7), Zeus of the Greeks, when the freedom and honor of Hellas are at stake may well be a rhetorical figure rather than a reference to an actual cult or a specific cultic epithet.

We could try applying the same explanation to the case of Aristophanes *Equites* 1253, namely that we do not have a reference to a specific cult here, but a generic invocation; however, in the case of Aristophanes we cannot argue that the panhellenic rhetoric is the agenda, nor can we be absolutely sure that an outsider, that is, a non-Aiginetan, is speaking. There are indications that Aristophanes or his father had lived or had had property on Aigina.[699] Aristophanes does indeed show a greater familiarity

[697] See Polinskaya 2010.
[698] Hall 2002, 190–191.
[699] Arist. *Acharn* 653; Schol. Arist. *Acharn* 653; Plat. 331 Bekk. (Vita XII 4 Bergk).

with things Aiginetan than would be expected from an outsider. In the *Frogs*, Aiakos is one of the characters. In the *Wasps* 121–124, there is a reference to the Aiginetan cult of Asklepios, which is our only evidence for the existence of this cult until Pausanias' testimony. If Aristophanes or his father had property on Aigina, most likely during the Athenian occupation of the island in 431–404 BCE,[700] it is possible that Aristophanes spent some time there and became familiar with local cultic topography. His mention of Zeus Hellanios might be less abstract than that of Herodotus, since living on Aigina he would necessarily have become aware of the local cult of Hellanios. On the basis of these considerations, I would call into doubt the view that Aristophanes uses Zeus Hellanios as a panhellenic symbol, as Neil sees it. There is a vocabulary of victory and a ritual context of dedication played out here: line 1250 ὦ στέφανὲ; line 1253: Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ, σὸν τὸ νικητήριον; line 1254 ὦ χαῖρε καλλίνικε.

A victory crown (στέφανος) is mentioned, which is then said to be a victory-prize dedicated to Zeus Hellanios. This draws on the standard practice of dedicating victory crowns to patron divinities. We have to understand that Zeus was behind the victory, helped to bring it about. Is it the Aiginetan Zeus? The scholiast thinks so. Why Zeus Hellanios and not some other divinity? Why is an Athenian invoking the Aiginetan Zeus? Was Aiginetan Zeus Hellanios indeed a panhellenic divinity? A more poignant political struggle might be at play here. We have to remember that at the time of Aristophanes, when *Equites* was being staged (424 BCE), Aigina was in the hands of the Athenians. They appropriated the island in 431 and distributed the land among Athenian settlers. It also seems to be the case that the Athenians did not destroy or neglect the local sanctuaries, but used them, or at least some of them (the Asklepieion), while they inventoried the possessions of the sanctuaries of Aphaia, and Damia and Auxesia.[701] Continuous references to Aiginetan cultic figures in Aristophanes are perhaps a way of highlighting this appropriation: Zeus who in the Archaic period had served as the marker of Aiginetan identity, in the Peloponnesian war could be invoked by Athenians in support of their side. Athenians may have felt that the victory over Aiginetans promised some decades back by the Delphic oracle had been finally achieved. It is also possible that the territorial possession of Aigina can explain why the plan of transporting or establishing a full-blown cult for Aiakos in Athens

[700] Figueira 1991, 57–101.
[701] Aristoph. *Wasps* 121–124; *IG* IV^2 787, 1037.

probably never materialized (see 7.2.11). Once Athens not only defeated, but occupied Aigina, the location and the cult of Aiakos itself found themselves on Athenian soil, and so in no need of transfer. When in 404 BCE Athens was defeated, and the Aiginetan exiles resumed their possession of their island, the opportunity for stealing Aiakos from the Aiginetans was once again lost to the Athenians. To come back to Zeus, a few lines later in the same footnote Neil says: "It is significant that we hardly hear of the idea except in the Persian wars, here, and (as implied) in Isocrates *Evagoras* 15. Hadrian personified in Ζεὺς Πανελλήνιος his ideal of a Panhellenism centered in Athens." I assume by "the idea" Neil means the panhellenic symbolism of Zeus Hellanios. I agree that the absence of further references is significant, signalling that the panhellenic importance of the Aiginetan cult of Zeus Hellanios should be evaluated within the context of the Aiginetan-Athenian ideological struggles of the late 5th century: the Aiginetans were certainly interested in stressing the importance of their Zeus to the wellbeing of "all Greeks," and the Athenians (Aristophanes and Isocrates) would have been no less interested in appropriating or diverting that significance to their own benefit. The divine figure of Zeus Hellanios was known regionally (through the myth of dought), but whether the cult on Aigina was regional (or panhellenic) in the sense that it admitted outsiders to sacrifices and feasts cannot be argued on the basis of the textual evidence.

I would like to reiterate therefore that, although a panhellenic role has been suggested for the cult of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina, there is no evidence to support such claim, while at the same time there is plenty of evidence to suggest that at least in the Archaic period this cult was a strong international marker of specifically Aiginetan identity. It was enough for Pindar to identify the location he describes by reference to this cult to make the subject of his eulogy clear to the inter-*poleis* audience at a panhellenic festival, the Delphic Theoxenia:

Pindar, *Paean* 6.124–6:

> ὀνομακλύτα γ' ἔνεσσι Δωριεῖ
> μ[ε]δέοισα [πο]ντῳ
> νᾶσος, [ὦ] Διὸς Ἑλ-
> λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον.

Identification of the place through a reference to Zeus Hellanios is so unambiguous that Pindar is able to suspend for eleven lines the direct naming of the place until another reference to a local myth confirms that he is talking about Aigina:

. . . Κρόνου παῖς
. . . ἀνερέψατο παρθένον
135 Αἴγιναν. τότε χρύσεαι ἀ-
έρος ἔκρυψαν κόμ[α]ι
ἐπιχώριον κατάσκιον νῶτον ὑμετερον . . .

The image of the "shining star," although used by Pindar in other odes with reference to non-Aiginetan realia, is striking: "a shining star of Zeus Hellanios." We ought to ask ourselves whether it is nothing more than a beautiful poetic expression.[702] Could it be that we find here a reference to some custom involving light that was associated with the peak of the Oros? Our textual sources show that the expression "Zeus Hellanios" was used in two senses: as a reference to cult, and as a toponym (through metonymic connection, Zeus Hellanios is the Mountain of the same name: Theophrastus περὶ σημείων 1.24). If used in *Paean* 6.125 in the topographic sense, "a shining star of the Oros," it seems to be in line with the testimony of Theophrastus: due to its unique position in the middle of Aigina and at its highest point, which is itself located in the center of the Saronic Gulf, the Oros was visible from all the coastal areas (see Fig. 29). With respect to its visibility, the peak of the Oros perhaps served as an orientation point for ships arriving from the Aegean Sea and the South Mediterranean. It is not clear whether the burning of entrails or of any kind took place at the peak during sacrifices, or perhaps only the slaughtering of the victim and the splashing of blood against the altar. But if the burning did take place, one can imagine that the flame and smoke would have been visible from afar. That there was an altar at the peak squares well with such a hypothesis, and perhaps further archaeological investigations at the site could provide certainty one way or another.[703] Although a cultic marker of Aigina as a geographic location, the cult could and did inspire regional imitations:[704] Paus.1.44.9 cites an aetion for a cult of Zeus Aphesios in Megara as related to Zeus Hellanios of Aigina:

> ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ Διός ἐστιν Ἀφεσίου καλουμένου ναός: φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατά τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ †κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Πανός.

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[702] Pindar uses this expression elsewhere, *O.* 1.6, as a description of Olympia.

[703] It might be useful to conduct soil analysis from the peak area, especially from around the ancient terrace that today supports the chapel of Profitis Elias.

[704] Cf. Horden and Purcell 2000, 457: "The ancient religious continua were notable for the replication of cult-places."

> On the top of the mountain is a temple of Zeus surnamed Aphesius (Releaser). It is said that on the occasion of the drought that once afflicted the Greeks Aeacus in obedience to an oracular utterance sacrificed in Aigina to Zeus Panhellenius, and Zeus rained and ended the drought, gaining thus the name Aphesius. Here there are also images of Aphrodite, Apollo, and Pan. (Trans. W. H. S. Jones)

We have no evidence as to when the Megarian cult began or whether the association with Zeus Hellanios of Aigina was the original motivation for the foundation or a secondary explanation once the similarities between the Aiginetan and the Megarian personae of Zeus had been perceived.

7.20.6 *Conclusions*

The evidence suggests that the Aiginetan Zeus was associated with the control of rainfall. Zeus was also honored as the Father and patron of the Aiginetan community; and the cult of Zeus Hellanios served as a marker of Aiginetan identity on the international arena.

7.21 Zeus Pasios

7.21.1 *Evidence*

The presence of a cult of Zeus Pasios on Aigina is attested by a single piece of evidence, an inscribed block of stone that was likely an architectural member (see Fig. 30).[705] I read the inscribed text as following:

1 .AI.Ọ[--ca.4–5--]
2 Διὸς Πασίο
3 πεδαφέρεν

The editio princeps, by Peek, (*SEG* XI 2) read: Διὸς Πασίο | [κ]αὶ Σοτῆρο[ς | -], and Hallof (*IG* IV^2 1061) retains Peek's reading [κ]αὶ Σοτῆρο[ς], indicating, however, by a solid underline that since the editio princeps the letters τῆρο have been obliterated and are no longer visible. The inspection of the stone and the study of its publication history have led me to reject the possibility of reading Σοτῆρος in the text, and I therefore argue that we have no attestation of the cultic epithet Soter for Zeus on Aigina.

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[705] As my interpretation of this monument is set out in detail elsewhere (Polinskaya 2008), I am limiting my discussion here only to the points relevant in the context of a search for social roles of the deity.

The text of the inscription suggests an injunction about removing some items that are apparently a property of Zeus Pasios.[706] The inscribed block appears to be an architectural element and so we may speculate a structure, perhaps part of a *temenos* or an altar of Zeus Pasios. Pasios is an equivalent of Attic Ktesios, and the latter is in charge of the protection of property.

7.21.2 *Conclusions*

The Aiginetan inscription mentioning Zeus Pasios strongly suggests that we should envision a property belonging to this deity on Aigina. The inscription also hints at an injunction related to removal of something belonging to Zeus Pasios. It is quite likely a prohibition against the removal of objects from the sanctuary, or against the removal of boundary markers. The epiklêsis Pasios, and the presence of his property on Aigina suggest that Zeus Pasios was a figure of worship on the island, although his functions cannot be ascertained.

[706] It would be tempting to place this inscribed injunction in relation to a Hellenistic boundary marker (*IG* IV² 791) separating a property of Zeus and the Greater Agora, but there is no absolute certainty that the *horos* belongs to Aigina: the marble might be Attic, and the combination of zeta and sigma is a feature of Attic script, as the *IG* entry notes. If the *IG*'s reading is correct, however, the Dialect would appear to be Doric: τᾶ[ς] instead of τῆς for genitive singular.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INSIDE THE AIGINETAN MESOCOSM

8.1 The Matrix: Gods-People-Land

In chapter 7, we studied the evidence with a view to determining social roles of individual deities attested on Aigina in the late 5th century BCE. In the present chapter, I take the findings of chapter 7 on board and return to the conceptual questions raised in chapters 4 and 5, to consider whether the Aiginetan deities taken together constitute a chaotic, haphazard assemblage or a coordinated whole. Chaos or system?

We should be able to answer this question in simple terms if we established the presence or absence of interconnections between the local deities. What sorts of connections would we be looking for and where? The connections between local deities, if they were conceived and perceived by worshippers, would likely find a reflection in stories, aetia related to origins or characteristics of cult, and in ritual practice. Hence, we will be looking at the indicia of connections in two dimensions: in myths, via literary evidence; and in cultic practice, for example, in joint sacrifices, shared sanctuaries, similar votives. Such observations, however, would spell out only explicit connections between deities, but would not necessarily tell us why such connections are there. Another level of analysis would involve comparing the underlying purpose of each deity's presence on Aigina, that is, their respective spheres of activity, with the structures and dynamics of the worshippers' social world. In other words, we would be looking to model not a 2D map of relationships among deities alone, but a 3D environment where deities and worshippers interact. Apollo might not appear connected to Zeus directly (if we register only explicit connections), but as each can be shown to serve as a marker of Aiginetan identity in international contexts, the two would be interlinked via this third component, a common social function. Thus, while a comparative analysis of roles exercised by all deities cumulatively would reveal a spectrum of all social concerns relevant to local worshippers, it would be the points (or nodes) of intersection between the roles of individual deities as they relate to the areas of local social interests that would determine whether we see interconnected religious structures as such, and whether a distinctive image

of the local Aiginetan mesocosm would emerge. I shall proceed from the discussion of explicit connections between Aiginetan deities as detectable in myths and cultic practice to the analysis of implicit connections via the comparison of their social roles.

The discussion of evidence in chapter 7 has shown that in a number of cases (e.g., Artemis, Athena, Kybele) we are not absolutely sure if a particular deity had a cult on Aigina in the late 5th century BCE, our target date for synchronic analysis. In several other cases, the evidence has proven insufficient for reaching definitive conclusions about a deity's social roles. This concerns Artemis, Dionysos, Kybele, Koliadai, Pan, Thebasimakhos, and Zeus Pasios. For this reason, at present, it is possible to include in the functional analysis only Aiakos and the Aiakids, Aigina, Aphaia, Aphrodite, Apollo(s), Asklepios, Damia and Auxesia, Demeter Thesmophoros, Hekate, Herakles, Poseidon, and Zeus Hellanios. In the future, new evidence might come to light that would enable us to determine with greater clarity the social roles of the presently known Aiginetan deities, while yet other cults might also be discovered and added to the picture. We might ask whether the potential, in fact, the guaranteed incompleteness, of our data invalidates our attempts to reconstruct the Aiginetan polytheistic mesocosm. To my mind, it does not. The existing religious data, as demonstrated in chapter 7, constitute a sufficient critical mass to enable our modeling exercise: they give a realistic sense of the complexity at hand, and new data will help to enrich the model further.

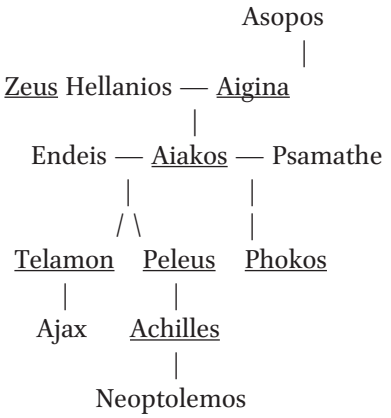
Another remark on the presently known number of Aiginetan deities is due. Evaluation of the evidence has revealed that in the late 5th century BCE there were at least sixteen active cults on Aigina. Although it is guaranteed that the present count is incomplete, it is still reasonable to assume that many, perhaps most, of the local cults that were present then, found reflection in our sources. Nonetheless we could tentatively speculate that up to fifty percent of contemporary local cults still remain unknown to us. If that were the case, we would have to envision some thirty-two active cults on Aigina in the period of our interest. This number, and any lower number down to the securely attested sixteen, is in perfect accord with the findings of scholars who study local pantheons of other polytheistic cultures (see 5.2). Such a number of deities would have been well within the cognitive capacities of the locals, and we may be confident that most Aiginetans would thus have been capable of keeping in mind the meaning and the relationships of all local cults.

8.2 Explicit Connections between Deities in Myths: Cultural Models

Aiginetan myths employ several cultural models of human interrelations attested in ancient Greece, to represent, by analogy, connections between local divine figures. These cultural models are *syngeneia, xenia*, and *philia*.

8.2.1 *The Model of* Syngeneia

A number of local Aiginetan cultic figures (Zeus Hellanios, Aiakos, Aigina, Aiakids) are connected genealogically into one family, *oikos* or *genos*. This is the Aiakid stemma as known in the Aiginetan tradition of the 5th century. Underlined are the cultic figures attested on Aigina.



In the Aiginetan sources, the sons (Telamon, Peleus, Phokos), grandsons (Ajax, Achilles), and the great-grandson (Neoptolemos) of Aiakos are called the Aiakidai. This patronymic was also used as an ethnic: the Aiginetans of the 5th century BCE considered themselves descendants of Aiakos, and therefore, the Aiakids (e.g., Hdt. 5.79, Pind. *N.* 3.65).[1]

The Aiakid genealogy in this particular form is a specifically Aiginetan product. The analysis of sources on individual members of this genealogy shows that in the earlier panhellenic and in contemporary epichoric traditions, connections between the members of this genealogy were

[1] Nagy thinks differently: see 7.2.3 and note 30 below, this chapter.

articulated differently. In the following, I rehearse the sources that present the Aiakid genealogy according to the Aiginetans, and showcase the alternatives.

1. Aigina—daughter of Asopos
Aigina-nymph is portrayed as a daughter of the Boiotian river Asopos and sister of Theba in Herodotus (5.79–81) and Pindar (*I.* 8.17, *N.* 3.4). Other contemporary and later sources (e.g., Bacchylides 9.39–65, for Automedes of Phlios; Diodoros 4.72; Apollodoros 3.12.6; Pausanias 2.5.2) say that Aigina was the daughter of the Phliasian river Asopos.

2. Zeus—consort of Aigina and father of Aiakos
Zeus and Aigina as progenitors of Aiakos and the Aiakids are named in the *Catalogue of Women* (MW 205), Pindar (*N.* 7.50, *N.* 8.6–7, *I.* 8.21, *Pa.* 6.134–140) and Bacchylides 9.53–9. The episode is also depicted on vases, the earliest surviving example dating to 490 BCE (in addition, *LIMC* 15 (Attic column krater, ca. 460 BCE) and *LIMC* 23 (Attic stamnos, ca. 460 BCE) are identified by accompanying dipinti).

3. Aiakos—son of Zeus and Aigina
The author of the *Catalogue of Women* (MW 205), Pindar (*N.* 8.6–8; *I.* 8.16–23; *Pa.* 6.134–140), and Bacchylides (9.53–9) speak of the union of Zeus and Aigina, which led to the birth of Aiakos.

4. Peleus—son of Aiakos
The genealogical link between Aiakos and Peleus is known as early as the *Iliad* (16.15, 18.433, 21.189). This genealogical link was adopted into the Aiginetan stemma without any change, as we can see in Pindar (*N.* 3.32–6; *N.* 4, 54–68*; N.* 5.22–37; *I.* 8.21–48).

5. Endeis—mother of Peleus
According to a Thessalian tradition, Endeis was a daughter of Kheirôn, son of Kronos (Σ *Il.* 16.14; Σ Pind. *N.* 5.12). Another tradition, presumably Megarian, identified Endeis with a daughter of Skiron (Σ Eur. *Andr.* 687 and Σ Hom *Il.* 21.184, as well as Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6; Paus. 2.29.9). This tradition, like the Aiginetan, draws the Aiakid genealogy away from Thessaly and anchors it in the Saronic Gulf.

6. Telamon—son of Aiakos
Telamon as a son of Aiakos is firmly part of the local Aiginetan mythology by the time of Pindar (*N.* 3, 36–9; *N.* 4.24–32; *N.* 5.12; *I.* 5.35–7; *I.* 6.26–56), and both father and son are called Aiakidai (Pindar *N.* 7.20–30; *N.* 8.23–34;

I. 6.26–56; *I.* 3/4.50–57), however, Telamon as a son of Aiakos and brother of Peleus is unknown to Homeric tradition: his ancestry is not articulated in Homer.[2] The epic *Alkmaionis* (1.1 West), dated ca. 600 BCE (*EGF* Ki 76 fr. 1 = Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 687: καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα πεποιηκώς φησι περὶ τοῦ Φώκου), presents our first testimony of an association between Telamon and Peleus, where both are accomplices in the murder of Phokos:

> ἔνθα μιν ἀντίθεος Τελαμὼν τροχοειδέι δισκῷ
> πλῆξε κάρη, Πηλεὺς δὲ θοῶς ἐνὶ χειρὶ τινάξας (5)
> ἀξίνην ἐύχαλκον ἐπεπλήγει μέσα νῶτα.

The relationship between Phokos, Telamon, and Peleus is not explicitly articulated in the surviving fragment, but is in line with what we know from later sources. A scholiast on Euripides *Andromache* 687 explains the murder of Phokos by Telamon and Peleus as a rivalry between half-brothers, explicitly stating that Telamon and Peleus were sons of Endeis and Aiakos. An alternative tradition, clearly aimed at undermining the Aiginetan claims and no doubt expressing the Athenian point of view comes, from Pherekydes of Leros, ca. 450, who had spent most of his life in Athens, and is otherwise known as Pherekydes of Athens. According to him (fr. 60 Jacoby/Fowler), Telamon was a native of Salamis, son of Aktaios and Glauke, daughter of Kykhreus, king of Salamis. Pherekydes called Telamon a friend (φίλος), not a brother of Peleus. Thus, it appears that a tradition of Telamon's and Peleus' common descent may have already been developed by the 6th century, but it was not unchallenged: different epichoric, or mythographic versions were in circulation.

7. Ajax—the son of Telamon

Ajax is connected to Aigina through Telamon, once the latter has been construed as a son of Aiakos. In the *Iliad*, however, the patronymic Αἰακίδης is applied only to Peleus and Achilles. In Herodotus (8.64), on the occasion of the Battle of Salamis, Ajax counts as one of the Aiakids.

The Aiginetan genealogy of the Aiakids as it was known in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE developed gradually in the socio-political context of the Archaic period, as I discuss further in 10.2. Here I only note the cultural model of *syngeneia* as a mode of inter-relating deities within the local mythology.

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[2] See also *The Homer Encyclopedia*, s.v. Telamon (by I. Polinskaya).

Another familial connection is between two heroes worshipped on Aigina, Aiakos and Herakles: their friendship is strengthened by their kinship. Pindar's *Nemean* 7.84 (for Sogenes of Aigina, boy's pentathlon):

> for they say that through the mother
> who received his seed he [Zeus] begot Aiakos
> to be ruler of cities in my illustrious land,
> and, Herakles, to be your kindly guest-friend
> and brother (σέο δὲ προπράον' | ἔμμεν ξεῖνον ἀδελφεόν τ'). (Trans. W. Race).

8.2.2 *The Model of* Xenia

Aiakos, the Aiakids, and Herakles were worshipped on Aigina from at least the 6th century onwards. While Aiginetan sources articulate a specifically indigenous origin for Aiakos and the Aiakids, Herakles was, of course, worshipped widely in the Greek world, and yet, the Aiginetan poetic productions focus on the particular ties of Herakles to Aigina. They highlight only those heroic feats of Herakles, in which Aiakos or the Aiakids are involved and represent Aigina as the homeland of Herakles' guest-friends, both the father Aiakos and his sons, Telamon and Peleus.

As a *xenos* and brother (via their common father, Zeus) of Aiakos, Herakles appears in Pindar's *Nemean* 7.84, already cited above. As a guest-friend of Telamon, Herakles appears in several of Pindar's poems. In *Isthmian* 6.24, Herakles raises a cup of wine in honor of Telamon and prays on his behalf to Zeus for the birth of a son: λίσσομαι παῖδα θρασὺν ἐξ Ἐριβοίας | ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ξεῖνον ἁμὸν μοιρίδιον τελέσαι.

Nemean 4. 22–26 mentions that Telamon and Herakles fought together at Troy. *Isthmian* 5.37 states that the Aiakids fought in both Trojan wars, first together with Herakles, and then alongside the Atreids. Isocrates 9 (*Evagoras*) 16 says that only Telamon fought together with Herakles against Laomedon, while Peleus excelled in the Centauromachy: Τούτου δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεύς, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος μεθ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα στρατευσάμενος ἀριστείων ἠξιώθη, Πηλεὺς δ' ἔν τε τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἀριστεύσας. It is possible that this mythological connection between Herakles and Telamon is also represented on the East pediment of the Aphaia temple where most art historians identify an archer in a lion-head helmet as Herakles. The scene on the pediment is thought to represent the first Trojan War, and the warrior to the left of Athena on the East pediment is seen as Telamon (see 7.4.6). We have to recognize that the logic of identification is compromised here: a myth is used to identify the visual composition, and then the composition is called upon as artistic evidence for the myth.

Pindar's fragment 172 (Maehler = Σ Pind. *N.* 3.64) names Peleus as a companion of Herakles in the Amazonomachy. Thus, Aiakos and Telamon are identified as *xenoi* of Herakles, and Telamon and Peleus are each represented as companions of Herakles in various heroic expeditions. The model of *xenia* naturally found its way into the representational vocabulary of poetry and myth, as a reflection of contemporary social practice. This is also the relationship that Pindar emphasizes as a mode of his own interaction with local Aiginetan families, his clients;[3] and *xenia* is a hallmark characteristic of Aigina and the Aiginetans as portrayed in epinikian poetry (e.g., Pind. *O.* 8.25–27; Bacch. 12.4–6, 13.95).

8.2.3 *Models of Philia and Synergeia*

A common formula, in ancient Greek literary sources, for expressing divine favor towards a mortal was "to be dear to the god(s)," *philos einai*. In the *Iliad* 20.347: "truly Aineias was dear to the immortal gods" (ἦ ῥα καὶ Αἰνείας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν). In the *Odyssey* 6.203, Phaiakians say about themselves: "We are very dear to the immortal gods" (μάλα γὰρ φίλοι ἀθανάτοισιν). So in the epic tradition, Peleus was dear to the gods: Hesiod (WM 211) Πηλεὺ]ς Αἰακίδης, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. The actual term of endearment may vary in Greek, but the idea remains the same. This is a one-way relationship, not a friendship between equal partners: only gods can show *philia* to mortals, as Athena to Odysseus, or Artemis to Hippolytos, in a friendly, philial way, or they can influence a hero's course of life by showing ill favor, as Hera does for Herakles. Whether positively or negatively charged, such associations mark heroes and other mortals as special. In turn, mortals show their respect and customary reverence for the gods through actions expressed by various forms of σέβεσθαι, τιμᾶν, νομίζειν, not *philia*.

(a) *Zeus—Aiakos*

It is Zeus who first and foremost stamps the reputation of Aiakos with a seal of divine approval. Pindar *Isthmian* 8.22–23 calls Aiakos "dearest of mortals to his loud-thundering father" (trans. W. H. Race): Αἰακὸν βαρυσφαράγῳ πατρὶ κεδνότατον ἐπιχθονίων. As a favor, Zeus creates the population of Aigina for king Aiakos from ants: such is the aetiology and etymology of the Myrmidons on Aigina (*Catalogue of Women*, WM 205). In

[3] E.g., in *N.* 7.61 Pindar emphasizes his status in relation to the family of the athlete: ξεῖνός εἰμι· See also Kurke 1991, 135–59.

the trademark story of Aiakos' appeal to Zeus on behalf of the Greeks for the cessation of drought, the reason Aiakos is chosen to be the medium through which to seek Zeus' favor is due to a recognition of his special relationship with his father. Isocrates 9.14–15:

> ἦλθον οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν, νομίζοντες διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐκείνου τάχιστ' ἂν εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν

"The leaders of *poleis* came as suppliants to him; for they thought that, by reason of his kinship with Zeus and due to his piety, they would most quickly obtain from the gods a relief from the present evils." A scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 5.17b intones: καθικετεῦσαι τὸν Αἰακὸν ὡς ὄντα παῖδα Διὸς ("to beseech Aiakos on account of his being a child of Zeus"). Most explicit is Pausanias 2.29.7–8: τούτοις ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία ἱλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν, Αἰακὸν τὸν ἱκετεύσαντα εἶναι ("The Pythian priestess bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aiakos"). Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.3.28–29, conveys a similar motivation: ἤροντο τὴν Πυθίαν πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν τοῦ δεινοῦ. μίαν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἀρωγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰ χρήσαιντο τῇ Αἰακοῦ εὐχῇ ("They asked Pythia how they could relieve the calamity. The oracle said that there was only one remedy for their trouble: that is, if they could avail themselves of Aiakos' prayer"). Aiakos repaid Zeus' favor by establishing a cult of Zeus Hellanios on Aigina.

(b) *Apollo and Poseidon—Aiakos*

In addition to being favorably disposed towards a hero, a god may partner with a hero in a collaborative undertaking. This is how Pindar (*O.* 8.30ff.) formulates Apollo's and Poseidon's engagement of Aiakos in the building of the wall of Troy:

> A land governed by Dorian people from the time of Aiakos,
> whom Leto's son and wide-ruling Poseidon,
> as they were preparing to crown Ilion with battlements,
> summoned to help build the wall (καλέσαντο συνεργόν | τείχεος)
> (Trans. W. H. Race).

Aiakos is described by Pindar as a collaborator (*synergos*), or partner, of Apollo and Poseidon.[4] After that project is completed, and a prophecy about the eventual breaching of the Trojan wall in the section built by

[4] Most recent detailed discussions of the significance of Apollo's and Poseidon's relationships with Aiakos and Aigina are in Athanassaki 2011 and Hedreen 2011.

Aiakos is given, the team disperses. On the way back from Troy, Poseidon who is heading to his Isthmian sanctuary, gives a ride home to Aiakos, dropping him off on Aigina (*O.* 8.48–52). In this way, Pindar draws a picture of a rather intimate, almost cozy, association between Aiakos and the gods. Thus, not only Zeus, but Apollo and Poseidon as well, appear in the Aiginetan poetic record as displaying a favorable disposition towards Aiakos.

8.3 Universalism of Explicit Connections

The cultural models of *syngeneia, xenia*, and *philia* attested in the Aiginetan discursive tradition are neither exclusively Greek, nor exclusively Aiginetan. Indeed, cross-culturally, the dominating social model for organizing polytheistic deities into a memorable structure is that of family. It is the case in the earliest Greek composition—Homer. Yet, the Homeric family of gods was only a particular instance. Besides Homer and Hesiod, there were other genealogical epics, which in later centuries attempted to coordinate the Homeric pantheon with hundreds of local divine lines. The *Catalogue of Women*, the *Greater* and the *Lesser Ehoiai*, are examples of such efforts. Local genealogies may not have been widely known outside their respective geographical areas. What matters for the understanding of Greek polytheism, however, is that the perspectives of genealogical poets and of local worshippers would have differed. The former would aim at weaving local genealogical traditions into a single encyclopedic narrative, taking into account, or at least being aware of, multiple alternative traditions, while the latter would care mostly about the lines of descent from Zeus or Apollo that affected their locality. So, for the Aiginetans, it was Zeus, the father of Aiakos that mattered, not Zeus, the father of Athena.[5] In the Aiginetan saga, Aiakos and Herakles were celebrated as siblings and children of Zeus, but Aiakos and Athena were not so paired, although Athena was of course celebrated as a child of Zeus in Attica.

Thus, although not uniquely Aiginetan in origin or function, the Greek cultural models of *syngeneia, xenia*, and *philia*, when employed in the Aiginetan discourse, articulated a distinctly Aiginetan vision of the religious mesocosm: an Aiginocentric perspective on the roles and relationships

[5] Similarly, in Argos, Hera is not a consort of Zeus: "Hera at Argos . . . has definitely nothing to do with Zeus" (Versnel 2011, 115 and n. 335 with relevant bibliography). Baumbach (2004, 88) argues differently.

of deities. The use of common cultural models to articulate a particular discursive vision of an epichôric universe is analogous to the functioning of language: the same letters in different combinations produce words of widely different meaning; the same words in different contexts deliver very different messages. The Greeks were wonderfully adept at using panhellenic discursive tools for producing locally-anchored narratives. Here, Aiginetans were perhaps somewhat more inventive and audacious than some of their contemporaries: no other Greek community laid claim upon the two best Homeric heroes (Achilles and Ajax) at once, and no other Greek community claimed as an ancestor a hero (Aiakos) who was the only means of procuring a favorable response from Zeus in the time of a regional, if not panhellenic, calamity. The Aiginetans of the 6th and 5th centuries managed to employ all three cultural models for a triple-charged discursive representation that was aimed at leaving no doubts in the minds of other Greeks about the unique status of their island with respect to divine patronage. The discursive dimension is indisputably an integral part of the religious mesocosm, but it is only a part, not the whole, and the ritual dimension needs to be explored next for evidence of connections between the Aiginetan deities.

8.4 Explicit Connections between Deities in Aiginetan Cults

Connections between Aiginetan deities in cults are indicated with varying degrees of certainty. A joint cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids was discussed in 7.2.1–7.2.6. Here we present other, sometimes less certain cases.

(a) *Nymph Aigina and the Aiakids*

Aigina, the mother of Aiakos, may have been celebrated together with Aiakos and the Aiakids during the festival of Aiakeia or Oi[nonaia]. With due caution, we should remember that this is only a conjecture, which is based on a correlation of several factors: one source (*Etym. Magn.*) testifies that a running competition on Aigina that was called ἀμφιφορίτης, or ἀμφορίτης, took place by the spring Asopis and was celebrated in commemoration of heroes (see full discussion in chapter 7.3.3). From another source (Σ. Pind. *O.* 7.156) we learn that *amphoritês agôn* was also known as the Aiakeia. If Asopis is to be understood as a daughter of Asopos, that would make the name of the spring the same as that of the mother of Aiakos, and if the *agôn* was conducted in the memory of heroes and was part of the Aiakeia, it is reasonable to suggest that the spring was sacred

to the nymph Aigina, and the heroes commemorated in the *agôn* were the Aiakids. However tenuous, a cultic connection between Aigina-nymph, Aiakos, and the Aiakids is plausible. As I propose in 7.2.6, the Aiakeia was probably a festival featuring several forms of celebration, in which an *agôn*, a procession, and choral performances may have each played a role, and if Pindar's Aiginetan songs are any indication, the origin of the Aiakids through the unions of Zeus and Aigina, Aiakos and Endeis, Peleus and Thetis would have been celebrated in the cult songs.

(b) *Aiakos and Zeus Hellanios*

Considering the strong connection between Zeus and Aiakos in Aiginetan lore, we could expect a ritual articulation within the framework of some festival procession, or in another ritual. There is unfortunately no direct evidence to demonstrate that. Nevertheless a connection has been proposed by Ian Rutherford on the basis of his interpretation of Pindar's *Paean* 15.[6] Rutherford suggests that the demonstrative τῷδε in the first line of the Paean, and the Present tense of the verbs point to a ritual re-enactment of a mythical event. It is possible that *Paean* 15 describes a ritual procession in honor of Aiakos and/or the Aiakids, but the only myth it could be illustrating is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.[7] I would agree with Rutherford that the procession could originate, terminate, or both, at the Aiakeion, but there is nothing in the text of *Paean* 15 to suggest that the procession went to the sanctuary of Zeus on the Oros, as Rutherford speculates (see my discussion in 7.2.7).

(c) *Apollo Pythios and the Aiakid Neoptolemos*

As I argue in 7.6.13, one possible role of *theôroi* on Aigina could have been to maintain cultic connections with Delphi, where the Aiakid Neoptolemos, honored with a shrine next to Apollo's temple, played a prominent cultic role, overseeing heroic processions (Pind. *N.* 7.46). Both Pindar's *Nemean* 7 and *Paean* 6 are testimonies to the possibility and importance of this cultic connection (details in 7.6.13).

(d) *Apollo and Artemis*

A cultic connection between Apollo and Artemis on Aigina is rather hypothetical. We know that at the time of Pausanias the temples of these

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[6] Rutherford 1992.
[7] Contra Rutherford 1992, 2001.

divinities stood next to each other (see further in 7.7), but this in itself is not an indication of cultic connections. We also have a scholion to Pindar's *Pythian* 8.94 that says that Apollo and Artemis are the most celebrated divinities on Aigina, but this again is not a sure sign that Apollo and Artemis were worshipped together: it can be read to mean that each deity separately is one of the two most venerated, which need not imply common cultic honors. The date of Pindaric scholia (Hellenistic period) also does not help with instilling confidence about scholiasts' knowledge of religious realities of the Classical and Archaic periods.

(e) *Aphrodite and Poseidon*
An association between Aphrodite and Poseidon is suggested by Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 44, where a festival ostensibly in honor of Poseidon is concluded with the Aphrodisia. It is not clear whether the connection was anything more than temporal, although some interpreters of Plutarch have suggested that (see chapters 7.5.3 and 7.18.2). If the connection was indeed functional, I would expect it to relate to the sea, in its dangerous and potentially deadly aspect, on the one hand, and its profitable and generative aspect, on the other.

(f) *Dionysos and Damia and Auxesia*
As discussed in 7.10.7 and 7.12, the presence of an *agalma* of Dionysos in the temple of Mnia (Damia) presents undisputed evidence of a cultic connection between the deities, the exact nature of which, however, we are unable to determine in the present state of our sources.

(g) *Aphaia and Pan*
Yet another possible cultic connection is suggested by the presence of a single piece of evidence on the worship of Pan on Aigina: an inscribed block, found at the sanctuary of Aphaia, that may have been a boundary marker or a dedication (see 7.17).

(h) *Zeus and Koliadai*
In 7.15, I discuss the single piece of evidence on the worship of some pluralistic divine group called Koliadai. The votive table dedicated to them was found at the festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios, and hence a possibility of cultic connection between them and Zeus should be kept in mind.

However tentative, the listed examples suggest the presence of a fine, and in some places, quite thick web of connections between local deities.

These fine threads are occasionally detectable in the material record, or else explicitly stated in our textual sources. Even in the absence of such tangible evidence as epigraphic records of sacrificial calendars, and in the near absence of votive graffiti (except at Aphaia), the interconnected fabric of the local religious world makes itself felt nonetheless. A deeper underlying raison d'être for the presence of each individual deity on Aigina is to be sought in the scope of that deity's social functions. We now turn to the collation and comparison of social functions covered by the Aiginetan deities to discover a local map of intersecting human concerns and divine responses.

8.5 Implicit Connections: Distribution of Social Functions among Aiginetan Deities

The latent connections in the Aiginetan system of cults become apparent at the juncture of the political and socio-economic, individual and communal concerns of the local population. In this section I present a list that identifies the social functions that we have found (in the course of chapter 7) associated with individual deities. Only those deities whose functions we were able to identify with a degree of certainty are included in this list (see 8.1).

Aiakos: ancestor of the Aiginetans (patrôos deity), progenitor of the Aiakids, personal success, identity marker, [civic community]
Aiakids: military allies; guardians of Aigina; identity markers; personal success
Aigina-nymph: communal wellbeing, marker of Aiginetan identity
Aphaia: seafaring, trade, women's concerns, domestic sphere (weaving), childcare (*kourotrophos*), generational continuity, personal achievements, warfare, hunt
Aphrodite: seafaring
Apollo Aiginatas/Delphinios/Oikistes and Domatites: civic community and households; personal success; athletics; seafaring; identity marker
Apollo Pythios: representation of Aigina's interests at Delphi (amphictyony and oracle)
Asklepios: personal body, health
Damia and Auxesia: fertility of land; women's sphere; childbirth (?); identity marker; [marriage]
Demeter Thesmophoros: women's sphere; fertility of land and people

Dionysos: [fertility]
Hekate Enodia: personal wellbeing, afterlife
Herakles: personal guardian of families and individuals; averter of evil; personal and family success
Poseidon: patrilineal kinship groups; seafaring
Poseidon Kalaureios: regional and interstate relations
Zeus Hellanios: rain-god; Father (*patrôos* deity); patron of civic community; identity marker

In chapters 1.4 and 5.1–5.5, remarking on the frustrations of scholars who find it difficult to classify Greek deities on account of their multi-sided nature, I suggested that the alarming scope of variation found in respect to individual deities might be a faculty of the panhellenic approach that operates with a composite notion of divine personalities rather than with socially anchored local cultic figures. Indeed, the first observation that we can make after drawing up a list of social functions attested for individual Aiginetan deities is that the synopsis of functions for each deity in no instance presents a contradictory picture, in spite of the fact that the local lore and poetic media present Aiginetan deities as distinct personalities. Walter Burkert expressly associates the quality of personhood with divinities' anthropomorphism, their human-likeness, which, in his opinion, holds a potential for chaos and unpredictability,[8] yet his concerns are rooted in the panhellenic perspective (as are those of the Vernantian school); by contrast, our study of the Aiginetan data suggests that local deities seem to be largely free of this panhellenic "malaise."

A reassuring lack of blatant contradictions in the profiles of individual deities does not, however, obscure the fact that these profiles vary in complexity. Here we may spell out our second observation, namely that some Aiginetan deities emerge as multi-functional entities, whereas others appear one-dimensional. The deities that present the greatest degree of multi-functionality are Aiakos and the Aiakids, Aphaia, Apollo(s) and Zeus Hellanios. The lack of contradictions among their functions does not automatically establish an intrinsic coherence of these divine personalities. We still need to explain why a particular assemblage of functions is associated with them. And we are still to see whether we shall need to apply Vernant's approach to deities as powers in order to find coherence between multiple functions of a single Aiginetan deity or whether some

[8] Burkert 1985, 182–189.

other explanatory principle would emerge. An answer will begin to suggest itself in the following section, and further dimensions will be added in chapter 9.

8.6 Functional Overlaps among Aiginetan Deities

Having assembled a list of social functions attested for individual Aiginetan deities and having noted several characteristic features of this assemblage, I will now rearrange the data in the inverse order, grouping deities according to social functions. While I applied alphabetic principle in ordering deities into a list, I organize social functions in a less impartial way, applying an ascending order of what I assume to be either greater personal or greater public relevance of social functions. In doing so, I am keenly aware of imposing an unverifiable assumption, which I, however, hope to mitigate by further nuanced analysis. In brackets are those deities for whom a social role is indicated, but without certainty.

Personal concerns
  body, health
    – Asklepios
  wellbeing, afterlife
    – Hekate
Personal and family success (aretê, kleos, eudaimonia, olbos)
    – Herakles
    – Aiakos and Aiakids
    – Apollo
Kinship solidarity (syngeneis) and Household Integrity (oikos)
    – Herakles
    – Poseidon
    – Apollo Domatites
    – Zeus Pasios (property)
Occupations
  seafaring
    – Aphrodite
    – Aphaia
    – Apollo
    [– Poseidon]
Women's concerns (fertility, childbearing and childrearing)
    – Aphaia

– Damia and Auxesia
– Demeter Thesmophoros

Communal concerns:

agriculture and fertility of land and people
– Damia and Auxesia [and Dionsyos]
– Demeter Thesmophoros

coming of age
– Aphaia
[– Herakles]

warfare
– Aiakids [and Aiakos]
– Aphaia
[– Damia and Auxesia]

Patronage of civic community
– Apollo (Oikistes and Domatites)
[– Zeus Hellanios]
[– Aiakos]
[– Aigina-nymph]

regional and interstate relations
– Poseidon Kalaureios
– Apollo Pythios

Identity Markers (in Greek and international contexts):
– Aiakos and Aiakids (in the Saronic, Boiotia, Peloponnese, Attica, Delphi)
– Aigina-nymph
– Zeus Hellanios (in the Saronic, Megarid, Attica, and Egypt)
– Damia and Auxesia (in the Saronic, Eastern Peloponnese and Attica)
[–Apollo (Etruria)]

It is now possible to make several further observations. Firstly, social functions performed by Aiginetan deities are not lumped together as a responsibility of a single deity or of a small group of deities. On the contrary, they are broadly distributed among them. Secondly, spheres of social concerns addressed by individual deities intersect, so that more than one deity is associated with a particular social function. We therefore observe a double-sided mechanism at work in the assemblage of the Aiginetan deities: (1) a broad distribution of functions, and (2) a significant overlapping of functions.

Before we proceed with further analysis of the Aiginetan data, we should note that the range of divine functions attested on Aigina, quite

unsurprisingly, closely resembles what we find in other ancient Greek communities: a focus on fertility, sustenance, survival.[9] Even broader, this range of functions reflects eternal and cross-cultural human preoccupations with safety, success, and personal happiness. It was the premise of our study from the outset that concerns of the people would be mirrored in the social roles of local deities. What is less predictable, from the poetic/panhellenic template, and certainly not predictable from cross-cultural comparanda, are the local correlations of roles and deities, that is, which deities would fulfill which functions in the local context, in other words, how the functions would be distributed among the deities, and what deities would be found acting together.

In other words, we are once again faced with a parallel between two dimensions found in religion and language: *la langue* and *la parole*, a system of expressive means and a specific message constructed from them. Robert Parker comments on the phenomenon with an evocative image of social functions and divine personalities creating what might seem like a random pattern in each given location: "A critic might protest that studies of this kind [that is, the role of Persephone at Epizephyrian Lokroi] merely illustrate a kind of musical chairs. When the music stops, different goddesses find themselves in different places; but the social functions that are discharged—patronage of marriage, care for the growing child, and so on—are the same whatever goddess performs them."[10] Parker is willing, however, to give credit, and I side with him completely, to such studies as James Redfield's *Locrian Maidens*, which seeks to find an explanation for the singular religious world of the Lokrians in the particulars of their social organization, e.g., a hypothesis of matrilineal descent underlying the Lokrian oligarchic *politeia*.[11] However difficult it is, due to the fragmentary state of the data, to demonstrate such correlations between religious and social structures in concrete historical cases, the approach is a sound one. In the case of Aigina, despite a general similarity to other Greek locations, particular insights are also possible.

8.6.1 *Mapping Overlaps, Locating Bridges*

While the range of social functions associated with the local deities appears largely standard, the overlaps in functions are more specific and informative. Contrary to some opinions (see 7.2.5), in the area of civic patronage,

[9] Cf. Mikalson 2010, 47.
[10] Parker 2011, 231.
[11] Redfield 2003; Parker 2011, 231–232.

two gods (Apollo, Zeus) are joined by a hero (Aiakos). The same deities are also found as markers of Aiginetan identity, but Zeus and Aiakos, in a much greater degree than Apollo, are acting out these roles close to home, in the Saronic Gulf region, while Apollo is noticeable in this role only in the western Mediterranean—Etruria. The choice of Zeus for the Aiginetan representation at Naukratis suggests that different factors may have been at work in the two overseas, trading contexts (Etruria and Egypt). There is no indication that Zeus Hellanios was in charge of either seafaring or trade, whereas there is such evidence for the Aiginetan Apollo at least as far as seafaring is concerned. The Aiginetan choice of Zeus at Naukratis must therefore be motivated differently. Perhaps the inevitable Milesian choice of Apollo as the owner of their temple at Naukratis motivated the Aiginetans to favor Zeus over Apollo in their own decision. This hypothesis is of course no more than speculative, as we have no evidence for the construction dates of the Milesian, Samian, or Aiginetan temples at Naukratis to see whose choice may have influenced others. Thus, different reasons are likely to be behind the use of different deities as representatives of Aiginetan interests abroad: Apollo safeguards sailors, while Zeus represents Aigina as an ancestral deity. Closer to home, ancestral representation is reinforced with other divine characters, such as Aiakos, the Aiakids, and Aigina, but another divine pair (Damia and Auxesia) comes to the fore as well: marking the Aiginetans out as independent, as Dorian, and as safe in the patronage of agricultural deities who ensure the fertility of their land. Thus, we note that ancestry, occupational concerns, such as seafaring, and communal concerns, such as agricultural and human fertility, can all come to the fore as markers of local identity, depending on the particular geographic and historical context. The overlap between Zeus, Apollo, Aiakos and the Aiakids, and Damia and Auxesia, in the sphere of identity-marking, does not indicate either simple multiplication or interchangeability of deities in this role. Rather each deity reveals a particular suitability to identity representation in particular contexts. In geographic terms, Damia and Auxesia articulate the Aiginetan distinction regionally: in the Saronic Gulf. Aiakos and the Aiakids distinguish Aiginetans within the panhellenic context, and Apollo and Zeus in different international contexts, beyond Greece. At the same time, the fact that so many deities are employed in the role of identity markers, and each in a particular context, signifies this as an area of heightened social concerns for the Aiginetans. This community appears determined to stand out everywhere and at all times. Perhaps as in human psychology, an overemphasis signals

a sense of vulnerability: the Aiginetan multilayered identity was indeed fraught with internal contradictions (see 7.2.5, 7.6.5, 9.2.1).

The group of deities that serves as markers of Aiginetan identity is largely different from two other groups: the deities in charge of seafaring, and the deities in charge of fertility and generational development. I say "largely" because in each case there is a bridging link between them, to which I shall return. The deities involved with seafaring are Aphrodite, Aphaia, Apollo, and possibly Poseidon. Aphrodite's and Aphaia's maritime connections are based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence respectively, and Poseidon might be linked to the same via his mythological implication in the seaborne *nostoi* of the Trojan heroes, and a conjunction with Aphrodite, as we have seen in Plutarch's testimony (details in chapters 7.5 and 7.18). Apollo is consistently associated with Aiginetan presence at the trading sites of the Etruscan coast, and he is the link between the seafaring and identity-marking spheres. Once again, the deities found in the seafaring group are not duplicates of one another. A distribution of spheres of influence can be tentatively hypothesized again on the geographic principle: Aphaia oriented towards the eastern Aegean (Cyclades, Chios, Crete), Apollo towards the western Mediterranean, and Aphrodite possibly in the south, Naukratis (see 7.5.2). The geography traceable in the record of these Aiginetan cults maps the extent of Aiginetan trade in the Archaic and Classical periods. Here we clearly see another area of heightened social concerns—seaborne travel that spans the Mediterranean and requires as many as three, if not four, deities to safeguard it. An Apollo that stands both for seafaring and for Aiginetan identity articulates what is by now all too obvious, namely that seafaring, in this historical period, is to a large extent coterminous with Aiginetan identity. A critic might say that to reach such a conclusion one only had to read Pindar or Herodotus, where the same is spelled out in unambiguous terms, but to arrive at this conclusion through the analysis of local cults is significant on its own merit: it confirms our view that the religious structures are intimately connected to the social reality and ideological discourse.

The group of Aiginetan deities concerned with fertility, childbearing and childrearing, includes Aphaia, Damia and Auxesia, and Demeter Thesmophoros, female deities, which can be found in the same or similar capacity in other parts of Greece. And yet, Aphaia (under this name) is uniquely Aiginetan, and the other goddesses, however similar to homonymous deities in other locations, functionally overlap with additional

Aiginetan deities in such a way as to map out a site-specific picture. We are impaired in our analysis to a large extent by the imbalance of evidence in these three cases (rich votive evidence for Aphaia, textual and epigraphic for Damia and Auxesia, and no more than a name for Demeter Thesmophoros). As the evidence stands now, we cannot clearly discern which of these deities was also concerned with marriage. Some hint of the possibility might be lurking behind the aetion of dress pins, used by women as weapons against a man and then designated as a special form of dedications to Damia and Auxesia (Hdt. 5.87–89). Pins are found as popular votives in the cults of Hera in the Argolid and northeast Peloponnese, as well as at Samos, where Hera's roles ranged from agricultural to reproductive to military.[12] Another deity, Herakles, overlaps with this group of female deities, in being a guardian of generational continuity (see 7.14.3): the way Pindar described his role in *Nemean* 7.96–97 suggests that Herakles was particularly effective in cases of emergency, as an averter of dangers. This might have been his particular specialty, complementary to Aphaia's *kourotrophic* capacity.

Yet another internally complex divine grouping is related to war, safety, and defense. War, we should remember, potentially has foreign and domestic versions: *polemos* and *stasis*. In the course of Archaic and Classical history, Aigina experienced both. In this sphere, on Aigina, we find several deities engaged with greater or lesser certainty: Aiakids are attested in textual sources acting as *symmakhoi* in foreign combat, while three other deities, Aphaia, Damia and Auxesia, display less pronounced, but potentially telling, military dimensions. Among small objects found at the sanctuary of Aphaia, there are fragments of helmets, shields, and projectiles, as well as miniature armour. Some of these objects (spear- and arrow-heads) might be related to the hunt, but shields and helmets more definitively point to military combat. In the inventory of Mnia and Auzesia (see 7.10.7), we find matching sets of armor, in the temples of Mnia and Auzesia respectively, consisting of a bronze thorax and a polished metal shield. In addition, in the temple of Mnia, there is a copper- (or bronze)-plated shield, and another small bronze shield. These armor sets, besides indicating a military dimension in the social profile of the deities, possibly hint at a ritual, in which this armor may have been used: with the

[12] Pins at Perachora: Baumbach 2004, 35–36; Argive Heraion: 700–800 wearable bronze pins, and about 2000 overly large (0.30–0.8m long). Pins in the sanctuaries of Athena Alea in Arkadia and Artemis Orthia in Sparta: Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 162, 294.

exception of *peronai*, all other items in the inventories appear to be ritual equipment. At the same time, it should be noted that in the Herodotean narrative, dress pins (*peronai*) function as weapons. Some scholars have suggested that Aphaia's military interests may have been tested in the Persian wars, when a vision of a woman (φάσμα γυναικός) appeared to the Greeks, urging them on in the Battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.84). Indeed there is a peculiar concentration of cognates of *phainomai* that one cannot help but suspect as an allusion to Aphaia's name in this Herodotean passage: ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι . . . Be as it may with Aphaia's involvement in the Battle of Salamis, but Damia and Auxesia might be articulating a different dimension: the aetion of Athenian women using *peronai* to kill an Athenian warrior, which inspires the Aiginetans and Argives to make their local *peronai* one and a half times longer than before, seems to condone in this story a problematic and dangerous aspect of misapplied gender roles.[13] This problematic aspect is institutionalized in ritual practice on Aigina in the cult of deities by all other counts supposed to be in charge of agricultural and human reproduction. A certain inversion of male and female roles seems to be at play in the aetion. Perhaps the involvement of men, as *choregoi* of female choruses, and therefore occupying a controlling position in this cult practice, as well as their possible involvement in some other ritual where armor was used (e.g., a footrace in armor, *hoplitodromos*, or a ritual dance in armor, such as *pyrriche*)[14] was meant to restore a balance of gender roles expected in a normative marriage, but subverted in the aetion. This hypothesis would help bolster the notion that the patronage of marriage, which, on the surface, seems to be missing from the spheres covered by the Aiginetan deities, may have been associated with Damia and Auxesia.

Here we note the next node of interrelated functions: normative gender roles secure the proper functioning of marriage and ensure generational continuity. Damia and Auxesia may have played a role here, but these same deities were also concerned with the withering and growth of agricultural produce. A broader umbrella of 'regenerative' powers can therefore be postulated for these goddesses, in which sphere Demeter Thesmophoros may have been their partner.

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[13] Telling parallels in the Middle East: Marcus 1994.

[14] Miller 2004, 33: "We do hear of shields being set aside and stored for the hoplitodromos race." See also Miller 2004, 139–40 for pyrriche.

While 'regeneration' and 'generational continuity' are related spheres, they are not entirely coterminous: conception and childbirth are an area that requires specialized attention (hence, Eleithyiai elsewhere, or possibly Damia and Auxesia on Aigina), but once a child is born, she is in need not only of care that can be provided by a female analogue of a mother and nurse (*kourotrophos*, e.g., Aphaia on Aigina), she is also subject to sickness and injury, protection from which might be beyond a *kourotrophos*' purview. Here might be room for Herakles, as a helper against calamities. Asklepios eventually, not before the 5th century, came to assist in this social area, but Herakles's cult was already active in the 6th, if not 7th century on Aigina. The concerns of *oikos* were also met on Aigina by the ministrations of Poseidon, who was involved with patrilineal kinship groups (see 7.18.2). Whatever the nature of the feast of *monophagoi*, it gathered male *syngeneis*, presumably young ones as well: this would have been the social circle of kinsmen, where decisions about proper marriage alliances might be made, and a support network established for participation in the political sphere.

Thus, the social sphere of regeneration intersects with *kourotrophia*, which in turn intersects with kinship solidarity. Various deities of the Aiginetan mesocosm join or part company with one another, as their social functions overlap in addressing the social needs of the Aiginetans. Yet another meshing of roles is in the area of personal and family success: predictably Herakles is here as a guardian against calamities, but Aiakos and Apollo who oversee athletic *agônes*, hence providing an arena for a display of male *aretê* and earning *kleos*, are here as well. The same two, Apollo and Aiakos, are also prominent identity markers, highlighting that personal success plays into the communal image: a paradigm well rehearsed in Pindar's *epinikia*.

The only deity that appears un-integrated is Hekate: lack of evidence here prevents us from developing a reliable hypothesis. If her role can be surmised from the Roman sources and retrojected into the Classical period, as addressing human concerns with death and afterlife, we could view it as an aspect of personal and family wellbeing, but the evidence is too unspecific to hazard a better reconstruction. Here we must recognize a limit to what can be done with the evidence in its present state.

The views of the society of Greek gods as either chaotic or systemic both operate at the level of "Greek religion" and "Greek pantheon." The study of local religious systems reflects a more nuanced situation: local deities (1) display a narrower range of social roles, and (2) complement each other in addressing the needs of a local community. Relationships between

local deities are not determined by the internal logic of a composite and abstract "Greek pantheon," but by local social structures. The system of local cults consists in the correspondence between the social needs of the local community and the social functions of local deities. Thus, while I share Vernant's systemic view of the pantheon, I see the source of the system not in the structures of the mind, but in the social nature of religion. At the same time, social roles of deities in my local study are akin to Vernantian 'powers,' or 'modes of activity,' on the panhellenic scale. But the choice of a specific historical and territorially bound context makes all the difference: local divinities make sense together in as much as their 'powers' (aka social roles) overlap. At the same time, their scope of functions is narrow enough and virtually conflict-free, so that they appear as distinct personalities. In a local context, deities are persons with powers, rather than just one or the other (see 4.2).

Comparing the Aiginetan group of deities with the Homeric group of Olympians, we may cautiously note the absence of some Olympian deities from the Aiginetan circle. Athena might be a controversial case, but Hera and Hermes are more certainly absent. Robert Parker is reluctant to accept this possibility, expecting that all major Olympian/Homeric deities were represented in all Greek communities,[15] and where we lack evidence for any such major deity, it should be due to the vagaries of survival: the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence. This point is certainly well taken. Yet it effectively precludes a possibility of ever asserting an absence because we are never going to be in the possession of a complete record of religious data for any given ancient Greek location or community. But for the same reason we could never verify the alternative view either: that all deities were in fact present in all Greek communities. Thus, a possibility of absence of a major Homeric deity from a given local system of cults should be considered: the explanation for such absence could be quite simple, namely that functions elsewhere associated with Hera and Hermes were performed by other deities on Aigina.

The presence of specific deities on Aigina, and the absence of others, as well as the particular distribution and overlap of functions between local deities are the elements that give the Aiginetan religious mesocosm its unique imprint. Another dimension that illustrates the particular internal make-up of the Aiginetan assemblage of cults is its history: a story of how it came together. In chapter 9, I turn to the historical/diachronic analysis

[15] Parker 2011, 71.

of the local set of cults to trace how it developed gradually over time. Looking ahead, I would like to suggest that the mechanisms of functional distribution and of functional overlap were at work from the early stages of the formation of the Aiginetan polytheistic world, while the predominance of each mechanism in the dynamic process of the evolution could and did vary considerably in different periods.

8.6.2 *Major and Minor Deities: A Local Hierarchy?*

There is yet another issue that needs to be addressed with respect to our understanding of the relationships between Aiginetan deities: whether one or several deities were 'central,' 'major,' while others 'minor,' secondary, or less central. The terminology of relative importance, and of centrality/marginality, is often used in discussions of Greek pantheons.[16] Many etic approaches envision a divine hierarchy according to the panhellenic/poetic schema: Homeric gods are the Olympian gods, and they are major, while Hekate, Eileithyia, nymphs, heroes, and such, are minor, comprising a secondary tier of importance. Another etic approach classifies deities according to their role in civic structure: the poliad deities are the central ones, while those concerned with the subgroups of a *polis*, for example, women, or with individual interests are secondary. That no Homeric/Olympian deity could be a priori designated as poliad to the exclusion of others has been demonstrated time and again: there are no poliad deities *par excellence*.[17] Any deity, or even a hero, may appear in this role in a given ancient Greek community: The Aiginetan data debunks both etic approaches, since a hero Aiakos and a nymph Aigina are indisputably central to Aiginetan civic identity.

Apart from etic perspectives, we may ask whether an emic hierarchy emerges from the Aiginetan data. A brief overview of the evidence is in order. Explicit verbal statements that prioritize one cult over another are

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[16] Bremmer 1994, 14–15: "The main gods were the twelve Olympioi who resided on Mt Olympus . . . many minor divinities, such as Pan and the Nymphs." Cf. Parker 2011, 71–72: "But the concept [of Twelve Gods] confirms that the Greeks had an implicit notion of a distinction between major and minor gods (not their terms however—they spoke just of 'the twelve gods'), and reached a tally of major gods roughly comparable to one that we might operate with. At a slightly lower level we can set, as figures by the 5th century very widely though perhaps not universally honored, the Dioscuri, Eileithyia, Hecate, and Mother; many regions too, perhaps all regions, paid cult to their local rivers, nymphs, and heroes."

[17] See Burkert 1995 and Cole 1995 on 'polis gods' and 'civic cults.' Cf. Bremmer (1994, 15–17) on 'central polis gods.'

not attested until the Roman period, for example, Pausanias 2.30.2 says about Hekate: θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα, "of the gods, Aiginetans venerate Hekate the most." Hekate, however, does not feature in any text of the Archaic or Classical period, and the archaeological evidence is dubious (see 7.13.3). Does this mean that Hekate was not a major deity then? If so, we are not able to tell when she became one. A less direct testimony is Pausanias' use of the expression "in the most prominent part of the city" with reference to the Aiakeion, which might be conveying an evaluative sense that this deity is also quite major. The same expression is used in an honorary decree of the 1st cent BCE (*IG* IV^2 750 line 37) with reference to an unknown building, civic or cultic.

A comparison with the overall group of deities known on Aigina in the 5th century BCE shows that in his Aiginetan odes and paeans, Pindar highlights only a select group of deities, while never mentioning others. Above all others, the Aiakid stemma is featured in nearly every Aiginetan ode: Zeus, Aigina, Aiakos, Endeis, Telamon, Peleus, Phokos, Achilles, and Ajax. Apollo makes only two oblique appearances, once as Pythios (*N.* 3.70), and another time, with unspecified epiclesis (*N.* 5.44). Herakles is addressed as a local cultic figure in *Nemean* 7. Other deities, for example, Damia and Auxesia, Aphaia, Aphrodite, Poseidon, and so on, do not feature, although Pausanias 2.30.3 informs us that Pindar wrote a song (*asma*) for Aphaia. Thus, we may speculate that the choice of deities in the *epinikia* was primarily due to the genre of song: the members of the Aiakid stemma were particularly suitable to the purpose of the *epinikion*. And yet, the popular myth of the drought, in which Aiakos features so prominently and without the Aiakids, as well as Aiakos' reputation for justice, which translates into his role as Judge of the Dead outside of Aigina, confirm that the distorting lens of the *epinikion* in this case was not misleading: the myth/cult of Aiakos was certainly the best known of the Aiginetan ones. Does the fact that this cult was perhaps the best known of all Aiginetan cults mean that it was internally central, that is, perceived as such by the Aiginetans? Most likely, but we never hear about it quite in these terms, even from Pindar. Conversely, if it was not for Herodotus (5.80–86), we could never guess from Pindar about the ideological importance of Damia and Auxesia, or of Apollo's civic roles as Oikistes and Domatites, if it was not for a scholion to *Nemean* 5.81(144).

Aphaia, Aphrodite and Poseidon may also have had much more prominent roles in the local religious mesocosm than our surviving evidence permits us to reconstruct. By this count, it would appear that most Aiginetan deities can be designated "major" in one way or another. What mattered

was the particular context where they each were allowed to shine. The evidence therefore reveals a much less pronounced or much less fixed internal hierarchy than we might have been led to expect. Rather the prominence was relative: depending on the functional context, a deity would be propelled forward or passed over in silence (or perhaps covered by a safeguard formula "all gods and goddesses"). Such a dynamic hierarchy is indeed consistent with the principles of polytheistic worship: individual deities or groups of them were brought into limelight in periodic celebrations at specific times during the calendar year, rather than being celebrated all together on every festival occasion.

We may tentatively propose that a fixed hierarchy of importance was not, as far as we can tell from the evidence, operative in the Aiginetan record, rather importance was relative and transferrable. Rather than one single cult, a group of deities could be shown acting in the capacity of identity markers. The fact that Aiakos and the Aiakids stand out as Aiginetan identity markers in our record is probably due to the fact that they were prominent on the panhellenic arena, which is the level of social intercourse most prominently represented in the surviving Greek evidence. Our evidence for the internal Aiginetan discourse and for the international arena (Etruria, Naukratis) is vastly poorer, and hence our perspective on the relative importance of specific deities and cults there is inevitably skewed. The value of each deity within the Aiginetan religious world is not only relative, but also relational: there is room for varied representations of a social concern because several relevant cults are in place.[18] The whole is therefore bigger than the sum of its parts. I paraphrase Robert Levy to conclude:[19] the many individual deities on Aigina were imagined, created, and arranged in such a way that they could be comprehended by the people of Aigina and that they were able to make, each in its own way, their special contribution to the representation, creation, and maintenance of the island's mesocosm.

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[18] Cf. Cole (1995, 298) who cites the case of Eretria on Euboia, and also argues that all deities together represent the identity of the *polis*. Eretria was founded in the 8th century near the harbor around the temple of Apollo. Artemis' temple was "at the frontier of Eretrian territory, at the old Mycenaean site of Amarynthos, now identified on the coastal road where Erasinos meets the sea. Eretria recognized both divinities as fundamental to the existence and definition of the *polis*. The major treasury of the city was kept at the sanctuary of Artemis . . . together with Apollo and Leto she was one of the three major gods by whom the *polis* swore collective oaths; and she is pictured together with Apollo on reliefs decorating important documents of the city. The sanctuary of Artemis, located at the edge of the city's territory, represented the security of the *polis*."

[19] Levy 1990, 272.

8.7 Worshipping Roles and Worshipping Groups

As we have argued above, the roles of Aiginetan deities are socially determined, and the overlaps between them indicate the nodes of heightened communal concern. As much as the social needs of the Aiginetans determine the functions of local deities, so conversely, the parameters of local cults determine the roles of Aiginetans as worshippers. Individuals that assemble for worship often form distinct groups circumscribed according to criteria of civic status, kinship, occupation, gender, or age, but religious interaction creates connections of a varied degree of durability between the individuals involved. To use an analogy with club membership: participation in some rituals entitled Aiginetans to a temporary pass to that cult, while participation in other rituals came with lifelong membership. The former category of rituals were those, in which participants acted in temporary roles, determined by their transient status (e.g., age: parthenos, neanias, adult, elder; or stage in life: bride, young mother, ephebe, adult warrior) or by the requirements of that cult. Other cults and their rituals were only open to members with permanent status determined either by gender, kinship group, citizen status, or occupation. Participation in such cults produced definitive worshipping groups that functioned as enduring structures within the local community.[20] Thus, one and the same individual would play a transient 'worshipper-role' in some cults at some point in his/her lifetime and a stable worshipper role in other cults, where he would be a lifelong member of an enduring 'worshipper-group.' On Aigina, the evidence, in spite of its limited nature, allows us to observe how worshipper-roles and worshipper-groups articulate the mechanisms of social cohesion and, at the same time, of social differentiation and stratification within the Aiginetan mesocosm.

8.7.1 *Women and Men*

Age and gender are the most prevalent determinants of worshipper-roles. As everywhere in the Greek world, the Aiginetan cult of Demeter Thesmophoros (see ch. 7.11) must have been open exclusively to married women, probably of citizen status.[21] In the Aiginetan cult of Damia and Auxesia (see 7.10), women also played a dominant role: the main dedications in

[20] Cf. Malkin et al. 2009, 7: "The lasting patterns of relations among social actors, i.e., individuals, form structures."

[21] Stallsmith 2009.

the sanctuary were dress pins offered specifically by women, who also formed ritual choruses for Damia and Auxesia. These choruses were abusive and directed their mockery at other women of the country. It is certain that they would have consisted only of married women. At the same time, these female choruses were trained by male *choregoi*, and men may have had additional ritual roles, if the presence of military items in the sanctuary can be interpreted in this way. Women were therefore central in two cults that were concerned with the fertility of the land and the people. Women also played a prominent role in the cult of Aphaia as we can judge from votive objects, but here as well, male presence is evident from military dedications, as well as from the epigraphic record of votaries.

Thiasoi of Poseidon in connection with the feast of *monophagoi*, by contrast, seem to have been all-male affairs. In another vein, we should note that among all surviving votive dedications from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods on Aigina, there is not a single one by a woman. This might be a matter of chance survival, but if so, it is statistically striking. The only example of an epigraphically attested woman's dedication is from the 2nd cent CE (*IG* IV² 770). There appears to be an indication that on Aigina men controlled as much of the cultic sphere as we have a record for: as already mentioned, in the cult of Damia and Auxesia, men were in the controlling position of *choregoi*; and in the cult of Aphaia, the priest was male (*IG* IV² 1038).[22] A dedication to some presumably nymph-like deities, Koliadai, is also by a man (*IG* IV² 1057). Men were dedicants of wreaths to Aiakos and the Aiakids, although this is not surprising, since athletic events, in which Aiginetans typically participated, were open only to men (women as owners of horses could compete in chariot races, but Aiginetans did not compete in this category of events). We may conclude that with respect to the Aiginetan cults, for which we have some evidence, women's participation is tangible, and yet overshadowed by male control.

8.7.2 *Youths and Maidens*

Youths of both genders may have been involved in common celebrations dedicated to Aiakos and the Aiginetan nymph Aigina. Bacchylides 13.94–96 mentions choruses of Aiginetan maidens singing for Aigina and Endeis.

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[22] Male priests in cults of female deities are not uncommon (e.g., in the cult of the Argive Hera: Hdt. 6.81), which may have something to do with the male control of important communal functions across Greece, or with the peculiarities of each cult in question.

Kômoi of youths waiting, either to perform or to hear a song, by the Asopian water on Aigina in Pindar's *Nemean* 3.4–5, might be a reference to a chorus of epinikian performers, or to a local choral performance related to Asopis. In that case, we would have evidence both for choruses of maidens and for *kômoi* of youths connected to the Asopis spring, a possible locus for the worship of Aigina-nymph. Pindar's *Paean* 15 and the third triad of *Paean* 6 are prosodia for Aiakos that would have been performed by a male chorus. These prosodia were most likely performed during the Aiakeia, a festival in honor of Aiakos. The themes of maidens' songs, as Bacchylides testifies, and of Pindar's prosodia for Aiakos are closely related, both referring to procreative unions between Zeus and Aigina, Aiakos and Endeis, Peleus and Thetis. Prosodia for Aiakos and choruses of maidens may have taken place on the same festival occasions, celebrating Aiakos, his mother Aigina, and the Aiakids (see 7.3 for details).

Since neither age, nor gender determine the totality of a social person, these categories do not constitute enduring worshipper-groups, but only specific worshipper roles. In contrast to that, the categories of professional occupation, kinship or oikos-membership are enduring social determinants that generate worshipper-groups rather than worshipper-roles.

8.7.3 *Professional Associations*

As we know from some Greek locations, professional groups, for example, blacksmiths, could worship their patron deities in common cults.[23] We do not have such explicit attestations for Aigina, but a number of particularly prominent local professional occupations hint at a possibility of worshipper-groups on the basis of professional affiliation. Traders, seamen, and craftsmen were some of the dominant occupational groups on Aigina. Aristotle (*Pol.* 4.4.1291b 224) noted that seamen engaged in trade were the most numerous class of Aiginetans. That Aigina was a hub for foreign visitors, most likely tradesmen, is attested by the reputation for *xenia* trumpeted by Pindar, among others. A scholion to *Olympian* 8.29

[23] Burkert (1985, 281) hypothesizes that "guilds of craftsmen, especially smith guilds" could be seen as main participants in the worship of the Lemnian Hephaistos and Kabeiroi. In Athens, the festival of Khalkeia was a common celebration of handicraftsmen, and in particular of blacksmiths: Harpocration, s.v. *Χαλκεῖα:* Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημέου ξενίας. τὰ Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀγομένη Πυανεψιῶνος ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, χειρώναξι κοινή, μάλιστα δὲ χαλκεῦσιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς (see Parke 1977, 92–93, n. 107). Carpenters and horse trappings makers could have worshipped Athena Ergane in particular, since she was credited, in Athens, with having built the first ship and having invented the bridle: sources collected in Burkert 1985, 141 n. 22 and n. 24.

(29a πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμᾶται πρὸς τοῦ ξενίου Διός. (29b.) τουτέστι φιλόξενοί εἰσιν. ἴσως διὰ τὸ ἐμπορεῖον εἶναι τὴν Αἴγιναν· ὅθεν τὸν ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ φόρτον Αἰγινητικὸν ἔλεγον καὶ τοὺς παντοπώλας Αἰγινοπώλας) explains that Aigina was such a famous emporion that it gave name to commonly traded goods "Aiginêtika" and to common peddlers (*pantopôlai*) the name of "Aiginopolai."[24] Votive dedications of Aristophantos and Damodas at Aphaia, and of Aristophantos at Kolonna, and Naukratis (see 7.4.5) illustrate the extent of Aiginetan trading concerns and possibly local patronage of cults. Sculptors, in particular those working in bronze, and potters may have been other prominent professional groups. A possibility of their affiliation in worshipper-groups must remain a hypothesis for the present.

8.7.4 *Kinsmen*

On Aigina, we have archaeological, textual, and epigraphic evidence that suggests an existence of such kinship-based, and possibly oikos-based worshipper-groups. Recent excavations at the West Complex on Kolonna brought to light a "complex of unroofed courtyards and small rooms, probably for dining purposes."[25] Earlier, Furtwängler and Welter found sacrificial pits covered with *omphaloi* in this area of the site. The interpretation was that the activities had to do with ancestor worship and chthonic cult.[26] One of the *omphaloi*, which may have served as lids for sacrificial *bothroi*, carried an inscription Προσσαριδῶν (*IG* IV² 1002),[27] which is most likely the name of a clan, in the genitive, indicating the ownership of a *bothros*. Another *omphalos* carried an inscription ΦΡΑ (*IG* IV² 1003), most probably an abbreviation of the adjective *phratrios*, pointing to a phratry cult.[28] Additional uninscribed *omphaloi*, to the total of eight so far, have been recently unearthed in the West Complex at Kolonna.[29]

From textual sources, we know that some local kinship groups were called *patrai*. The names of seven kinship groups are known, and possibly of eight, if we count Prossaridai as one. If *patrai* and *phratriai* were

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[24] See further on Aiginetan commerce in Figueira 1981, 230–298; Morris 1984, 91–119; De Ste. Croix 2004; Hornblower 2007.

[25] Felten 2007b, 22.

[26] Felten et al. 2010, 43–50; Felten 2007b, 22; Welter 1932, 162–3; 1938b 494–5; 1954, 45–6.

[27] We may note that on Doric Aigina, the expected gen. pl. form would be Προσσαριδᾶν.

[28] Welter 1954, 40–41 proposed Poseidon Phratrios as a candidate.

[29] Felten et al. 2010, 49.

different kinship groups, Prossaridai may have been a phratry, not a *patra*. Welter lists seven kinship groups, not all explicitly called *patrai*, with their genealogical trees as we know them from Pindar: [30] Psalykhiadai (*I.* 6, *N.* 5, *I.* 5, *I.* 8, *N.* 3), Euxenidai (*N.* 7), Theandridai (*N.* 4), Bassidai (*N.* 6), Khariadai (*N.* 8), Blepsidai (*O.* 8), Meidylidai (*P.* 8). Parker notes that Blepsidai might be an oikos rather than patra, and: "the exact nature of these patrai is unknown: they are indifferently interpreted as phratries and *phylai* by the scholia, and are evidently patrilineal groups; but one wonders whether they are not more exclusive than Attic phratries or tribes."[31] Scholia to *Isthmian* 6. 63 (89d): identify *patra Psalykhiadân* first as *phylê* and then as *ph{r}atria*, while scholia to *Nemean* 7.70 (103a and b) consistently identify *patra Euxenidân* as *ph{r}atria*.

Burnett surmises ten *patrai* overall on Aigina on the basis of ten male *choregoi* assigned to the choruses of Damia and Auxesia, and ten hostages taken to Athens (Hdt. 6.73. "from the most rich and prominent"—ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει), as well 500 hoplites sent to Plataea (Hdt. 9.28.6), that is, 50 from each of ten *patrai*, but these guesses may well be entirely wrong.[32] Ten wooden thrones in the temple of Auzesia listed in the inventory of the sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia (*IG* IV^2 787) might have something to do with the privileged position the ten *choregoi* enjoyed in the cult's festivities, but the ten *choregoi* for the other deity would seem not to be accommodated.

We find the number 'ten' quite regularly in our sources with reference to the membership of various council boards and commissions of different sorts in ancient Greek states.[33] It would be unwise to hazard a conjecture on the number of the Aiginetan *patrai* on this premise, especially if they were not *phylai*, and most likely they were not, but kinship groups such as *genê* or phratries, and if Attica is taken as comparanda, there was an irregular and as yet not fully known number of *genê* and phratries there, but certainly exceeding ten. In addition, we would be wrong to imagine a

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[30] Welter 1938a, 130–131. Nagy (1994 [1990], 176) notes Pindar's use of the term *patra* in what to him seems like a consistent conjunction with the mention of Aiakids: *N.* 4.74 *patra* of Theandridai (Aiakids mentioned in l. 71), *N.* 6.31 *patra* of Bassidai (Aiakids mentioned in l. 17), *N.* 7.70 *patra* of Euxenidai (Aiakids mentioned in l. 10), *I.* 6.63 *patra* Psalykhidai (Aiakids mentioned in ll. 19 and 35), *P.* 8.38 *patra* of Meidylidai (Aiakos mentioned in l. 99).

[31] Parker 1996, 63 n. 26.

[32] Burnett 2005, 17. Earlier discussions in Winterrsheidt 1938, 42–46 and Figueira 1981, 312–13.

[33] E.g., ten men elected to take care of the grain in the Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 BCE (Stroud 1998, 9; *SEG* XLVIII 96).

perfectly neat mathematical formula behind the organization of the religious and political authority anywhere in ancient Greece, no less so on Aigina. If Attica again could serve as a proper warning, the priests of three out of ten eponymous heroes of the new Kleisthenic *phylai* were not even members of their hero's *phylê*, "but presumably belonged to the *genos* that had traditionally maintained that hero's cult."[34] Also in Attica, each deme or a group of them among the 139 demes would constitute one's own religious world and religious authority, and while the membership in it was hereditary through the father, "residence would have no bearing," so that a demesman might still belong to the religious unit of his father's deme, but reside away from that deme's territory. The deme's religious world, however, itself could extend beyond the deme's borders, as Michael Jameson points out: "Mount Hymettos for the Erchians, Poseidon at Sounion for Thorikos."[35] These examples show that numbers used for membership of boards and committees, and even of representative hostages, may have nothing to do with the number of actual kinship groups, and that they may be a poor guide to modelling the respective relationships between residency and membership of religious and social groups.

In one of the Pindaric odes, *Olympian* 8.15–30,65–88, Zeus is addressed as a Genethlios of the Blepsiadai. This might be a reference to the Blepsiads' patraic deity—Zeus Genethlios. If that were the case, we could well imagine a patra's cult for this deity. The feast of *monophagoi*, attested in the Roman times, but possibly of an earlier date, celebrated in honor of Poseidon on Aigina, may have been a kinship and oikos-based religious event (see further in 7.18), as Plutarch *Quaestiones Graecae* 44 lists participants as πατράσι καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ οἰκείοις, emphasizing the patrilineal basis of the kinship group.

Sinn suggested, in connection to his hypothesis of Aphaia as a Dorian tribal deity, that dining facilities at the sanctuary of Aphaia were also used by kinship groups, and while this is possible, there is no additional evidence, similar to the epigraphic and archaeological evidence at Kolonna, that could bolster his hypothesis (see 7.4.5.–6).[36]

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[34] Jameson 1997b, 182.
[35] Jameson 1997b, 183.
[36] Sinn 1987, 138–140.

8.7.5 *Social Differentiation and Religious Authority*

Beyond the scale of kinship groups, there is a further question about social control and exercise of authority in the religious sphere. In oligarchic *politeia* such as Aigina, did the religious authority rest with aristocracy or with the broader Aiginetan community, *aristoi* and demos combined? Besides the question of who actually took decisions on religious matters, and what procedure may have been followed, the issue might be approached from another angle: could aristocracy as a social class be seen as a distinct worshipping group, or were *Aiginetai*, as a religious community, undifferentiated by the criteria of birth and wealth? Our textual sources always use an all-embracing ethnic *Aiginetai* with reference to religious agency on the island, they never refer to a segment of the political community as the religious authority.[37] David Fearn has recently critiqued what he calls the supposed "communitarian function" of the Aiginetan *epinikia*, according to which "Aiginetan epinician appropriates epichoric cult in order to root itself into a *polis* context understood as communitarian in ethos."[38] Instead, analyzing the addressees of the Aiginetan *epinikia* and noting a remarkable "level of interest in families and family victories" found in them, he argues in favor of a narrowly-based aristocratic control:

> [E]ven if we were to consider the actual foundations of epichoric Aeginetan cults (supposing we could access such *Ur*-moments directly), or the building of sanctuaries (e.g., Aphaia), as the authentic results of shared local endeavour (with opposition to the growing threat of Athens providing some important sense of unity), the best guess that we can hazard about the ongoing rationale behind and actual administration of such cults suggests that they represented and supported the outlook of a relatively small group of competing aristocratic families or clans.[39]

The difficulty of filtering out the religious from the political is present in every ancient Greek state, whatever its constitutional form, and in an oligarchic politeia, the political and religious interests of the ruling

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[37] E.g., in Hdt. 5.88, the religious agency that adopts a law about the length of local dress pins and about the dedication of pins to Damia and Auxesia is described simply as *Aiginetai*; also in Σ *N.* 5.81(144), it is undifferentiated *Aiginetai* that sacrifice to Apollo: καὶ εἴη ἂν ὁ μὴν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ θύουσιν Αἰγινῆται Ἀπόλλωνι οἰκιστῇ καὶ δωματίτῃ, καθά φησι Πυθαίνετος (*FHG* IV 487). Examples can be multiplied.

[38] Fearn 2011, 183. See further on epinikion's role on Aigina, and on Pindar and Aigina: Athanassaki 2011; Indergaard 2011; Morrison 2011; Burnett 2005; Hubbard 1987b; Gzella 1981; Mullen 1972 and 1973/74.

[39] Fearn 2011, 187–8.

minority are expected to be intertwined, but this need not imply that a broader (*polis*-wide, or deme-wide) religious community is somehow sidelined or non-existent. Even in Athenian democracy, as Jameson notes: "mass and elite shared the same religious as they did political symbols."[40] The Kleisthenic reforms did not touch traditional priesthoods, which were all provided by the *genê*, and at the same time, the Attic *genê* were not exclusively aristocratic.[41] Thus, even if we were to agree with Fearn that in Pindar and Bacchylides we see examples where members of individual *patrai* are linked to interests in particular Aiginetan cults,[42] the presumed control over those cults, or provision of priests for them, if we are to go this far in our speculation, still would not have meant the limitation of access to other community members, or denial of an equal entitlement of the wider community to the symbolic value and practical functionality of local gods and heroes, as well as to their favorable patronage. As much as in Athens, the privilege of a *genos* to provide priests for a particular cult, did not detract from the entitlement of the wider community (territorial or kin-based) to engagement with the deity or hero thus serviced, unless it was a cult of that *genos*, or of another narrowly drawn social group. The interplay of local civic and panhellenic religious dimensions also argues in favor of postulating a relevant state-wide community even in oligarchies, as well as in tyrannies: local aristocracy could gain mileage out of the fame of the Aiakids only if such fame had already been panhellenically established and if it had already been securely attached to Aigina. In other words, before the presumed Aiginetan clans could benefit, Aiakos and the Aiakids had to become synonymous with Aigina. This takes us back to a rather murky period of history when the respective contributions of merchants, craftsmen and aristocracy to the burgeoning Aiginetan polity are still poorly understood (see further 9.3).

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40 Jameson 1997b, 191.
41 *New Pauly* 5, 760, s.v. *genos*.
42 Fearn 2011.

PART THREE

HISTORY OF THE AIGINETAN SYSTEM OF CULTS

CHAPTER NINE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AIGINETAN CULTS

9.1 Ancient Greek Polytheism in the Diachronic Perspective

Most historical studies of Greek religion focus on the origins of individual cults, roles of individual deities, and the spread or distribution of individual cults over the Greek world. Such inquiries, while illuminating some aspects of ancient religious life, do not address the history of Greek polytheism. Partly it is so because we typically summon Homer or Hesiod, or turn to Classical *poleis* when we seek to describe ancient Greek polytheism. We look for "fully developed" systems of cults.

Looking beyond the origins of individual deities, I would like to raise a question about the origins of Greek polytheistic structures:[1] did various Greek communities of the Early Iron Age share a common polytheistic matrix? And if so, was it inherited from the Bronze Age communities of the Greek mainland? Or did it develop gradually and piecemeal, as individual gods were adopted from the Near East or Africa and adapted to the post-Mycenaean ones? Or were both processes at work: the carry-over from the Bronze Age and the adoption from the Near East and elsewhere? Since it is the worship of "many gods" that we are seeking to understand, is it significant to consider the numbers of deities worshipped from one historical period to the next? How many deities were worshipped in each early Greek community? Was the number constant? Did it change over time, and if so, why?

It is a well-known fact that in the period from 1150 down to 950 BCE, in mainland Greece, the evidence for cultic activity or for a continuity with

[1] It should be a serious signal to us that even the ancients, Herodotus 2.53 most explicitly, did not have a perfect clarity on this subject, and were asking similar questions: Ὅθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δὴ αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, "wherefrom did each of the gods come, and whether they have all always been." Undertaking to test whether Herodotus is right in giving credit to Homer and Hesiod for giving the gods their surnames (καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες) Chris Faraone (2012, 49) has recently concluded that "we would do well to take Herodotus' remark about the gods in Hesiod at face value: there are points in the poem where the poet does indeed seem to innovate in the way he individuates some groups of deities, who previously seem to have operated anonymously as a group." See also Linforth 1928.

the religious practices of the Bronze Age is scanty.[2] We do know, however, that some of the same deities were worshipped in Bronze Age Greece and in the later historical periods,[3] and some of the same rituals were used in worship.[4] The transition from the BA to the EIA was accompanied by a radical change in socio-political organization. Many areas previously 'controlled by palace administration reverted to rather simple forms of social organization: self-governed villages ruled by chiefs or basileis. Both secular and religious buildings in this period display modest scale, with some notable exceptions, such as the Toumba at Lefkandi. Spaces specifically designated for ritual activity are not easily detectable. One theory envisions the origin of temples in rulers' dwellings, but critics note that in some cases the latter co-existed with separately built temples.[5] Most importantly, where we find early cult sites, first with dining (10th–9th centuries) and later (from the 8th century onwards) with votive activity,[6] we have little sense of spatial or social connections between them. In the period between 950 and 700 BCE, sanctuaries are few and far between, and each seems to highlight a particular deity rather than a polytheistic group: for example, Kalapodhi in Phocis, Kato Symi on Crete, Amyklai in Lakonia, Kombothekra and Olympia in Elis, Polis Cave in Ithaka, Mt. Hymmetos in Attica, Agia Irina on Keos, Mende-Poseidi in Khalkidike, Ano Mazaraki-Rakita in Achaea. In this early record there are also notable local divinities not attested elsewhere, at least not in the same early period (either in panhellenic poetry or in cultic geography): Enodia in Thessaly, Aphaia on Aigina, Orthia in Sparta, Maleatas in Epidauros.

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[2] The literature on the "transitional period" is expanding, and some significant archaeological publications are adding new information. See Schachter 2000; Morgan 1996, 2003; de Polignac 1995; Antonaccio 1994; Wright 1994; Burkert 1992; Hiller 1983; Gschnitzer 1979; Lévêque 1973; Brelich 1968. Recent excavations at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia, whose preliminary reports have been published online (http://korinth.sas.upenn.edu/lykaion/lykaion.html), show an unbroken cultic continuity from the Bronze Age to the historical period.

[3] Rougemont 2005 is the most up to date study that incorporates earlier bibliography.

[4] E.g., animal sacrifice: see Nilsson 1955; Dietrich 1974, 1983.

[5] Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Hall 2007, 80 and 86.

[6] Hall 2012 [2007], 85 and 270–271. Among interregional sanctuaries, Hall identifies only Isthmia and Olympia as sanctuary sites where ritual activity starts as early as 11th–10th centuries in the form of ritual dining, later (8th cent.) augmented by the introduction of votive practice. At Kolonna on Aigina, however, the same pattern is in evidence, and Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009) speculates on the possibility of a similar arrangement (periodic ritual feasting) hosted by a local "big man" or clan.

With a view to this scattered picture of cultic sites, more surprising appears to be the fact that the very earliest known literary creation of the historical period, the Homeric epics, present a picture of a fully developed religious pantheon in a fully developed literary form.[7] The roles of individual deities are outlined and their relationships clearly articulated. The pantheons in Homer and Hesiod do not appear to reflect a formative stage in the process, but a mature, fully developed stage.[8]

It seems paradoxical that the situation on the ground could be quite so different from that found in poetry: the territorial distribution of cult sites in the Late Dark Age differs both from the Homeric/Hesiodic and from the Classical picture. If we try to associate cult sites with territorial and political communities, we see, in the Classical period, large numbers of sanctuaries within recognizable socio-territorial units (demes, *poleis*, or regions of *ethnos*-states). In fact, neighboring communities often have sanctuaries of homonymous deities, so that we find Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite in both Hermione and Troizen, and Hera both in the demes of Marathon and Erkhia in Attica. In the 10th–8th centuries BCE, each territory that would later become a clearly defined state appears to host only one to three archaeologically visible cult sites. This is significantly fewer than the corresponding numbers in later periods. Not only are there fewer cult sites in the early period; the sanctuaries of homonymous deities are much further apart from each other than in later periods. It may be objected

[7] Cf. Vernant 1991, 278–9: "Nilsson's classic theory of Minoan-Mycenaean religion that lived on in Greek religion has to be considerably amended. Continuity is certainly evident in the sites of worship and in the names of deities appearing on the tablets . . . but that is not the point . . . the fact is that in the eyes of the Greeks they [Homer and Hesiod] gave the pantheon and the mythology their canonical form."

[8] Cf. Sissa and Detinenne 2000, 144–45: "The surprise felt by the Olympian gods when they suddenly discovered the fine, big cities built by living creatures so deficient in "vital force" (*aion*) is rather like our own when faced with the polytheistic landscape of Greece between 800 and 700 BC. To a bird's eye panoptic view, the world of the gods seems to be divided into two very different blocks. On the one hand, boldly etched, the company of highly individual gods living in their houses on Olympus . . . on the other hand, the first religious sites. . . . Our surprise is certainly partly provoked by the great material distance that separates the formal perfection of the gods of Homer's text from the clumsy artifacts exhumed by the archaeologists . . . There is both fiction and, quite by chance, also history to establish links between Homer's gods and the beginnings of polytheism in the eighth-century cities. According to the local evidence, it would appear that, by the 7th century, Homer's epic with its Olympians constituted an indispensable reference for any discourse on the gods, whether they were the gods of a single city or were regarded as Pan-Hellenic deities. The plain synchronism is irrefutable. The 8th century witnesses the beginnings of the city more or less at the very moment when the gods were noticing the cities and talking about them among themselves."

that due to archaeological invisibility, many Dark Age cult sites are simply not known to us. The same objection can be raised, however, about many domestic or rural cults of the Archaic and Classical periods, which remain unknown to us because they either did not leave traces or because they are hardly detectable by archaeological means. Thus, a certain number of cults and cult sites remains unknown from one historical period to the next, so that even in the Classical period, we could still presume a large percentage of cults, perhaps even fifty percent, to be unknown. But if we postulate a significant rate of unknowns from the EIA to the Classical period, then the change in the number of the knowns over the same period of time would be telling. In other words: if we were to discover that there were more cult sites in the Geometric period than are presently known, and if we had to change the proportion between the known Geometric and Classical cults, for example, from 1:4 to 1:3, it would still be impossible to deny the fact of the manifold numerical increase in the number of cult sites per socio-territorial unit. This estimate is corroborated by explicit evidence for cult introductions, on which more will be said in what follows. The distribution of religious structures in Greek territories changed from the 8th to 4th centuries BCE.

If we observe the process of change in terms of territorial units, we can describe them as a growth and expansion of local groupings of cults from the Late Dark Age to the Hellenistic period. Each location, which has one to five cults in the Geometric period, has twenty to forty (Attica: many more) cults in the Classical period. In ancient Corinth, six cults are attested before 700 BCE, and by 400 BCE there are at least twenty-two.[9] There may have been more cults in this period, but we have no secure evidence for the beginning of many cults which we know are attested in later periods (after 400 BCE), through epigraphic or textual sources.

On Aigina, four cult sites are known before 700 BCE. By the late 5th century there are some twenty cults associated with at least fifteen sites on the island: in some cases, more than one deity was worshipped at the same site. Whole regions, with only three-four known sites of the Geometric period, now have clusters of cults around each settlement and together amount to several dozen. There are two main changes that can be observed. The first is the quantitative change. The second is the change of the socio-territorial context, that is, the presence of defined political

[9] A recent treatment of the cults of Corinth is Reichert-Südbeck 2000.

territories by 400 BCE, and in some cases by 500 BCE.[10] How much earlier before then the geopolitical differentiation began is very hard to say. In part, this question ties into theories of the rise of *polis*.[11] Overall, however, we hear much less about territorial disputes in the Geometric/Early Archaic periods than we might expect from the area undergoing state formation and political articulation.[12] At the same time, irrespective of whether we work with the model of the eighth-century "renaissance" accompanied by the rise of *polis*, or with the model of a gradual territorial, social and economic development from the post-Mycenaean into the Archaic period, the subsequent period of demographic, political, and economic growth from the 8th to the 4th centuries is not in dispute. It is the trajectory of religious developments in this latter period that we are concerned with, and in particular, a manifold increase in the number of cultic sites per territorial unit. As has been already noted, the case of manifold increase over that period stands even when we account for archaeologically invisible or otherwise unknown cult sites. The implications of this observation for the study of Greek polytheism are potentially significant: local groupings of cults numerically expand over the same period that the state takes to establish its territorial and political presence.

As we observe this phenomenon, several questions present themselves:

1. Why does the number of cults increase? Was the polytheism of the Geometric period different from the polytheism of the Classical period?
2. How did local groupings of cults increase? How did new cults appear in a given territory? What were the ways and means, and were they uniform, similar or different in different socio-territorial units?
3. Was the process of expansion continuous, or did it move in spurts? Can we detect specific stages in the process, and if yes, what historical and other factors define the stages of development? Can we propose universal stages for all Greek territories, or would they be individual in every unit?

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[10] Hall 2012 [2007], 76–83.

[11] Polignac 1995; Morris 1997; Hansen 1998; Hall 2012 [2007], 67–83.

[12] Of the notable examples, there is the Lelantine War, quite possibly mythological, and no less historically problematic Messenian Wars: see discussion in Hall 2012 [2007], 1–8 and 170–177. Most border disputes are attested in the later periods, Classical and Hellenistic.

9.2 Changing Relationships between the Land, the People, and the Gods on Aigina

The larger issue of the history of polytheism in ancient Greece, as well as the questions outlined above serve as a framework for my inquiry into the diachronic development of the Aiginetan system of cults. The evidence allows us to distinguish three groups of cults, the beginnings of which can be shown to be no later than either the Classical, Archaic or Geometric periods. It might be the case that some of the cults that today I consider to have begun in one period, had actually begun earlier. Here I apply a conservative approach, erring on the side of caution, and relying only on secure attestations rather than on the possibility or even plausibility of an earlier inception date. Thus, whenever possible, I use the *terminus ante quem non* for the placement of cults in certain time periods, and in the rest of the cases I rely on the *terminus post quem non*. In the end, looking for all cults of a territory, instead of looking for individual cults, in chronological perspective results in seeing stages in the development of such local constellations.

Geometric period:
Aphaia; Apollo; Zeus Hellanios; deity of Dragonera;
[Poseidon at Kalaureia]

Archaic period:
Aiakos and the Aiakids; Damia and Auxesia; Herakles; Zeus Pasios
[Thebasimakhos; Pan]

Classical period:
Aphrodite Epilimenia; Demeter Thesmophoros; Artemis; Koliadai; Asklepios; Dionysos

9.2.1 *Stage 1. Geometric Period: Reclaiming the Land*

The earliest cultic sites on Aigina are indicated by archaeological evidence. There are four cult sites known today where material dating to the Geometric period is attested. Two factors suggest that the Geometric material at these sites should be seen as cultic: (1) topographic location of the sites, (2) presence of cults at these sites in later periods, (3) physical remains of structures and the nature of objects.

1. The site of Aphaia is a level area atop one of the peaks (about 180m) in the Kokkinovrakhos massif that dominates the northeast corner of the island and rises between the modern settlements of Mesagros to the west, Vagia to the north, Agia Marina to the south, and Alones to the southwest (see Map 1). The highest peaks (205m and 207m) in the Kokkinovrakhos massif are to the east of Aphaia, across a narrow mountain saddle. Although it does not have a 360-degree view of the horizon because of the higher mountain tops to the east of it, the height of Aphaia overlooks arable lands to the north and mountain sides sloping down to the bay of Agia Marina to the southeast (the harbor itself is not visible from Aphaia), as well as the Aegean sea to the north (towards the Megarid and Attica), northeast (to the Attic coast) and southeast in the direction of the Cyclades and Crete. The site of the Aphaia sanctuary was occupied by a Bronze Age cult of a *kourotrophos* deity.[13] A continuity of that cult into the historical period is questionable, just as in so many other places of the Greek world where there is an observable gap in the archaeological record between the LHIIIC and the Geometric period.[14] At Aphaia, the last Bronze Age votives date to the LHIIIC, with no Submycenaean or Early Protogeometric material attested, and the next group of finds dates to the Late Protogeometric period. The Geometric material at the site includes pottery of Attic, Argive and local manufacture, crude figurines, and metal objects, such as decorative bronze plaques, fibulae, pins and rings.[15] Welter, following Furtwängler,[16] postulated a sacred grove with an altar at the site of Aphaia in the early period of the historical sanctuary, which he placed in the beginning of the first millennium BCE.[17] This is a reasonable speculation, but no traces of an altar or any architectural construction are attested at the site until the early 6th century BCE.[18]

2. The other site of the Geometric period is the Oros (see Map 1 and Fig. 31). It is the highest peak on Aigina (531m). Because it is located on the island situated in the middle of the Saronic Gulf, the Oros is the only

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[13] Pilafidis-Williams 1998.

[14] See Hall (2012 [2007], 64–66) for a summary of the view that the Dark Age is a historiographical mirage.

[15] Furtwängler 1906, 436–447, 375–377 nos. 21–43, 433 nos. 8–12, 392 nos. 12–20, plates 109–116.

[16] Furtwängler 1906, 474.

[17] Welter 1938b, 68.

[18] Earliest architectural construction at Aphaia: ca. 570 BCE (Schwandner 1985, 128–129).

place from which one can see all of the coastal areas of the Saronic Gulf at the same time: from Poros (SW), to Epidauros (W), Isthmus (NW), Megara (N), Salamis (N), Attica (NE, Piraeus (NE), and all the way down to Sounion (E). Conversely, the peak of Oros is visible from most coastal areas of the Saronic Gulf. In the historical period, the peak of the Oros was the site of an altar of Zeus Hellanios, whose festival grounds were located below the summit on the northern slope of the Oros at an elevation of about 300m. In the Late Bronze Age period, the peak of Oros was a habitation site of refuge-type, as Gabriel Welter, the first excavator on the Oros, surmised.[19] Welter's finds have never been published, and I have not been able to gain access to them. We have to rely on Welter's assertion that pottery fragments he had excavated at the summit indicate the beginnings of cultic activity in the Geometric period.[20] More recent surface finds support his claim.[21]

3. The third site is atop Mt. Dragonera.[22] Dragonera is a steep rocky peak (elevation 299m), the highest in the range of peaks in the center of the northwestern part of the island rising above the only extensive stretch of arable lowlands on the island to the northwest (Map 1 and Fig. 32). It also overlooks an inland valley to the southeast, Palaiochora, and the hilly coastline to the north of the ridge. The field of visibility from the peak of Dragonera covers a good one fourth of the island's territory (Fig. 33). What we find at the highest point of the peak is an oval-shaped circle of stones, about 5m by 3.5m. Some of the blocks are carved in bedrock, others are separate roughly shaped boulders. The surface inside the circle is uneven bare bedrock. One can see very badly weathered fragments of pottery inside the circle and on the slopes around it. Most of the pieces I saw during my visit were BG, and one piece—Protocorinthian. Welter and Faraklas report Geometric shards at the site.[23] There are also remains of a terrace, or perhaps a watchtower, of late Classical or Hellenistic date on the South slope, about 10m down from the summit. Whether this structure has anything to do with the stone circle is hard to say. If it is a watchtower it need not

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[19] Welter 1938b, 26, 91; 1938a, 13–15, fig. 7. See also Gauss 2007.

[20] "Der Scherbenfund lehrt, dass der Kult in geometrischen Zeit einsetzt und sich durch das ganze Altertum hindurch hält" (Welter 1938b, 91; aslo Welter 1938a, 14).

[21] Faraklas 1980, catalog site no. 77, p. 74 and n. 5. During my own visits to the site, I also saw Geometric potshards on the surface.

[22] This seems to be the contemporary Greek name for this height. On the map of Thiersch it is called Tragunero ("Goat-water").

[23] Welter 1962, 98; Faraklas 1980, 53–54.

undermine the cultic interpretation of the stone circle. On this bare rocky summit, it is hard to imagine any other function of the stone circle than cultic. Faraklas also registered some Late Helladic (LH) shards, which is insufficient grounds, as it seems to me, for suggesting a small LH settlement at the site, in the absence of any architectural remains. At the same time it suggests to me the possibility that the stone circle might be earlier than Geometric in date, and could have been a cult site in the Bronze Age period. Peak-sanctuaries are seen as a predominantly Minoan phenomenon,[24] but Aigina may not have been wholly unrelated to the Minoan world: Niemeier defines the unique position of Aigina in the MH period as "a mediator of goods and ideas—Minoan, Cycladic and Aiginetan—for the mainlanders at the dawn of Mycenaean civilization."[25] While not a peak sanctuary in the Minoan sense, a hypothesis of cultic activity on a mountaintop such as Dragonera in the Bronze Age period would have another parallel on Aigina—the Bronze Age cult at Aphaia, which is also mountain-top, although not a peak sanctuary in the Minoan sense.[26] Stone circles functioning as sacred tables or altars are known from other Geometric sites, but in our case there is no visible evidence of burnt sacrifices, no ash deposits or bone fragments on the surface (soil analysis would be necessary to tell with more certainty). We may provisionally speculate a ritual that involved unburnt offerings of food and libations.[27]

4. The site of Kolonna is the fourth Geometric cult site on the island (see Map 2). There, excavations have revealed a well, 13m deep, filled with a large number of broken libation vessels packed at the bottom. The pottery dates between the 10th and middle of the 8th century BCE[28] These are thought to come from the surrounding area, where the same types of vessels, as well as amphorae, kraters and bowls, have been found in large quantities.[29] Walter thought that in the Geometric period only very few people lived on Kolonna. The majority of the population lived in single houses or

[24] Rutkowski 1972, 39.

[25] Niemeier 1995, 77.

[26] Rutkowski 1972, 152–188.

[27] Thiersch, it seems, conducted a small-scale excavation at Dragonera, but did not publish the results.

[28] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009 is the latest publication and discussion of the Geometric pottery from the site.

[29] Welter 1938b, 34–35. The pottery is mainly Attic, but also Argive, Corinthian, Rhodian (Kraiker 1951, nos. 30–178; Coldstream 1968, 403; Walter-Karydi 1982, 9, pl. 1, nos. 1–2). There are some bronze fibulae, rings, figurines, as well as terracottas that date from the 8th century and later (Margreiter 1988, 12, 18, 21–27).

small settlements in the vicinity. Instead Kolonna was used as a cult place and a cemetery. A number of child-graves, and some adult graves, have been discovered around the presumed Altarplatz of the Geometric period, which was no more than 40m in circumference.[30] Recent re-assessment of the Geometric pottery from Kolonna led Jarosch-Reinholdt to postulate Kolonna as a major site of symposia and feast gatherings, hosted by a local 'basileus' or an elite oikos.[31] No architectural remains help us to envision the setting of ritual or social sympotic activities at Kolonna in this period, hence some temporary ad hoc structures are hypothesized, on the basis of comparanda with other early cult sites.[32] The overwhelming quantity of sympotic pottery underscores the absence of votive remains at Kolonna in the 10th to mid-8th century BCE: the pottery is of fine quality, limited imported origin (a few Attic workshops), and showing signs of multiple repairs (holes patched up with lead), suggesting that a care was taken to preserve the pottery for repeated use.[33] These signs are not consistent with dedicatory or ritual disposal of pottery: in the first instance, we would expect a wider variety of shapes, quality, and provenance reflecting dedicants' origin and status, and in the second instance, we would expect pottery to be smashed and disposed of, rather than repaired. Hence, the puzzling picture of sympotic activity combined with the lack of votives raises questions about the nature of the gatherings and their cultic or secular nature. Jarosch-Reinholdt argues in favor of the cultic nature of the Kolonna gatherings from the 10th century onwards. The argument is based on the correlation of pottery assemblages and the superimposition of archaeological remains in some areas of the site, for example, in the West Complex, where Early Geometric graves are overlaid with stone

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[30] Walter 1993, 35. Walter also identified a line of poros blocks with the remains of some Geometric cultic structure. The most recent discussion and catalog of Geometric burials on Kolonna is in Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009. Some eighth-century burials outside of Kolonna are discussed in Papastavrou 2007.

[31] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 58: "Dabei scheint sich eine die Versammlungen und Feste organisierende und verwaltende Institution abzuzeichnen, die das Geschirr zur Verfügung stellte und für dessen Nachschub verantwortlich war. Die serienmäßige, serviceartige Gleichartigkeit der großen Mengen Trinkgeschirrs des 10. Und 9. Jh., das aus wenigen athenischen Werkstätten stammt, läßt vermuten, daß dieses en gros importiert, an Ort und Stelle für den Gebrauch gelagert, restauriert und bei festlichen Begehungen verwendet wurde. Hinter dieser Organisation stand möglicherweise der oikos einer elitären Familie mit einem basileus an der Spitze, der Feste und Bankette als vermögender Gastgeber kraft seiner angestammten Priester- und Richterfunktion innerhalb der Siedlung ausrichtete, und/oder eine lokale Phratrie."

[32] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 69.

[33] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 59.

circles with possible remains of funerary feasts, later superceeded by an enclosure with *bothroi*, suggesting an ancestral cult.[34] This is a plausible scenario.

The real change comes in the middle of the 8th century, when the pottery assemblages show new shapes, diverse origins (in addition to Attic, there are Argive, East Greek, and Corinthian), and difference in quality. In particular, plates of different kinds suggest for the first time that foodstuffs rather than liquids are being used in feasts and probably offered to deities. Jarosch-Reinholdt interprets this change as a hallmark of social transformations of the local society from a basileus-led community to a polis, with accompanying changes in the oversight of cultic activity (see further discussion in 9.2.2).[35]

The change in ritual activity at Kolonna, in the middle of the 8th century, is paralleled in other Greek locations,[36] suggesting some wider shift in the conception of proper interaction with the gods. We should also keep the introduction of new cults in mind as a possible explanation for the change: new deities may have required different forms of worship.

Faraklas lists two more sites on Aigina as possible Geometric shrines: Agios Dimitrios and Tripiti B. The evidence there is very meager (potshards), and Faraklas' criteria for identifying cult sites are questionable.[37] Mazarakis Ainian does not include them in his compendium.[38]

There are several remarkably similar features that characterize four Aiginetan cult sites presented, allowing us to view them as a group: (a) Bronze Age predecessors; (b) topographic position; (c) intervisibility. All four Geometric cult sites reveal traces of Bronze Age activity. Two of them were habitation sites in the Bronze Age period: the Oros and Kolonna. One, Aphaia, was a cult site. The character of LH activity at Dragonera is hard to determine, but it is present. The sites of the Geometric cults on Aigina were marked by human activity in earlier periods. In other words, the historical cults did not appear in empty spots, but in the locations that had already been marked in the landscape.

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[34] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 65–66; Felten et al. 2004, 106–7; Felten et al. 2007, 92–98.
[35] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 70.
[36] Hall 2012 [2007], 270–271.
[37] Faraklas 1980, 88–90, 52, 61 (sites 32 and 54 in his catalogue).
[38] Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

Unquestionably, the foremost characteristic of all four Geometric cult sites is their topographic position. Three out of four Geometric sites are mountaintop shrines: Oros, Aphaia, and Dragonera. Moreover, these three mountaintop shrines are situated in opposite corners of the island (Dragonera in the northwest, Aphaia in the northeast, and Oros in the south), dominating the adjoining territory. The area observable from each of these mountaintops covers a good portion of the island, and combined they would represent the entire territory of Aigina. The three mountaintop sites articulate the presence of deities who as it were hold the territory of the whole island in sight. The fourth site, Kolonna, although not on the mountaintop, also derives its importance from its topographic position on a small cape projecting into the sea, above the three harbors of the ancient settlement, on the northwest coast of the island. It has always been an important habitation site on Aigina, and has witnessed perhaps the longest span of human activity on the island, from ca. 4000 BCE until today. In the Archaic and Classical periods, it functioned predominantly as the sacred area of Aigina-town.[39]

Another characteristic, which is attested for the Cretan sacred landscape, but may be relevant in a variety of geographic locations characterized by mountainous terrain is the intervisibility of Geometric shrines. Each sanctuary site of the Geometric period on Aigina allows the view of at least two other sanctuary sites. From Aphaia, one can clearly see the Oros and Dragonera (see the book cover). From the Oros—Kolonna and Aphaia are visible. From Kolonna—the Oros and Dragonera. From Dragonera—Kolonna and Aphaia.

All four sites are highly significant in the structuring of the sacred topography of the island. Three of them remain focal points of cultic activity continuously from Geometric down into Classical times and later (Aphaia, Oros, Kolonna). Once these four sites have been marked as special and reserved for cultic use, the main grid of the cultic topography of the island was laid out. The four sites are situated at a good distance from one another, so that each can be said to be a center of a particular area with a radius of several kilometers. Each of these cults, thanks to their prominent topographic position, dominates the territory in its scope of visibility.

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[39] Austrian archaeologists at Kolonna call it 'acropolis,' but it is hardly high enough to be called that. We should note that no ancient source mentions an acropolis on Aigina (see further Appendix 2).

What does the location of these sanctuaries tell us about their roles in the religious life of the island in the Geometric period? If we place them in the context of ancient social topography (see further Appendix 2), we confront a number of further questions. Was Aigina, at that time, home to one or several distinct communities, that is, was Aigina a mono-nucleus socio-territorial unit or poly-nucleus? This is important to consider if we are to view the four cults attested in the Geometric period as elements in a single system of cults, the local Aiginetan system. Can we speak of a pan-Aiginetan system of cults yet, or was each of the cults frequented by and known only to the inhabitants of some smaller areas within Aigina and not to all the Aiginetans? These questions are hard to answer with a view to the limited amount of evidence we possess for the period, but they are important to keep in mind.

The answer may lie in the analysis of the relative distribution of habitation and cultic sites on Aigina in the Geometric period. Unfortunately, the island has never been properly surveyed using modern methodologies of field survey, and there is no reliable and comprehensive data to do the needed analysis. Some survey work was conducted on the island by German archaeologists in the first quarter of the 20th century (Thiersch, Curtius), but it was selective, and their notes have not been fully published.[40] Faraklas' dissertation on Aigina, published in 1980, combines the material from earlier publications with the observations of his own field walks on the island. My field walking on Aigina, as part of dissertation research, was also necessarily selective, focusing on specific sites and small areas. As of today we have no reliable survey data for the island as a whole.[41] As a result, we can make only a few general observations about the distribution of habitation sites on the island in the Geometric period.

Archaeological evidence from the better studied sites on Aigina, such as Kolonna, allows a glimpse of how social and sacred topography could have interrelated. The site of Kolonna was used not only as a cult site, but also as a cemetery in the Geometric period, which suggests that a

[40] Part II of Thiersch's *Aiginetische Studien* remains unpublished.

[41] I have been working on the possibility of organizing an archaeological survey of Aigina for a number of years. One of the steps in the process has been a panel dedicated to the objectives and plans for such a survey at the Annual Meeting of the AIA in 2004. The expertise of many Greek and foreign archaeologists can be brought to bear in the execution of this much needed survey, and I am hopeful that the plan can be finally put into action in the near future.

habitation area was in the vicinity, according to Walter.[42] At the foot of the Aphaia hill, on its northern side, we find an area today called Trigoni, in fact a rough triangle, the western side of which formed along the river Vagias, the eastern side along the foot of Petrovounia, and the southern—along the foot of Aphaia, with the northern corner pointing towards the settlement of Vagia on the coast. In this area, a settlement seems to have been present since the Early Helladic period into the Classical as evidenced by numerous pottery fragments visible on the surface,[43] as well as some architectural remains, such as a large andesite threshold block (of unknown date) reused as a door post in a once abandoned and ruined, but now restored house in the area. Thus, we see two major Geometric cult sites (Kolonna and Aphaia) with a lot of evidence for cult activity situated in the immediate vicinity of Geometric settlements, and two other sites, so far unstudied, with much scantier remains of Geometric cult (Oros and Dragonera) situated in no apparent proximity to a contemporary ancient settlement.[44]

The question that begs to be asked is about the relationship between settlements and cult sites. If we surmise two settlements in opposite corners of the island with a cult-site near each, we may hypothesize two nuclei of social life on Aigina, which may or may not represent independent social units, each with a cult center. As we have noted earlier, the character of the votive material at both sites, Aphaia and Kolonna, seems to be very similar. Pottery includes Attic and Argive imports, there are bronze fibulae, rings and figurines at both sites. Rather than defining the nature of the deities worshipped at the two sites as similar or identical, the similarity of votives might be pointing to a shared material culture of the island, and the sameness of worshippers in both. In addition, a mutual isolation of cults on Kolonna and Aphaia, vis-à-vis habitation sites on the island, wherever they were located, would seem to be precluded by the prominent topographic position of both, close to the harbors lying on major sea routes through the Saronic Gulf—from the Aegean to the

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[42] Walter 1993, 35. Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009, 76, 72) argues for the identification of the site of Kolonna as a multi-functional space, accommodating settlement, cemetery, and ritual activities in the Early Geometric period.

[43] I was able to spot BG and Early Corinthian fragments. Faraklas (1980, 61, catalogue site 55) lists Early-, Middle-, and Late-Helladic pottery, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and possibly Neolithic, Hellenistic and Roman.

[44] Cf. Osborne (1996, 88) who remarks on the variety of cult places in the Dark Age period.

eastern Peloponnese, Isthmia, Megarid and western Attica. These cult sites may have been used not only by the local Aiginetan population but also by transient visitors. The inland position of the Dragonera and the Oros in relation to the coastline, and especially to harbors, may explain the absence of settlements and less votive material at these sites in the Geometric period, yet again, their prominent mountaintop position must have determined their choice as cult places. Thus, already in the Geometric period the main reference points in the landscape of the island, the main harbors (Kolonna and Ag. Marina) and three mountain peaks, are marked by cultic activity.

One more point of similarity between all four Geometric sites is that they continue as cultic places into the Archaic and Classical periods. Three out of four (Kolonna, Aphaia and Oros) become major cult-sites in the Aiginetan system of cults. While we cannot say anything definitive about the identity of the deities worshipped at these sites in the Geometric period, we know the names of the deities worshipped there in later periods: Apollo(s) and possibly other deities at Kolonna, Zeus (and Koliadai) at the Oros, Aphaia (and Pan) at Aphaia. The identity of the Dragonera deity is unknown. Over time, these Geometric cults changed and adjusted to the new cults that were introduced to the island in the Archaic period. In 9.2.2, I will discuss the arrival of new cults on Aigina in the Archaic period and then come back to the Geometric cults to discuss how they transformed in response to the newcomers.

9.2.2 *The Origins of Aigina's Geometric Cults and Their Worshippers*

We have no good evidence on how the collapse of the Bronze Age states in mainland Greece, in the 12th century BCE, affected Aigina. The material record at Kolonna, Aphaia, and Oros, as well as at Lazarides (see Map 1), and a few other LBA sites on the island peters out in LHIIIC. Protogeometric sympotic activity at Kolonna picks up in the 10th century BCE, and by the 8th century, ritual activity at Kolonna bears unmistakable signs of a cultic nature, while three other sites on the island are also identifiable as cultic. The earliest epigraphic evidence, for example, *IG* IV² 898 and *IG* IV² 1068, dating in the 7th century BCE, shows clear signs of the Doric dialect (Gen. plur. form ending in -ᾶν, and uncontracted Gen. sing. ending -εος). When and in what way the Doric dialect came to be dominant on the island we have no means to establish at present. One hypothesis is that it was the dialect of the Doric-speaking population that at some point settled on Aigina. Another possibility is that it was gradually adopted as

a result of regular interactions with Doric speakers. Either process would have taken place before the 7th century.

Narrative traditions on this subject are quite uniform, attributing the movement of Peloponnesian Dorians to Aigina via Epidauros. Our earliest source, Herodotus (8.46.1) does not elaborate: "Aiginetans are Dorians from Epidauros" (Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου). This might mean that Aiginetans are Dorians, and that they came to Aigina from/via Epidauros. Or it might mean that Aiginetans were formed from the Dorian component of the Epidaurian population who had migrated to Aigina.[45]

Theogenes, a third-century BCE epichoric historian of Aigina, (*FHG* IV 511) explains the origin of the Aiginetan population as a product of *synoikismos* that took place under Aiakos. Having offered a rationalizing explanation for the origin of the name Myrmidons (from ants, whose burrowing behavior the indigenous Aiginetans seemed to resemble in their mode of digging up soil and bringing it up to the surface to create a productive layer), Theogenes refers to the *synoikismos* of Myrmidons and "those who came from the Peloponnese with Aiakos":

> . . . Μυρμιδόνας κληθῆναι. μεθ' ὧν συνοικίσαντα τὸν Αἰακὸν τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ παραγενομένους, ἐξημερῶσαί τε καὶ νόμους δοῦναι καὶ σύνταξιν πολιτικὴν, ᾗ χρησαμένους αὐτοὺς παντελῶς δοκεῖν ἐκ μυρμήκων γενέσθαι.

In producing this version of the island's early history, Theogenes might be continuing the Aiginetan age-long rivalry with Athens, assigning a similar role to Aiakos on Aigina as was so prominently associated with Theseus in Attica. Alternatively, he might simply be using the Attic model to construct the Aiginetan past, with a view to reconciling two conflicting local traditions of origin: from Homeric Achaean heroes—the indigenous Aiakids-Myrmidons, and from outsiders—the Dorian Herakleidai.

Another version of events is found in several scholia to Pindar's Aiginetan odes: Dorians from Argos settle Aigina after the death of Aiakos. Whether this version is Aiginetan or not is hard to be sure, but in comparison with Theogenes' account, this alternative version seems to lessen Aigina's self-standing image and its Aiakid identity, rather making it out as a by-product of the Dorian/Argive expansion. A scholion to Pindar

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[45] Epidaurians may have been ethnically diverse. Pausanias 2.26.1 reports that Epidauros was ruled by an Ionian king Pityreus before the arrival of Dorians: τελευταῖον δὲ πρὶν ἢ παραγενέσθαι Δωριέας ἐς Πελοπόννησον βασιλεῦσαί φασι Πιτυρέα Ἴωνος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Ξούθου. τοῦτον παραδοῦναι λέγουσιν ἀμαχεὶ τὴν γῆν Δηιφόντῃ καὶ Ἀργείοις. Pausanias seems to say that the Dorians who settled in Aigina were in fact Argives who had dwelled in Epidauros with Dêiphontes.

Pythian 8.113c calls Aiginetans *apoikoi* of the Argives, and cites Didymos as referring to a *syngeneia* of the Aiginetans and Argives.[46] This scholiast's inclusion of Didymos' term *syngeneia* makes it clear that both had in mind the Heraklid return under Deïphontes. As no earlier source describes this mythological event (return of the Herakleidai) as *apoikia*, the scholiast's choice of the term must be either casual or, if deliberate, then, an attempt at historicizing a mythological event. Another scholion on the same ode (*P.* 8. 29) comments in a similar vein: (29a) Δωριεῖ τε κώμῳ: τῷ τῶν Αἰγινητῶν ὕμνῳ· Δωριεῖς γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἄργους εἰς Αἴγιναν κατῴκησαν. (29b) Δωριεῖς γὰρ, ἄποικοι ὄντες Ἀργείων. Once again the explanation stems from an attempt to historicize the Doric ethnicity of the Aiginetans. An even more extensive and elaborate version is found in Σ Pind. *O.* 8.39a–b, in which the leader of the Argives Triakôn is represented as an oikistês of Aigina, and the Doric settlement of the island as taking place after the death of Aiakos:

> (39a) Δωριεῖ λαῷ: τοῖς Αἰγινήταις. οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ Δώρου Ἀργεῖοι ᾤκισαν Αἴγιναν, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν τοῦ στόλου Τριάκοντος. (39b) Δωριεῖ λαῷ: ὅτι οἱ μετὰ τὴν Αἰακοῦ βασιλείαν Δωριεῖς τῆς Αἰγίνης ἐκράτησαν . . . καὶ τελευτήσαντος οὖν τοῦ Αἰακοῦ ἔρημος ἡ νῆσος περιελείπετο βασιλέως, ἐν τούτῳ Τριάκων τις Ἀργεῖος συλλέξας πλῆθος Ἀργείων (οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους) εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν ἦλθον καὶ κατῴκησαν. ἔδοξε μετὰ τὸν Αἰακὸν ἀποταμιεύεσθαι τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἡ τῆς Αἰγίνης ἀρχή.

What is significant in this particular version is an implication that the settlement of Aigina was perceived not as an arrival of settlers into an empty land, but as a change of political control over the existing population: after the rule of Aiakos, Argives were in power, that is, rulers of Aigina, as the choice of vocabulary indicates: Δωριεῖς τῆς Αἰγίνης ἐκράτησαν; τῆς Αἰγίνης ἀρχή. I will come back to this detail shortly.

Meanwhile it is worth pointing out that the traditions of the Dorian settlement of Aigina found in Pindaric scholia should not lead to inaccurate and misleading descriptions of Aigina as an Epidaurian colony.[47] The misapplication of the term *apoikia* (the term 'colony' compounds the problem) only obscures the fact that the nature of Aiginetan dependency

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[46] Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον: ὡς καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Ἡραίων ἀγομένων κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Ἄργει ἀγῶνος· ἄποικοι γὰρ Ἀργείων. Δίδυμος δέ φησι τὰ Ἑκατόμβαια αὐτὸν νῦν λέγειν ἐπιχώριον ἀγῶνα Αἰγινητῶν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

[47] Irwin (2011a, 373, 375, 378, 381, 382, 422) uses the term "Epidaurian colony" with reference to Aigina, and conversely calls Epidauros Aigina's "mother city" throughout, without explaining her choice of the term. Her reference to Hdt. 8.46.1 or to Figueira (1993, 19), neither of whom uses the terms *apoikia* or colony, does not help her case. Figueira defines Epidaurian control over Aigina as hegemony and primacy.

on Epidauros as described in Hdt. 5.81 is not at all clear. What processes led to Aiginetan self-identification as Dorians in the Late Archaic and Classical periods is a complex matter that should not be confused with actual historical events: in other words, we would be unjustifiably simplifying matters by taking at face value either the discursive strategies of ethnicity used by Classical Greeks, or the historicizing explanations of Hellenistic scholiasts.

Ephoros in Strabo (8.6.16) has also been interpreted as a reference to colonization ("Aigina was colonized successively by the Argives, the Cretans, the Epidaurians, and the Dorians"):[48]

> ὠνομάζετο δ' Οἰνώνη πάλαι. ἐπῴκησαν δ' αὐτὴν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κρῆτες καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Δωριεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι: ἀφελόμενοι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν νῆσον ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἰκήτορσιν.
>
> In antiquity, it used to be called Oinona. It was settled by Argives, Cretans, Epidaurians, and Dorians; later on, Athenians possessed the island as a *kleroukhia*. When Spartans defeated the Athenians, they returned the island to the original (ancient) inhabitants.

But we need not translate *epoikeô* as "colonize," since a more neutral "settle in" is perfectly suitable, and "successively" also seems to me a fanciful addition, the string of conjunctions can simply mean "both . . . and," that is, implying a population of various geographic origins. Strabo communicates what appears to be a synthesis of all known traditions of Aiginetan origins. Here, it is notable that Dorians (an ethnic group) are listed separately from three other groups that are geographically defined. It is possible, however, that Strabo is not asserting a contemporaneous presence of all these groups at any time on Aigina. While consonant with most other traditions of origins, the mention of Cretans as settlers on Aigina is exceptional. Archaeologists postulate this possibility for the Middle Bronze Age and probably for the LBA periods on the basis of Minoanizing pottery and some epigraphic evidence (dipiniti on vases and mason marks) in Linear A script,[49] but we have no evidence to suggest continuity of this population into the historical period. A new wave of arrivals in the Dark Age or the EIA cannot be ruled out, but we have no positive evidence to corroborate such a hypothesis.

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[48] H. L. Jones (Loeb, 1924).
[49] Niemeier 1995.

Potentially illuminating is Strabo's discussion of two Aiginas, located in confusing proximity: a coastal place in Epidauria just opposite the island of the same name.[50] Is the existence of an Epidaurian Aigina possibly the origin of a narrative tradition that says that the Aiginetans used to be dependent on Epidauros and in fact were part of the Epidaurian territory (reported in Hdt. 5.82)? Or, even more tantalizingly, could Strabo be providing us with a precious piece of topographic evidence about an actual Epidaurian locality wherefrom Aigina was settled, whereby the Epidaurians from that place took the name of their settlement to the island across when they had moved? Unfortunately, we can no more than speculate on this matter.

Pausanias (2.29.5) places the Dorianization of Aigina in line with mainland narratives of the return of the Herakleidai: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μοῖρα Ἀργείων τῶν Ἐπίδαυρον ὁμοῦ Δηιφόντῃ κατασχόντων, διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἴγιναν, "some time later, a band of Argives who held Epidauros together with Deïphontes, crossed over to Aigina." The band of Argives was a contingent of the Argive army that remained loyal to Dêiphontes (Apollod. 2.8) after Temenos had been murdered by his sons, and after the majority of the army had sworn allegiance to Keisios.[51] Since Dêiphontes was in control of Epidauros and Epidauria, and his loyal companions were the Argive army, it explains why our sources variably name the settlers of Aigina as Dorians, Epidaurians, and Argives. "Dorians from Epidauros" in Herodotus 8.46.1 must also be a shorthand for "Argive Dorians who held Epidauros under Dêiphontes," as Pausanias makes clear.

We may now come back to the point made in a number of the sources just rehearsed, namely that the Peloponnesian arrivals, the Heraklid Dorians, did not come to an empty land: they joined a pre-existing population. Theogenes (*FHG* IV 511) and Pausanias 2.29.5 express this through the notion of *synoikismos*, which the former attributes to Aiakos and the latter to Dorians (μοῖρα Ἀργείων under the command of Dêiphontes); while scholia to Pindar *Olympian* 8.39a–b present it as a change of the

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[50] Strabo 8.6.16: Αἴγινα δ' ἔστι μὲν καὶ τόπος τις τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῆσος πρὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἀρτίως παρατεθεῖσιν ἔπεσι βούλεται φράζειν ὁ ποιητής: διὸ καὶ γράφουσί τινες 'νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν' ἀντὶ [p. 532] τοῦ 'οἵ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν,' διαστελλόμενοι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τῶν σφόδρα γνωρίμων ἐστὶν ἡ νῆσος, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ Αἰακός τε λέγεται καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

[51] Paus. 2.26.2: Δηιφόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργείων Τημένου τελευτήσαντος, Δηιφόντης μὲν καὶ Ὑρνηθὼ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν Τημένου παίδων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηιφόντῃ καὶ Ὑρνηθοῖ πλέον ἢ Κείσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες.

ruling power from the *basileia* of Aiakos to the *kratos* of the Argives, the assumption seems to be that while the powers in charge had changed, the population of their subjects did not. Theogenes explicitly calls the pre-existing population Myrmidons, while Puasanias more obliquely calls them "ancient Aiginetans" (Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι).

In sum, the narrative traditions of the settlement of Aigina from abroad are all variants of the myth of the Return of the Herakleidai. The latter was widely used by many Peloponnesian communities to articulate their ethnic belonging as Dorians.[52] It has been convincingly shown in recent scholarship that any attempts to connect these narrative traditions with historical movements of people are doomed to failure.[53] Instead they should be seen as discursive strategies used for the construction of group identities in a way that was politically and ideologically expedient at a given moment in history. Therefore, although it might be tempting to associate the resumption of cultic activity on Aigina in the Late Protogeometric period with the arrival of Doric-speaking settlers from the Peloponnese, we have to be cautious not to take myths for reality.[54] We should turn to archaeological and epigraphic evidence for a litmus test of the narrative traditions.

There is no denial that by the 7th century BCE, Aiginetans were using the Doric dialect in writing, as the two earliest Aiginetan inscriptions testify. Pausanias attributes the introduction of Doric customs and Doric speech to the Argive settlers (τὰ Δωριέων ἔθη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ),[55] but we should note a curious lack of connection between the Aiginetan script and the scripts of the Eastern Peloponnese, that is of Corinth, Epidauros, and Argos. Instead, the closest relative of the Aiginetan epichoric script is Attic, from which it differs in letters lambda and gamma.[56] This

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[52] Malkin 1994; McInerney 1999, 28–38; Hall 2012 [2007], 43–44.

[53] Hall 2012 [2007], 43–51.

[54] Hiller (2003, 14–17) and Felten (2007b, 20–23) entertain a notion of Dark Age Peloponnesian settlers on Aigina who come with their own religious ideas and proceed to "incorporate the relics of the past into their own religious conceptions" (Felten 2007b, 23).

[55] How Pausanias could know better than Herodotus or Pindar is something to consider.

[56] Jeffery, *LSAG*², 109–110: "The present evidence therefore gives some slight grounds for the conjecture that both the Aiginetan and the Attic script derived from the same source, namely, the route through the Cyclades from the eastern Aegean. Priority cannot be established for either; Attic may have been taken from Aiginetan, with an added element of Euboic; or possibly Aiginetan from Attic, with an added element of Cycladic; or each may have been acquired independently. But at least we can infer that both states were among the earliest on the western side of the Aegean to receive the new art of writing."

discrepancy between dialect and script is noteworthy: it requires us to envision scenarios of social engagement between various Greek communities in the Geometric period that could lead to such a result.

If we turn to material culture and consider pottery, here as well the picture is more complicated than one might expect. Kirsten argued that the settlement of Aigina from Epidauros was proven by the predominance of Argive ceramics among the Geometric finds,[57] but the most recent study by Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009) suggests otherwise: the earliest historical pottery at Kolonna (10th–8th centuries), according to her, shows the absolute predominance of Attic pottery. The Argive imports show up only in the middle of the 8th century.

If we consider one of the most conservative aspects of any culture such as burial practices, the Aiginetan evidence here stands quite apart not only from the Peloponnesian, but also from other known Greek practices. According to Welter, Geometric burials are simple cist graves, or monolithic sarcophagi, while in the 7th century chamber tombs come into use (first without, and later, with a stepped entrance), and these have no parallels either in Attica or in Peloponnese.[58] For the earlier period (Late Protogeometric to Early Geometric), Jarosch-Reinholdt describes inhumation burials of both adults, youths, and children at the site of Kolonna, but no necropolis has been identified so far.[59] In the opinion of Jarosch-Reinholdt, this type of burial connects Aigina to the Corinthia and the Argolid, where inhumation was practiced throughout the Geometric period, more closely than it does to Attica, where cremation was common,[60] and this is in spite of the fact that almost all pottery found in the burials is Attic. In the later period (late 8th and early 7th century), three cases of cremation burials are known from the area of the modern town: these consisted of stone cists containing bronze or stone vessels with ashes. From the 7th century, chamber tombs with vertical shaft entrances, containing either inhumations or cremations, are the dominant Aiginetan form of burial.

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[57] Kirsten 1942, 294.

[58] Welter 1938b, 495–496; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 180: "[Aigina's] burials in the Archaic period have nothing in common with the Peloponnese and little enough with other parts of Greece, except perhaps the Rhodian chamber tombs. The earlier tombs are cists, like the Pepoponnesian, but a LG burial with the body laid in a stone slab hollowed to receive it is reported."

[59] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 63; Welter 1938b, 512; Hiller (2003, 14–15) also points out that monolithic cists are typical for the northeast Peloponnese in this period.

[60] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009, 63.

The change in burial types should be seen as significant, especially since the adoption of chamber tombs in the Archaic period sets Aigina sharply apart from most of the Greek world. Although we cannot satisfactorily explain the combination of the Peloponnesian burial type (inhumation) with an almost exclusive preference for Attic pottery in the Aiginetan burials of the 10th–9th centuries, the change to an entirely special form of burials from the 7th century onwards highlights this century as the time of momentous developments on Aigina. Whether it also signals a change in the ethnic composition, social differentiation, or powerful external influence on Aigina is very difficult to say. Eleni Papastavrou is able to find only Phoenician parallels for Aiginetan burials of the late 8th century and the Archaic period.[61] This is a striking notion that needs further investigation.

Meanwhile, we see that in the EIA (10th–9th centuries BCE) Aigina shows little sign of being a cultural dependency of Epidauros, or a colony of the Argives, or a distinctly Dorian ethnic group. The evidence of the alphabet and pottery point in the opposite direction from the Peloponnese, that is, to Attica, and the burial practices are mixed, with a preference for inhumation (as in the Peloponnese), but with an almost exclusive use of Attic ceramic vessels for this purpose. In this aspect, Aigina displays a compromise between, or a crosspollination of influences from both sides of the Saronic Gulf. Perhaps, we might postulate a scenario whereby some post-Mycenaean population remained on the island after the collapse of the mainland states, and after a period of uncertainty and a lapse of ritual activity due to the lack of the old form of religious authority, eventually returned to the interrupted ritual practice under some new local leadership.[62] It is possible that at various points in time in subsequent centuries, groups of new settlers augmented the post-Mycenaean population of Aigina, but this is very different from postulating a Dorian migration, whether oikistic or synoikistic in nature. That Aiginetan interaction turned towards the Peloponnese in the 8th century is evidenced in the imports of Argive pottery, and narrative traditions about trade with Arkadia.[63] Soon after that, however, that is, already in the late 7th century, we see

[61] Papastavrou 2007, 29–32, 59–66.

[62] Welter (1938a, 8–16) argues for depopulation in the post-Mycenaean period. Jarosch-Reinholdt (2009, 58) interprets the abundance of sympotic pottery of the 10th–9th centuries at Kolonna as evidence of public feasting hosted by hypothetical local leaders.

[63] Paus. 8.5.8–10. Figueira 1993, 19: "the arrival of the Aiginetan merchants in Arkadia probably belonged to a period of Argive influence there after 700 (whether under Pheidon or Meltas is uncertain)."

Aiginetan trade expanding to the Eastern Aegean (Cyclades), Egypt, and then west, to Etruria (see 7.4.5, 7.5.2, 7.6.2, 7.20.4, 8.6.1). It would appear that the Aiginetans resumed the island's Bronze Age tradition of long-distance sailing quite early on in the Archaic period. At the same time, a characteristic Aiginetan style of burials in chamber tombs was adopted. The overview of the evidence related to the EIA history of Aigina was aimed at determining whether we can establish who the participants in the Geometric cults on Aigina were. It appears very difficult to establish their original ethnic or dialectal background. The elements of material culture and language present a mix of Peloponnesian and Attic, or East Greek, influences. The Aiginetan population of the Geometric period is not uniformly defined by ethnic, linguistic, or cultural traits, and therefore we cannot expect to find some distinctly ethnic (e.g., Doric) deities, cults, or festivals, or some distinctly regionalized religious influences. Instead, the characteristic traits of the Aiginetan social world, and hence of Aiginetan worshippers, underscore their in-between geographic position vis-à-vis the mainland, their island localization and seaborne framework of interaction with outsiders, and the beginnings of engagement with long-distance trade.

We may summarize in the meantime that the four or five (if we count Kalaureia) Aiginetan centers of worship in the Geometric period seem a rather small number compared to the contemporary Homeric pantheon and to the later picture of Aiginetan cults in the Classical period, when at least sixteen are attested. It is legitimate to question whether the known four-five sites necessarily indicate the number of worshipped deities, or only the number of locations where possibly more than one deity was worshipped, not to mention the possibility that some cultic sites may not have left visible traces or have not yet been discovered. These are all real possibilities. They do not lead to a conclusion, however, that some hypothetical, larger set of deities (such as the Twelve Olympians, or all 'major gods') was worshipped on Aigina from an indeterminately early start date. However we envision the social and demographic development on the island in the EIA, that is, whether we envision a continuity of population and religious tradition from the LBA into the historical period, or an admixture of newcomers, we cannot expect that either group would have possessed a standard set of cults,[64] or that their hypothetical mingling

[64] Linear B tablets from Knossos, Pylos, and Thebes show both an overlap in divine names between the three sites and the evidence of locally specific names (Rougemont

would have produced a standard mixture. The following centuries showed that a certain standardization of gods' names and functions would be taking place throughout the Greek world, influenced by the spread of the panhellenic poetry of Homer and Hesiod (Hdt. 2.23, 2.53), and some other poets. Herodotus' testimony (implying that prior to Homer and Hesiod, the world of the Greek gods was much more diverse), as well as regional variation in the prevalence and distribution of certain cults (e.g., Enodia in Thessaly, Hera in the northeast Peloponnese and the Argolid, Pan in Arkadia) confirm that something more complex underlay the territorial dimension of Greek polytheism than a principle of worshipping a standard set of deities throughout Greece from the start of the historical period, ca. 1050 BCE.[65] We now turn to the second stage of local Aiginetan developments to consider the cults whose presence on Aigina are first detectable in the Archaic period. These contributed in quite a different way to the Aiginetan religious mesocosm than the cults of the Geometric period.

9.2.3 *Stage 2. Archaic Period: Introducing New Cults*

The cults whose inception we can reasonably assign to the Archaic period are the cults of Damia and Auxesia, of Aiakos and the Aiakids, and the cult of Herakles. The possible cultic presence of Pan and Thebasimakhos might be signalling fascinating possibilities of the Aiginetan relations with Arkadia, the Argolid, and Boiotia in this period, but cannot be pursued further due to a very thin evidentiary basis (see 7.17 and 7.19). The cult of Zeus Pasios is indicated by a single fragmentary inscription (*IG* IV² 1061) dated to the 6th century BCE, which appears to be detailing regulations on the (non)-removal of some items belonging to Zeus Pasios, an interpretation, which is supported by the shape and size of the inscribed block.[66] This inscription does not allow us to investigate the context or reasons for the introduction of this cult to Aigina, although we should note that

2005). And we cannot expect a distinctly Doric set of gods any more than we can expect a prefixed and stable Doric ethnicity (Hall 1997, 34–66).

[65] Cf. Parker (2011, 70–73) who argues that "almost all Greek communities from about 700 onward, and in most cases from much earlier, honored Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter (probably associated with Persephone/Kore), Heracles, and at a domestic level Hestia," but at the same time acknowledges that "[i]mportant regional differences there were. But we should not conclude that radically divergent local pantheons have been brought into partial and superficial conformity by the superimposition of Panhellenic gods and heroes."

[66] See reconstruction drawings in Polinskaya 2008 and a discussion of the possible structure the block could have come from.

Pasios (presumably concerned with the protection of property) appears to be a very different Zeus than Hellanios.

The cults of Damia and Auxesia, Aiakos and the Aiakids, and Herakles are similar to each other and different from the Geometric group of cults in several respects. Firstly, the topographic position of these cults was apparently not linked to major landscape features, although the inland (*mesogaia*) location of Damia and Auxesia is significant for other reasons. In contrast to the earlier group of cults, precise locations of the Aiakeion, the Herakleion and the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia have not been identified so far,[67] although there are ancient sources providing detailed topographic coordinates. As a consequence, the absence of archaeological evidence in situ makes the dating of the beginnings of these cults more difficult. The dates, as a result, are approximate and based on the analysis of literary sources. Secondly, in contrast to the first group of cults, we have enough literary sources that can help us determine both the reasons for the appearance of these cults on Aigina and their importance for Aiginetans in the Archaic and Classical periods. Two processes can be observed in the Archaic period: (1) the introduction of new cults; and (2) the interlinking of old and new cults through the coordination of social roles. The evidence for these processes is in the local mythological tradition and in the archaeological record.

9.2.4 *Introducing New Cults: Damia and Auxesia*

The date for the inception of the cult of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina is crucial for our understanding of the reasons for the development of the local system of cults over time. In my opinion, the three existing pieces of evidence for this cult (Hdt. 5.82–86, *IG* IV^2 787, and Paus. 2.30.4) do not allow us to determine the exact date. Since there are several scholarly opinions to the contrary, in particular, with respect to the utility of Herodotus in this respect, it is best to make clear from the outset the distinction between two matters: the fact of the cult's introduction to Aigina, and the accumulation of aetiological stories of varied nature around the fact of the cult's introduction.

We may be absolutely confident in dating the introduction of this cult prior to 500 BCE on the basis of Herodotus' investigative methods and

[67] The approximate locations of these sanctuaries are: Aiakeion—in the city, "in the most conspicuous place of the polis" (see 7.2.2); Damia and Auxesia—in the place called Oiê, twenty stades inland from the city (see 7.10); Herakleion—near the coast (see 7.14).

principles of data collection. In fact, Herodotus's sources seem to agree in placing the origin of the cult in earlier times, but it is hard to determine a more specific date in the Archaic period. There are several ways to approach the task.

9.2.4(a) *Dating Iron Pins in the Inventory of Mnia and Auzesia*

Paul Jacobsthal placed the beginnings of the cult in the 10th century BCE by dating the iron pins that were customarily deposited in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina, as attested by the inventory (*IG* IV² 787). He submits the following reasoning:

> All these pins are iron; iron pins became rare after the Protogeometric age and iron pins of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods are not numerous. It is highly improbable that in Aigina the Protogeometric custom persisted that iron pins remained in general use, and were, after wear, dedicated to the goddesses. There is in Aigina a 6th cent. grave with 2 iron pins, accompanied by an Early Corinthian *pyxis* and a *lydion* (Welter, *AA* 53, 1938, 496, 507–8, fig.24): it is not permissible to use this fact as evidence of iron pins worn generally in 6th century Aigina. The peploi and 346 iron pins, entire and broken, were either relics of a Protogeomentric sanctuary, an oikos or a grove, and when this was replaced by a temple the votive offerings were not buried but transferred into the new building. Or peploi and pins were never worn by women but from the beginning were made for Auzesia and Mnia. The pins, in Protogeometric tradition, were still made of iron: hieratic use of iron has many analogies . . . The cult of Auzesia and Mnia would thus be at least as old as the tenth century.[68]

Herodotus does not comment on the material of which the pins were made, instead he focuses on their size: long pins were still being used, presumably worn by Aiginetan women, in his own time, although this must have been unusual, or it would not have merited a special mention: "Even now (νυν) the Argive and Aiginetan women since then, in consequence of that quarrel with the Athenians, still to my day (ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ) habitually wore (ἐφόρεον) bigger pins than before."[69] Unusually long pins (0.3–0.8m) are attested in the Archaic period at the Argive Heraion, and also on Aigina at the sanctuary of Aphaia, but their material is bronze.[70]

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[68] Jacobsthal 1956, 98.

[69] The Aiginetans lengthened their pins by one and a half, not two times (Hdt. 5.88 τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου), as stated by Kowalzig (2007, 211) who corrects herself in 2011, 139.

[70] Argive Heraion: Baumbach 2004, 92. Aphaia: Furtwängler 1906, 399, no. 66 (ca. 0.7m long) and no. 67 (fragmentary, but full length would be similar to no. 66).

I do not see any reason to doubt Herodotus's testimony about the custom of his own day, namely that the pins dedicated to Damia and Auxesia were rather long, and since he does not mention the material from which votive pins were made, it is possible that Aiginetan pins of the 5th century were made of bronze or of precious metals, not of iron. In the fifth-century inventory of the sanctuary (*IG* IV^2 787), however, all pins are iron.[71]

Does the use of iron for votive pins suggest the date for the inception of this votive practice? I agree with Jacobsthal in his implicit premise that the practice of dedicating iron pins must go back to when they were in general use. It seems rather improbable that a votive regulation would be set up that would require the use of pins that were no longer available and entail the restoration of an outdated fashion. Thus, it appears inevitable that we conclude that iron pins must have been in circulation at the time when the regulation to dedicate pins to Damia and Auxesia was introduced, but it needs not mean that they were the most predominant or most fashionable type used on Aigina, or that we should expect the same pattern of usage from one area of Greece to another. In 2003, a Protogeometric tomb, a stone-built cist, containing a skeleton of an adult male, was found inside the Middle Helladic monumental building in the central area of cape Kolonna.[72] Relevant to our concerns is the fact that the burial included an iron pin, proving that iron pins were in use on Aigina at that early date. At the same time, iron pins have been found in graves of the Archaic period on Aigina. The case reported by Welter over seventy years ago (6th century BCE chamber tomb with two iron pins),[73] has been recently supplemented by further finds: two chamber tombs of the Archaic period in the area of Phaneromeni, where findings of ancient burials are regularly reported. There, one chamber tomb (XVII) on the Kakousi plot, contained a poros-stone sarcophagus with a Protocorinthian kotyle and iron pins, suggesting a date in the 7th century BCE, if not earlier. Another chamber tomb at the Pitsilou plot also contained a poros-stone sarcophagus with a skeleton of a young woman, accompanied by two iron pins, two glass beads, two bronze finger rings, a spindle whorl

[71] I am aware of the commonly accepted view that the style of dress changed in the 6th century from Doric to Ionic. This process, however, may not have taken place evenly in all parts of Greece. Some Doric communities may have carried on the old fashion.

[72] Felten (2007b, 23–24) points out the singular nature of the burial: "it is the only such grave in the central area of the settlement that contained the skeleton of an adult male."

[73] Welter 1938a, 496, 507–8, fig. 24.

and two Corinthian *aryballoi*. This grave dates to the late 7th century BCE.[74] The finds of Welter and Eleni Papastavrou show the range of use of iron pins in burial contexts from the 7th to 6th centuries BCE on Aigina. Future finds may further extend the chronological range, although at the moment we do not have an Aiginetan grave of the 5th century with iron pins. Nevertheless, two lines of thought receive corroboration from this evidence: firstly, the presence of iron pins in burial contexts raises the possibility that the items were in daily use at the time; secondly, the inception of the votive practice and hence of the cult of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina needs not be envisioned so far back as the 10th century: iron pins may have continued in active use on Aigina down into the late Archaic period.

Finally, besides burial context, at least four iron pins are also attested at the sanctuary of Aphaia, some of them similar to those found at the Argive Heraion.[75] Iron pins are found at Aphaia alongside bronze pins, two of which are of the same super-size as the ones at the Argive Heraion (ca. 0.7m).[76] It would seem therefore that the practice of dedicating iron pins was not limited to Damia and Auxesia on Aigina, and that their appearance in an Archaic grave on Aigina should not be necessarily written off as hieratic use. We may cautiously suggest that on Aigina pins appear in funerary and votive contexts over a long span of history. Although Jacobsthal postulates a date for the dedication of iron pins in Greek sanctuaries in the Protogeometric period or earlier, large volumes of pin dedications (made of metal) are actually attested later, in particular between 700 and 500 BCE.[77] Outside of Aigina, in a context similar to Aphaia, we find Archaic bronze and iron pins together at the Heraion of Tiryns in the Argolid.[78]

Two scenarios for the custom of iron pins at Damia and Auxesia suggest themselves. One would be in line with Jacobsthal's argument without, however, assigning the Protogeometric date to the inception of the cult

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[74] The two findings were reported by Eleni Papastavrou, *epimelites* for Aigina, in *ArchDelt* 52 (for the year 1997, published in 2002) in the section B *Chr*, 101.

[75] Furtwängler 1906, 400, nos. 87–90.

[76] Furtwängler 1906, 399, no. 66 (ca. 0.7m long) and no. 67.

[77] As some recent studies show, pins start appearing in sanctuaries (in the Peloponnese) in large numbers only in the Early to Late Geometric period (850–700 BCE), and they continue with some decrease in numbers through the Archaic period down to 500 BCE. In some places, like Olympia, the largest number of pins are attested in the period between 700–500 BCE (Osborne 1996, 92; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984).

[78] Four iron and nine bronze pins found together in a deposit with datable materials of the 6th-5th centuries (Baumbach 2004, 61).

on Aigina. Such date would suggest a long-term local history of the cult, and in that case, it would be hard to explain how a cult with a long local history could later produce an ideologically-laden legend of an introduction from the outside. We could, however, speculate that in Epidauros, wherefrom Aiginetans took their cult of Damia and Auxesia (see below on the question of why we should consider this certain), the cult may have begun in the 10th century and the custom already then may have been to dedicate the type of iron pins then in vogue. Jacobsthal suggests that "Azosios as name of the month at Epidauros makes it probable that this was the earliest and probably non-Greek form."[79] Azosios corresponds to the Attic Hekatombaion. If indeed the month-name Azosios, which must be associated with a festival in honor of Azosioi *theoi*, Damia and Azesia, at Epidauros is an early, pre-Greek form, this may lend further support to the hypothesis that the cult of these deities at Epidauros had its origin in the Protogeometric period, if not earlier. Aiginetans may have therefore taken the cult from Epidaurians together with the customary votive traditions.[80] The Aiginetan aetion of pins and of their long size indicates that the use of these objects in the Aiginetan cult in the Classical period was no longer transparent to worshippers and required special explanation.

Another explanation might be that in some areas of Greece, for example, Aigina, both iron and bronze pins were available as everyday options for fastening Doric-style *peploi* for a longer period of time than that postulated by Jacobsthal, for example, into the Archaic period. This would explain the mix of iron and bronze pins at Aphaia and the Tirynthian Heraion, corresponding to the presumed simultaneous practice of wear. The fact that only iron pins were found in the sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia on the day when it was invetoried in the late 5th century BCE, and the fact that the pins were found neatly arranged in groups, in various parts of the buildings, including twenty-two over the entrance to the temple of Auzesia, suggest a deliberate limitation of practice to a particular metal. In other words, rather than saying together with Jacobsthal that we should go back to the time when only iron pins were used and take that date as the inception of the votive practice for Damia and Auxesia, I propose that we go back to the time when both iron and bronze pins were used, and envision that iron was purposefully selected as appropriate for Damia

[79] Jacobsthal 1956, 99.

[80] There are other cases where a transfer of cult, or change in ownership of cult, did not mean the interruption of customary forms of worship for the deities: (Thuc. 4.97.2–4.99.1—case of Apollo at Delion).

and Auxesia. In that case, we need not imagine a hoary antiquity either for the cult or for the votive practice on Aigina, but neither would we be able to point to a more exact date than "some time" in the Archaic period as the date for the cult's introduction to Aigina.

9.2.4(b) *Dating the Prohibition on Attic Pottery in the Sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia*

One of the regulations for the cult of Damia and Auxesia was the prohibition on the use of anything Attic, including pottery, in their sanctuary (Hdt. 5.88): Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν. Sarah Morris sought to illuminate this prohibition in conjunction with a group of Protoattic vases, of the so-called Black and White style, which she assigns to an Aiginetan workshop that was specializing in the imitation of Attic pottery.[81] Her argument is based on several key factors: the provenance of most of these vases from Aigina, the artists' signatures in non-Attic scripts, and the relative decline of economic activity in Athens in the early 7th century BCE, as well as the possible explanation of this decline in association with a devastating drought.[82] Morris argues that the details of the Herodotean narrative, that is, the prohibition on the use of Attic pottery in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina, fits all too neatly with the evidence for Protoattic pottery production on Aigina to be accidental. She claims that the prohibition on the use of Attic pottery served as an incentive for a local Aiginetan pottery shop to imitate the then unavailable Attic pottery. In other words, she proposes that the date of the war between Athens and Aigina that is linked to the stealing of Damia and Auxesia from Epidauros is to be placed in the early 7th century BCE on the basis of the ceramic and archaeological evidence.[83]

The set of correlations that Morris postulates relies on the acceptance of all story elements in Herodotus as representing historical facts contemporary and sequential. Such reliance is vulnerable to critique, however, as will be seen in the next section. Morris' hypothesis also works only if an island-wide ban on Attic pottery were to be envisioned, Herodotus, however, does not say that the prohibition on Attic pottery applied to any other sanctuary but that of Damia and Auxesia. It also seems that the use of local pottery, and the prohibition on the use of "anything Attic" in

[81] Morris 1984.
[82] Cf. Camp 1979.
[83] Morris 1984, 115–119.

the sanctuary, was still valid in the 5th century BCE, and hence, the brief period of the Aiginetan production of Protoattic pottery would not suffice as an explanation for the continuous practice of using only local ware.[84] Thus, this set of material evidence also does not help us to date the cult's introduction to Aigina.

9.2.4(c) *Dating Herodotus 5.82–86*

In using Herodotus' testimony on the cult of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina, we are led to associate the introduction of cult with the Aiginetan revolt from Epidauros.[85] We may be tempted therefore to seek to determine the date of the revolt in order to arrive at the date of the cult. Whether we follow this line of inquiry depends on how we assess Herodotus as a source of historical information. That we cannot use Herodotus as a straightforward account of historical events as they happened is a widely accepted view in modern scholarship. But what exactly the nature of the Herodotean narrative is and which parts of it and how we can use it as historical evidence are hotly debated. In order to use Herodotus as historical evidence, each historian needs to take a view on what the relationship between Herodotus and his sources, and his role in creating a *historiê*, was. Several possibilities present themselves:

(1) There were many accounts, alternative, epichoric representations of the 'past' circulating orally in Herodotus's day, and he recorded them as he heard them, without alteration, and meticulously referenced their provenance in his narrative, for example, "Athenians say this," but "the Argives say that." In this case, we would trust his references to sources as factual.
(2) Whatever Herodotus had learned about the 'past' from others he later changed and reworked (as a self-conscious writer with a specific agenda) in order to reflect his own view of history. In this case, his references to sources are pseudo-references, no more than devices to provide veracity for his own narrative, and when and if he could not get any source to work with, he shamelessly invented it.[86]

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[84] A similar set of objections in Figueira 1993, 58–59.

[85] Snodgrass (1980, 85) points out that *political* revolution was a foreign concept for Archaic Greece, and it is better to view the social processes of the 7th century as "experiments," which in the end gave specific political shapes to particular communities of the Greek world.

[86] See Fehling 1989; Hartog 1988. In line with this position, Haubold (2007) argues that in Hdt. 5.82–86 the author deliberately uses devices of literary genres, such as epic, to

(3) Although Herodotus does have an agenda and his own view of the 'past,' how he presents it and how he uses his source material is not all due to his personal whim as a writer and/or a historian, but is a result of influences from oral tradition. In other words, the fokloric nature of the source material affected Herodotus' own view of history: his narrative devices are much the same as the devices of his sources.[87] In this case, Herodotus is the prisoner of his source-material, of the oral tradition and its laws of composition and circulation.
(4) Herodotus uses multiple sources of different nature, some of which are fokloric, others factual (e.g., his own interviews with contemporary informants), and the style of his presentation is, in part, influenced by the genres of folklore (fairy tales, legends, fables),[88] and in part by literary genres (epic, tragedy, historiography),[89] of which influences he is himself aware, with the end result being such a complex interweaving of the traditional, literary, and personal that to detect the proportional presence of each element is virtually impossible with certainty in any particular section of the narrative. I share this latter view of the Herodotean relationship to his sources.

In trying to determine the date and the historical context of the introduction of Damia and Auxesia to Aigina, we have to consider the causal connection articulated by Herodotus between the cult's introduction and the Aiginetan political independence.[90] It is not impossible that a cult's intro-

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create a view of history that moves progressively from the divine to the human planes. As a result, e.g., Haubold reads Herodotus' *gê* as the Gê of Hesiod's Theogony. The Earth, divine agency, controls human affairs in that episode. In the next section of the story, the agency moves to the human plane, and in the last segment, from the sphere of men to that of women. "What mattered in Epidauros was the religious function of the statues. What matters in Aigina are the relevant social customs" (Haubold 2007, 235). This division is artificial. The very worship of these deities on Aigina turns social needs (to break away from Epidauros politically and to break Epidauros' security by undercutting their divine patronage) into religious functions (Damia and Auxesia now protect the internal interests of the Aiginetans: their fertility, it would seem). Haubold's reading produces a symbolic interpretation, where Athenian women, who kill the sole survivor of the expedition to Aigina, are paralleled with the chorus of Aiginetan women who sing abusive songs in the cult of Damia and Auxesia, and where Ionian dress is equated with Carian, so that we end up with a picture of history where "these transgressive dancers and their new, semi-barbaric dress powerfully embody the kind of world with which Herodotus leaves us: a world where divine will has become all but invisible."

87 See Lang 1984; Griffiths 2006.

88 Griffiths 2006, 136–140.

89 Boedekker 2002; Saïd 2002; Hornblower 2002.

90 Figueira 1993, 51–2: "The fact that a foundation story for the Aiginetan cult of Damia and Auxesia centers around appropriation of the statues and hostility toward Athens

duction would be linked to historical conflicts: all the parties involved agreed on this. At the same time, a common belief that something had happened in the past is not proof that it did. We may be dealing with a narratological topos here: movement of cultic figures from one state to another is a well-known motif of ancient Greek stories, and a conceptual association of god's protection and support with the success of a social group was also well established. The Greeks explicitly attributed their successes (of every kind) to the gods, and in particular attributed military success to the help of specific divinities: the story of Damia's and Auxesia's abduction from Epidauros sounds particularly convincing precisely because it illustrates a story pattern familiar to the Greeks, namely that deities take sides and can be compelled to favor one community over another.[91]

The historicity of Aiginetan dependence on Epidauros, and an eventual acquisition of independence would appear to be beyond doubt. The main reason to accept this point is the agreement of all parties involved in the story, especially Epidaurians, Argives, and Aiginetans,[92] and yet Herodotus' vagueness about the chronology of the Aiginetan confrontation with Epidauros is probably not without reason.[93]

Most scholars generally date Aiginetan dependence on Epidauros to the period of tyrants' rule at Argos, Epidauros, and Corinth, but some historians believe that they can be much more precise. Buck,[94] as well as to some extent Jeffery,[95] and Figueira,[96] use the narratological sequence of events in Herodotus 5.82–86 as an accurate reflection of the historical sequence, and proceed to look for a moment in history that could best fit that sequence. For example, all three scholars, Buck, Figueira, and

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indicates that conflict with Athens and Epidauros was associated by the Aiginetans with the beginning of their independent history. This belief, apparently strongly held, must provide the basis for any further discussion."

[91] See examples in 1.3.

[92] Some scholars, e.g., Griffiths 2006, 136–137, consider references to sources a technique of storytelling ("claimed sources"), not the evidence of fact gathering by Herodotus.

[93] Figueira (1993, 57), in contrast to Buck (1981), recognizes that Herodotus's "account is almost entirely without chronological information . . . Some of the events mentioned were potentially dateable (like Aiginetan independence). That Herodotus did not choose to date them suggests that he recognized that his source material was flawed."

[94] Buck 1981, 5–13.

[95] Jeffery 1976, 150.

[96] "Aiginetan independence," in Figueira 1993, 57. Figueira, in contrast to Buck, recognizes that Herodotus's "account is almost entirely without chronological information . . . Some of the events mentioned were potentially dateable (like Aiginetan independence). That Herodotus did not choose to date them suggests that he recognized that his source material was flawed."

Jeffery, begin their dating exercise by associating the Aiginetan dependence on Epidauros with the period of tyrants; then they proceed to look for a moment in the history of tyrants' rule in Argos, Epidauros and Corinth, when Argives were allied with Aiginetans, and together opposed Athenians and Epidaurians. They are split in their opinions on how to interpret the Herodotean remark that the Argives had passed through the Epidaurian territory on the way to help the Aiginetans. Jeffery infers from this note that Epidauros must have been under Argive control at the time, and the events therefore must fall in the reign of Pheidon of Argos, thus ca. 680–657? BCE.[97] Buck produces a fine-grained analysis of the sequence and finds that Epidauros could not have been under Argos at the time, but rather under Corinthian control, which would have to be in the reign of Periander.[98] The date he proposes is 630 BCE. Figueira's reasoning is similar to that of Buck, but his dating is slightly lower, ca. 618–610.[99] At the same time, Figueira submits that "this independence needed not to have been achieved suddenly, in one step, or violently."[100]

These precise dates for the Aiginetan acquisition of independence are based on the acceptance of the narratological sequence of events in Herodotus as historically accurate.[101] The reliability of such dating method is made suspect, however, by the nature of the Herodotean narrative, made of heterogeneous elements, some of which are definitely or very likely historical facts, and others most definitely not, being folkloric motifs or topoi. The two main types of elements are: (a) information blocks, and (b) connectors (indicating cause, effect, or motivation). Among information blocks in Herodotus 5.82–86 we may list:

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[97] Jeffery 1976, 150.

[98] "Pheidon of Argos is supposed to have controlled, inter alia, Epidauros, and Aigina. If this is so, then his rule must precede the revolt of Aigina from Epidauros, the independence of Epidauros from Argos and the tyranny of Procles at Epidauros . . . The separation of Epidauros from Argos should precede the Aiginetan revolt, otherwise Aigina would be rebelling against Argos as well . . . We know that the tyrant Procles of Epidauros was deposed by Periander, who then took control of the town (Hdt. 3.52.7). It is most improbable that the Aiginetans would attack and loot possessions of that redoubtable figure; . . . this means that Procles was in power when Aigina revolted . . . Herodotus makes clear that there was a Corinthian domination of Epidauros by Periander after the deposition of Procles, therefore the controlling state [over Epidauros at the time of Aiginetan revolt] should be Corinth under Periander" (Buck 1981, 7–8).

[99] Figueira 1993, 29.

[100] Figueira 1993, 51.

[101] Haubold 2007 and Irwin 2011, on the contrary, reject positivist readings of this story in Herodotus in favor of allegorical readings, which also help little, as most of the time we cannot tell where Herodotus ends and Haubold or Irwin begin.

– cultural information: change of dress styles (from Doric to Ionic); use of long iron pins;
– socio-political: dependence of Aigina on Epidauros; long-term enmity between Athens and Aigina; alliance between Aigina and Argos (cultural and military);
– socio-economic: Aigina becomes a maritime power, *thalassokratores* (building of fleet);
– religious: introduction of a new cult; location of sanctuary at Oiê on Aigina; description of rituals; dedicatory regulations.

Connectors join information-blocks into a story line. Some connectors are:

– aetiological: drought in Epidauros as the *cause* for the introduction of Damia and Auxesia there; enmity between Aigina and Athens—*effect* of the episode with Damia and Auxesia; change of dress in Athens—*effect* of the violence of Athenian women; votive regulations at the sanctuaries—*effect* of the Aiginetan and Argive enmities with Athens; kneeling posture of the statues—*effect* of their resistance to the use of force by the Athenians, etc.
– socio-historical: building of fleet makes Aiginetans powerful—*cause* of their arrogance; Aiginetans become arrogant—*cause* for their breakaway from Epidauros;
– political: Athenians demand tribute to Athena and Erekhtheus from Epidaurians in exchange for olive trees (*cause*); Athenian protection of their own interests and those of Epidauros—*cause* for sending an expedition to Aigina to recover the statues of Damia and Auxesia.

Information-blocks differ from connectors in that they are either established historical facts, or historically plausible factoids. Connectors are the glue that ties information blocks into a story. Some are characteristic of the genre of aetion; others are personal opinions of Herodotus, or his informants. In their own right, connectors also might reflect a collective ideology of a certain historical period, in which case they are historically informative. Connectors are the most unstable elements in the story: each storyteller, or historiographer, can suggest different motivations, causes, and effects in connecting "factual" bits. For this reason, we cannot use connectors for establishing precise chronology, and hence cannot expect the Herodotean sequence to be a reflection of the historical sequence of events. Even when Herodotus allegedly reports the Aiginetan, Argive, Epidaurian, and Athenian sides of the story, he orchestrates how their

versions fit into the story in accordance with what makes sense to him. In either case, through the process of "story-zation" of either historical facts passed down through oral tradition, or of competing later visions of the past that had never occurred, Herodotus must create a narrative that would withstand the trial of plausibility and general acceptability at the time of his writing. As a result, a number of things can happen: narrative elements belonging to different historical or imagined episodes could be compressed into one episode, motifs from one episode might be transferred to another, and any gaps can be filled with common, and therefore, believable folkloric motifs.

Figueira rightly supposes that the stories of cult introduction and of Aiginetan independence were originally separate, and yet the way Herodotus had strung them together must have seemed plausible to his fifth-century contemporaries. Aiginetan hostilities with Athens, friendship between Aigina and Argos, negative evaluation of Aiginetan sea-power by their opponents in the Saronic Gulf, all of these are the realities of the fifth century, at the time when Herodotus was collecting and using, or simulating epichoric versions of the story.[102] Thus, Herodotus 5.82–86 must to some extent reflect the views of the fifth-century audience as well as his own, and so the connectors, the statements of cause and effect in the Herodotean narrative should be read as mementos of fifth-century ideologies rather than the original motivations involved either in the confrontation with Epidauros or in the stealing of statues. Thus, the sequence of events and their motivations in Herodotus 5.82–86 cannot be used as a basis for a historical reconstruction of the alleged events.

9.2.4(d) *Aiginetans at Epidaurian Courts: A Cause for Revolt?*

While the sequence of events in Hdt. 5.82–86 is narratologically convincing, but historically misleading, the detail about the nature of Aiginetan dependence upon Epidauros is potentially illuminating. Although Herodotus vaguely states that Aiginetans used to "listen to/obey" (Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον) the Epidaurians "in all other matters and" (τά τε ἄλλα), he provides a rather specific example of the case in point, highlighting the Aiginetan use of the Epidaurian justice system (καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον

[102] Figueira 1993, 48: "If one accepts the premise that Aiginetan sea-power is customarily misused, then the raids against Epidauros and the theft of the statues look as though they belong together. Yet, it is indeed even possible that in earlier stages of transmission the traditions on the theft of the statues (with the events following it) and on Aiginetan independence from Epidauros were indeed separate."

ἐδίδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται). As Figuiera rightly notes, this manner of dependence is striking.[103] It makes us wonder about the kind of relationship that could have been in place between Aigina and a whatever Peloponnesian power (Epidauros or Argos) exercising hegemony over it, which required the use of foreign courts, but apparently did not regulate economic activity: did Aigina start building ships with the sanction of an outside hegemon, or in spite of it? In fact, scholars who discuss at length the date of the Aiginetan revolt from Epidauros, do not ask when Aiginetan dependence upon Epidauros, or Argos, would have begun. Sometimes this point is thought to be answered by the narrative tradition of the Return of the Herakleidai and an assumption that some time in the Dark Ages, Aigina became an Argive perioecic community (see above 9.2.2).[104]

If we consult the evidence for the transitional period from the LBA to the EIA, we find that the record of Aiginetan regional affiliations is mixed, and in fact there is a certain predominance of Attic and Cycladic connections (see 9.2.2), which only in the second half of the 8th century are joined by the Peloponnesian. It is possible to speculate, therefore, that in the aftermath of the dissolution of LBA structures of administration, Aigina may have been, for a while, left without a clear territorial affiliation with any larger political entity. In the 10th-9th centuries, Attic imports, including ceramics dominate on Aigina. The second half of the 8th century, however, sees an influx of Peloponnesian pottery, and a noticeable similarity in votive practices, attested at the sites of Aphaia, Kolonna, and later in the inventory of Damia and Auxesia, however, in the 7th and 6th centuries, Cycladic influences in material culture, and in the epichoric alphabet, are also in evidence. Therefore, Aigina does not remain under a single influence for very long; her interactions with outsiders were consistently opportunistic.

We might consider the formation of the Kalaureian amphictyony in a similar context, as reflecting political alliances and zones of control in the Argolid, East Peloponnese, and the region of the Saronic Gulf.[105] The inception date of the Kalaureian amphictyony is unknown (see 7.18.3),

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[103] Figueira 1993, 9.

[104] Cf. Figueira 1993, 48: "Before 650, Aigina stood in a perioecic relationship to Argos, whence she received political leadership, and presumably, military protection . . . When Argos became weak after 650, Epidauros usurped hegemony over Aigina."

[105] Figueira 1993, 33. Kurou's (2003) hypothesis of a union of Dryopian cities is more than speculative.

but as there is now archaeological evidence that supports the existence of monumental construction at the site in the Geometric period,[106] one has to consider the possibility of Kalaureian amphictyony at this early date more seriously. Aiginetan participation in the Kalaureian amphictyony might be showing her interest in securing lines of communication both with the Peloponnese (member- states: Hermione, Epidauros, Prasiai, Nauplia) and with Central Greece (Athens, Minyan Orchomenos). Aigina's geographic position, between the Peloponnese, Attica, and the Isthmus, would have made such policy both sensible and perhaps inevitable. If the Kalaureian amphictyony was in place in the Early Archaic (or even Late Geometric) period, and if Aigina was one of its founding members, then we could propose that Aiginetans were part of a cult community that extended well beyond the geographic confines of the island.[107] The fact that Epidauros and Aigina were both members of the Kalaureian amphictyony presents a possible snag with respect to the Herodotean assertion (5.81) that Aigina used to be subject to Epidauros. If she ever was, one presumes she could not be an independent member of the same religious league. Thus, either the amphictyony postdates Aiginetan independence, or the Aiginetan membership in it predates her dependence upon or postdates her revolt from Epidauros. Irrespective of the date, the Aiginetan membership illustrates a particular tendency recognizable in Aiginetan foreign policy throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, that is, to keep a foot in both camps, while at the same time, staying aloof from a deep involvement and a deep commitment to either one or the other of the two main geopolitical blocks (the Peloponnese, on the one hand and Central Greece, including Attica, on the other).[108]

Aigina's engagement in long-distance trade, attested in the Eastern Aegean, Naukratis, and Etruria, certainly in the 6th century, but possibly earlier, might be the testimony of economic growth resulting from a newly acquired independence (ca. 615, according to Figueira). Alternatively, it might be the case that Aigina exercised a degree of economic autonomy

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[106] Wells et al. 2004.

[107] Morgan 2003, 107–34, cf. 108: "cult organizations represent important social and economic structures which . . . did not always coincide with those of particular communities and territories, even though their functions and interests overlapped."

[108] We should remember the Aiginetan adherence to the narrative tradition of *syngeneia* with Thebes, siding with them against Athens (Hdt. 5.80–81). Doubts about the Aiginetan membership in the Peloponnesian league in the 6th or early 5th centuries (on this subject, see Figueira 1993, 87–112) are also indicative of their preference, if not a deliberate policy, of non-committal to the Spartan side either.

at the time when she was supposedly juridically and politically dependent upon Argos or Epidauros.[109] In a scenario, where Aigina is virtually economically autonomous, and continually grows richer, her immediate neighbors, and possibly hegemons, in the Argolid could begin seeing her as a potential threat to their interests.[110] It may have been an attempt at that late point to enforce some juridical control over Aigina (perhaps until then customary and voluntary rather than prescribed and compulsory) that triggered a resentment and an *apostasis* (ἀπεστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων, Hdt. 5.83) on the part of the Aiginetans.

9.2.4(e) *Building Ships and Stealing Statues: A Strange Pattern?*

So far we have found various attempts at determining a precise date for the introduction of the cult of Damia and Auxesia to Aigina unproductive. At the same time, the general historical context of the Archaic period, and in particular the background of both Aiginetan participation in the regional amphictyony (Kalaureian) and of Aiginetan trading activity across the Mediterranean, allow us to see how the two Herodotean claims of the Aiginetan political dependence and of Aiginetan seemingly independent economic development could be reconciled. More to the point, the investigation of mechanisms and context of the cult's introduction, as indicated by the Herodotean narrative, help illuminate the reasons why the introduction was most likely to take place in the Archaic period in particular.

The mechanism of the cult's introduction is a transfer of cult images from their original location to Aigina. That this transfer is accomplished by theft is neither illogical, nor unusual. In other instances, where the transfer of cult images from one state to another takes places, similar

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[109] Aiginetan involvement at Naukratis might be as early as the late 7th century. The beginning of Aiginetan coinage might be also related to the development of commerce. Cf. Figueira 1993, 11 ("the indications provided by Aiginetan commerce and coinage point toward a late 7th- or an early 6th-century date for the establishment of the economic vitality of the island), and 23–43, 166–202, 230–251, 326–32.

[110] Aiginetan trading ventures in Arkadia via Kyllene in Elis, if they are Archaic as we are led to believe, might suggest a deliberate attempt to bypass Argos and the Eastern Argolid (Paus. 8.5.8–10). Figueira (1993, 18) differs: " the emergence of the Aiginetans as a community involved in seafaring and trade was linked with their status as an outlying, maritime perioecic community of Argos. The practical impact of Argive hegemony is suggested by a tradition out of Arkadian local historiography." Figueira sees Argive support behind Aigina's trading ventures as an act of anti-Spartan policy, but if Aigina was indeed only an extension of Argive interests at the time, it is not clear why Aiginetans could not send those same pack-trains to Arkadia via the Argolid rather than via Elis. The presence of a dedication or *horos* of the Arkadian god Pan at Aphaia is of note (see 7.17).

ingredients are in place, which corroborate the rationale applied by the ancient Greeks in such cases. First, divine images, or heroic relics, being obtained, are those that have already proved themselves or been promised to be effective (Damia and Auxesia had already cured the land's infertility in Epidauria; the Delphic oracle guarantees the efficacy of Orestes' bones, etc.). Because they are powerful objects, their owners are not likely to be willing to part with them peacefully, hence, theft (whether sanctioned (as with the bones of Orestes), or unsanctioned (as with Damia and Auxesia), is the only option. In some other cases, presumably when those seeking to acquire divine images or relics have a hope of a positive reply from the owners, requests and invitations are an alternative (e.g., Kleisthenes of Sikyon asks for the hero Melanippos and receives a consent from Thebes).

That the theft of divine images is a provocation, not only with respect to the owners, but mainly with respect to the deities themselves, goes without question. Hence, the need to placate them (ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίῃσι τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικηίοισι κερτομίοισι ἱλάσκοντο, Hdt. 5.83) and make the deities interested in accepting their new location: a typical remedy is to institute cultic honors (sacrifices, choruses, gifts). Finally, one needs to have the means to accomplish the transfer: in the case of the Aiginetans, Herodotus explains, it was the availability of ships and the Aiginetan arrogance of spirit that helped them execute the daring plan.

We should note, however, that the order of motivations and actions is actually the reverse in the Herodotean account: the stealing of divine images is a result, not a cause for Aiginetan sea power and arrogance. Although in Herodotus, the theft appears almost like a college student prank, without much further purpose than to show what they are capable of,[111] we should not be misled by narrative effects: behind them stands the serious business of dealing with the gods. A seemingly frivolous behavior reflects practical religious rationale underlying cult introductions.

In the Herodotean formulation, the revolt from Epidauros (ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων) is an expression of Aiginetan (sea)power (ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες), and the stealing of statues (τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται) is both a product of this power and of a desire to harm the Epidaurians (ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς). But why is an act of stealing divine images capable of serving as an expression of

[111] Kleisthenes's project of replacing Adrastos with Melanippos in Sikyon shows a similar frivolous attitude.

power and of causing harm to the opponent (ἐόντες διάφοροι)? The answer to the first part of the question is: because in ancient Greek culture, no human success could be celebrated outside of a religious context: a personal accomplishment (e.g., athletic victory) or a communal one (victory in battle) are equally made visible via thanks-offerings to the gods, be they in the form of hymns or *epinikia* (serving as hymns for the gods at the same time as they serve as eulogies for a victor, his family and city),[112] or in the form of material objects offered as votive gifts.

The equation of "causing harm" (ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς) with stealing images (κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων) has to do with the recognition of the role played by gods in human affairs, and with the recognition of the mechanisms by means of which gods could be compelled to favor one human community over another. The Aiginetans would steal those divine images not only because they could (having ships and arrogance at their disposal), but also because they would want to disarm their opponents, in this case, the Epidaurians, and need to have the gods on their side for future successes.[113] The Athenian version of the story (Ἀθηναῖοι μέν νυν λέγουσι), reported by Herodotus, first in 5.85 and then repeated in 5.86, adds a peculiar detail: when the Athenians had tried to remove the statues (ἐξανασπᾶν 5.85, ἀνασπάσαι 5.86) of Damia and Auxesia by tying cords around them and dragging (ἕλκειν 5.85, 5.86) them along, the statues fell on their knees and remained in that position ever after: ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Although the Athenians ostensibly cite this version of events as an explanation of their military defeat due to divine intervention (τοῦ δαιμονίου), within the Herodotean narrative, this gesture unambiguously carries only one meaning: the Athenians are unable to remove the statues because the latter resist; they oppose the Athenian attempt to remove them from Aiginetan soil. Within the logic of the story, this is the proof that the goddesses had indeed been placated (by the Aiginetan efforts) and accepted their new place of residence.

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[112] So I had argued in a conference paper "The Religious Function of *Epinikia*," read at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, Washington, D.C., 1998.

[113] Polinskaya 2010, 63 n. 47. Haubold's reading of the episode within the broader context of Herodotean agenda and approach to history is arguable. E.g., I cannot see that the episode is "reminiscent of the Hesiodic Iron Age," whereby Aiginetans "build ships, abandon justice, and yieling to ἀγνωμοσύνη ('arrogance'), rupture the bond between gods and men by stealing the statues of Damia and Auxesia." Haubold wants to see in the Aiginetan digression (Hdt. 5.82–9) a "modified account of epic history," namely "the shift from a history of the gods to a history of humans." This reading is far too abstract, whereas the more obvious rationale is visible on the surface.

The act of transferring divine power from the side of one's enemy to one's own constitutes a specific type of cult introduction in the Greek world: we can name the cases of the bones of Orestes (Hdt. 1.66–68),[114] the cult of Adrastos in Sikyon (Hdt. 5.67), establishment of a precinct of Aiakos in Athens (Hdt. 5.89), and many others. The act of stealing divine images is consonant with the ideology of competing city-states that seek to protect their own interests with the help of the gods.[115] Thus, one of the means by which the Aiginetan cultic system expands in the Archaic period is by moving a cult of the opponent to their own side of the border, quite literally, in spatial terms. This act of cult stealing, however, as in many similar cases, does not result in the termination of the cult in its original location. In Epidauros, the cult of Damia and Auxesia either continued without any interruption (as I am inclined to think), or resumed some time later and lasted into Roman times, as is clear from the epigraphic evidence.[116] We have an example of a local system of cults expanding as a result of one cult in the region splitting into two, one for each neighboring, politically independent territory.

In sum, while we should not see the assertion of independence and the arrival of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina as two linked dateable events, we may say that the context of economic growth, of the political differentiation in the region of the Saronic Gulf, of the competition for marine routes, as well as the need to articulate and promote a distinct local identity were the background and the reasons for the Aiginetan appropriation of Damia and Auxesia from Epidauros in the Archaic period.[117] See further discussion in 10.2.

9.2.5 *Introducing New Cults: Aiakos and the Aiakids*

The evidence for the cult of Aiakos on Aigina at the present moment comes entirely from literary sources, which are also the basis for our attempts at dating the cult. Our earliest literary evidence for the existence of the cult comes from Pindar, and so from the uncertain dates (ca. 485 BCE?) of *Paean* 6 and *Nemean* 7. In the early years of the 5th century, the Aiginetan

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[114] Cf. Boedeker 1993.

[115] Cf. Detienne and Sissa 2000, 145–146; Polinskaya 2010.

[116] Several inscriptions from Epidauros (*IG* IV 1010, 1054, 1062, 1539), the latest dated to the 2nd cent CE, refer to the priests of these deities.

[117] These processes are not unique to Aigina in this period. The 7th century is commonly seen as a transformative period in the history of the Greek world: Snodgrass 1980, 85–122; Osborne 1996, 161–214. Cf. also Ciccio 1983.

cult of Aiakos must have been a veteran of at least some decades, for in the Pindaric *epinikia* Aiakos is firmly incorporated into the mythological history of the island and is repeatedly represented as a cultic figure along with several Aiakids: Peleus, Telamon and Achilles. These considerations take us into the 6th century. As of today we have no solid evidence, antedating Pindar, for the cultic worship of Aiakos on Aigina. The earlier evidence is mythological.

Herodotus, writing in the middle of the 5th century BCE and later, informs us about the role of Aiakos and the Aiakids in the war between Athens and Thebes (Hdt. 5.80) and later on, in the battle of Salamis (8.64). Herodotus' testimony therefore takes us up to at least 508 BCE. I have argued in chapter 7.2 that Aiakos had a joint cult with the Aiakids at least by the late Archaic period. How much earlier did it begin? How did it take its Classical shape? What were the social conditions that contributed to the articulation of Aiakos' and Aiakids' functions in Archaic Aigina? As much as myth plays a part in the cultic worship of a deity or hero, we should gain some insight into the latter by studying the development of the Aiginetan narrative tradition about Aiakos and the Aiakids. The sources we should consider are Homer (8th century BCE), the epic *Alkmaionis*, [dated ca. 600 BCE], and the *Catalogue of Women*, dated between 580 and 520 BCE.[118]

In Pindar's poetry, Aiakos owes part of his glory to the *kleos* of his posterity, the Aiakids: Peleus, Achilles, Neoptolemos, as well as Telamon, and Ajax. These heroes are among the most prominent heroes in the Greek epic tradition. In Homer, neither Aiakos, nor the Aiakids are connected to the island of Aigina in the Saronic Gulf. Instead, their home is in southern Thessaly—Malia, or Phthia. Aigina is mentioned only once, in *Il.* 2.259–264, along with other coastal sites of the Argolic peninsula, as part of the domain of Diomedes. In addition, the genealogical line of Telamon is unrelated either to the Thessalian Aiakids, or to Aigina, and is unambiguously associated with Salamis of the Saronic Gulf, which seems to be independent from the control of an outside lord. A study of how the Aiakid line of heroes joins the Telamonid line, and how it comes to be associated with the island of Aigina in the period of about 200 years between 800 and 600 BCE will help illuminate the contribution of Aiakos and the Aiakids to the Aiginetan mesocosm of the Archaic period.

[118] West 1985, 136.

Studies of the same subject had been undertaken before. Some twenty-five years ago, Alwin Zunker devoted a monograph to the study of the *Aiakidensage*. His vision of the genesis of the Aiginetan myths about Aiakos and the Aiakids is very close to that of Martin West.[119] Both believe that the Aiginetans took Aiakos directly from Homeric genealogy and attached him to Aigina where there was no such hero before: Zunker dates this innovation to the 7th century, and connects it to the need of a newly independent state to create a prestigious heroic past.

Overall, the proposed model is possible. One of the dimensions not accounted for, however, is the probable contemporary co-existence of alternative epic traditions, whereby Homer may not have been the only authority to contend with. So, Zunker envisions that "the Aiginetans made use of the fact that in the Homeric epics the mother of Aiakos was not named . . . They filled this "gap" by inventing a nymph Aigina . . . and making Zeus her consort."[120] To envision Aigina or any Greek locality as a blank spot that, upon learning of the Homeric tradition, springs into action inventing mythological characters ex nihilo to tie in with the grand narrative is rather mechanistic. A variety of epichoric traditions is detectable even in Homer and it is certainly present in Hesiod, as well as in early mythographers.[121] We should not envision Aigina or any other Greek location as a narratological blank, but as an epicenter of epichoric lore. What the encounter of the local epichoric traditions with Homer would have produced is a desire to correlate, and interweave the local lore with the persuasive heroic epic tradition, which by all counts seems to have acquired panhellenic authority by the late 7th century BCE.[122] This would have produced adjustments, often creative and ingenious, in the local tradition. West, along with Zunker, postulates a nymph Aigina of the Saronic, the double of a Thessalian Aigina, as the link that allowed Aiginetans to steal the Aiakid genealogy from the Thessalians.[123] There is, however, a possibly more persuasive alternative. Let us consider the focal elements

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[119] West 1985.

[120] Zunker 1988, 230: "Die Aigineten nutzten den Umstand, dass in den Epen Homers und des Kyklos die Mutter des Ahns der Aiakiden, des Aiakos, nicht gennant war . . . In diese "Lücke" setzten die aiginetischen Mythengenealogen eine erfundene, eponyme Nymphe "Aigina . . ."

[121] Fowler 2000; Levaniouk 2000; 2011, 9 and 319–20.

[122] Homer as authority (Hdt. 2.23, 2.53).

[123] West 1985, 163: "the genealogy was appropriated by the Aiginetans of the Saronic Gulf, who identified Aigina with their own Aigina and attached Aias the son of Telamon from nearby Salamis. Aigina remained the daughter of Asopos, but this was now understood to be the petty Aiginetan Asopos, or else the Sicyonian one."

of the mythological tradition (the following list is not exhaustive, but includes the indispensable sources).

Homer, 8th (or 7th, or 6th) century BCE

- Aiakos-Peleus-Achilles-Neoptolemos (Myrmidons)—*in Thessaly* (Malia, Phthia) (Homer, *Il.* 2.681–685, *Il.* 9.395, *Od.* 11.496, *Il.* 16.15, *Il.* 21.188)
- Telamon-Ajax—*in Salamis*, independent
- Aigina—part of the domain of Diomedes, along *with Argos*, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troizen, Eïonai, Epidauros, and Mases (Homer, *Il.* 2.559–564)
- Aiakos has no saga; he is a mere name
- Peleus-saga and Achilles-saga
- Ajax-saga

Alkmaionis, ca. 600 BCE (1.1. West)

- Telamon and Peleus are accomplices in the murder of Phokos

Catalogue of Women, ca. 580–520 BCE (MW 205)

- Aiakos is native to Aigina; son of Zeus and Aigina-nymph
- Zeus creates people for Aiakos from ants
- Telamon, Peleus, Phokos, and Menoitios (father of Patroklos)[124]—sons of Aiakos

Pindar, ca. 485? BCE

- Aiakos-saga: son of Zeus and the nymph Aigina; king of Aigina, just ruler, who settled accounts for gods and mortals; petitioner of Zeus' on behalf of the Greeks
- Telamon, Peleus, Phokos = sons of Aiakos; Telamon and Peleus murder Phokos; Aiakos and Telamon—particular friends of Herakles
- Aiakids are the Aiginetan heroic past, from which stems its present glory
- Cult: gates of the Aiakeion; sacred grove of the Aiakids; prayers directed to both Aiakos and the Aiakids

[124] West 1985, 101.

Herodotus, ca. 445 BCE

– Cult images of Aiakos and the Aiakids act together as *symmakhoi*
– Firmly linked to Aigina; Delphic oracle: the way to defeat Aigina is to subvert its power by bringing Aiakos to Athens

Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato are in consort with the Pindaric image of Aiakos and the Aiakids, but present an additional dimension:

– Aiakos as a gatekeeper or Judge of the Dead in the Underworld (see 7.2.10)

Theogenes of Aigina, Peri Aiginês, 4th/3rd ? cent. BCE

– Aiakos—synoikist

Pausanias, 2nd cent. CE

– Aiakos—son of Zeus and Aigina, a native of Aigina
– Zeus creates inhabitants of Aigina from the earth (τὸν Δία ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς)
– Telamon, Peleus, Phokos—sons of Aiakos; Peleus murders Phokos, both Teleamon and Peleus are exiled
– Aiakos—obtains from Zeus a release from drought for the Greeks
– Telamon pleads not guilty in the murder of Phokos, but is condemned and goes to Salamis

It seems quite clear from our evidence, and all scholars agree on this point, that the Aiakid genealogy, involving Peleus, Achilles, and Neoptolemos, is of Thessalian origin. They are the Myrmidons,[125] a group descendent from an eponymous hero Myrmidon.[126] The stories about Zeus creating people, Myrmidons, from ants (*myrmykes*) for Aiakos on Aigina are clearly a later folk etymology. The Thessalian tradition goes back at least to the 8th century BCE,[127] but when the Homeric Aiakids (Peleus-Achilles-Neoptolemos) appear in Aiginetan myths, they come with a Thessalian caché of

[125] Hesiod MW 205, lines 6–7.
[126] See *The Homer Encyclopedia*, s.v. Myrmidons (by I. Polinskaya).
[127] It is still attested in the IV cent. CE in Servius' comment on *Aen*. 4.402.

stories. Except for the murder of Phokos, no saga connects Peleus and his posterity to the Saronic. This is in contrast to the case of Aiakos himself. Here is one of the elements of the mythological tradition that makes me doubt the genesis model proposed by Zunker.

In Homer, Aiakos is no more than a name. And there is only one late, Byzantine, piece of evidence that tells us about anything that Aiakos ever performed in Thessaly, namely founded a city.[128] On Aigina, however, Aiakos is a subject of a regional myth rooted in the geography of Aigina and the Saronic Gulf: this is the myth of Aiakos who obtained through prayer (and sacrifice, according to Paus.) a release from drought for the Greeks. Aiakos is credited with founding the cult of Zeus Hellanios on the Oros. It is this myth that is depicted on the portals of the Aiakeion on Aigina (Paus. 2.29.7). In addition, the reputation for justice and piety delineates this hero as a distinct figure of myth and cult. The listed stories represent Aiakos as a self-standing mythological character. With the characteristics of justice, *eusebeia*, and preferential access to Zeus, Aiakos emerges as a local hero of Aigina, firmly tied to the geography of the island and the Saronic. This starkly localized image of Aiakos, and the stories of his personal achievements, suggest a separate strand of lore and a separate historical stage of development in the local oral tradition and in the local worship of Aiakos. I suggest, that there was a period in Aiginetan history when Aiakos was worshipped on his own, without any connection to the Aiakids, the famous posterity that nearly overshadowed their progenitor. This historical stage must predate 600 BCE, the date of the *Alkmaionis*, which is our earliest source, indicating, if obliquely, that the Thessalian Aiakid genealogy had by then been transferred onto Aiginetan soil and joined with the Telamonid line.

The main implication of my hypothesis on the existence of the Aiginetan Aiakos is that we have to imagine two different heroes of this name, one in Thessaly, another in the Saronic Gulf, perhaps existing contemporaneously, one making it into the panhellenic epic tradition, the other—known only locally in the 8th or 7th century BCE. West bases his reconstruction similarly on a hypothesis of two Aiginas (one in Thessaly and one in the Saronic), and more than two Asopos-rivers in various locations (the latter are textually attested).[129] Homonymous heroes associated with different geographic locales are familiar already in the *Iliad*

[128] Steph. Byz., s.v. Dia.
[129] West 1985, 162–64.

(Ajax the Greater, the son of Telamon, and Ajax the Lesser, the son of Oïleus), and they abound in later epichoric traditions,[130] for which Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* is a vivid testimony. Thus, it is possible to speculate the appearance of heroes and toponyms of the same name in different parts of the Greek world.[131] If a hero by the name of Aiakos was already worshipped on Aigina some time prior to 600 BCE, it is easy to imagine how the Aiginetans could make a bold claim that their local Aiakos and the father of Peleus were one and the same figure. The rest of the genealogy could be creatively adjusted. As West and Zunker suggest, the origin of Aiakos himself could be elaborated and tied in with the renaming of the island: from Oinona to Aigina.

If the presence of a local homonymous hero was the hook that allowed Aiginetans to attach the Homeric Aiakos to their island, they could not entirely delete a rival epichoric tradition that made Aiakids the Thessalian heroes, a tradition, which by then had acquired a panhellenic authority through the agency of Homer.[132] They resolved this problem by taking and then immediately giving the Aiakids back to Thessaly:[133] Peleus was born to the Aiginetan Aiakos, but went to live in Thessaly. This was an ingenious solution, based on a common narratological topos, making it particularly convincing: an involuntary or intentional murder turns a hero into an exile, forcing him to leave his current abode and seek domicile in a different land, where he is typically cleansed of blood guilt by a local king and marries a local princess (see, e.g., Σ *Il.* 16.14). The pretext for Peleus' leaving Aigina was thus solid: exile for murder, a common folkloric motif. The next step for us to consider is how Telamon entered the Aiakid genealogy and became an accomplice of Peleus in the murder of Phokos.

We have to return to Homer again. Telamon and Peleus are not related in Homer, and there had to be an intermediate stage between the eighth-century Thessalian and the pre-600 BCE Aiginetan versions of the Aiakid genealogy where Telamon became the son of the Aiginetan Aiakos. Ajax, son of Telamon, hails from Salamis in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.557–8). The connection of Telamon to Salamis is both old and undisputed. The

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130 E.g., on two heroes named Phokos, see McInerney 1999, 136–153.

131 Pfister (1974 [1909], 228–9) speculates four theoretical possibilities how heroes of the same name could be worshipped in different locations in the ancient world, including double or multiple claims to the possession of a hero's tomb, and the fourth of these possibilities is relatively frequent: "die Namens- oder Wesensähnlichkeit bot die Möglichkeit der Gleichsetzung."

132 Cf. Hall 1997, on rival genealogical traditions.

133 See also Hiller 2009; Weilhartner 2010; Nagy 2011; Hedreen 2011.

geographic proximity of Aigina and Salamis could suggest the possibility of a genealogical connection between two local heroes (Aiakos and Telamon) much more easily than the connection with the Thessalian heroic line, and yet, it seems, we lack real evidence that could reveal how the two lines had come together. Kirk cautiously speculated that the genealogy of Telamon may have been disputed and unresolved at the time of the Homeric epics, which should explain the brevity of the note devoted to him in the *Catalogue of Ships*.[134] I think that the appropriation of Telamon by the Aiginetans was a separate project, modeled on the appropriation of Peleus. The reason for thinking so is the mythological tradition that records different roles played by Peleus and Telamon in the murder of Phokos. In our earliest surviving source on this subject, the fragment of the *Alkmaionis*, Telamon hits Phokos with a throwing disc, perhaps accidentally, but Peleus is the one who takes an axe and strikes Phokos on the back. Pausanias reflects an even sharper contrast in roles: Peleus is the one who hits Phokos, while Telamon is simply an onlooker. All sources represent Peleus as an active participant in the murder, while Telamon as either an unwilling, accidental killer, or even a by-stander. This passive role of Telamon is emphasized in Pausanias (2.29.9–10), where it seems to be a pretext for Telamon to plead not guilty before his father. After the murder both Peleus and Telamon are exiled; then Telamon tries to return to Aigina, but is not allowed to land, and has to plead his case from a mole he builds by night in the harbor; yet, he is condemned and has to leave again. An altogether alternative tradition connects Telamon's exile to Salamis to an *akousios phonos* not of Phokos on Aigina, but of a fellow hunter in the Calydonian boar hunt.[135] The difference in roles for Peleus and Telamon in the murder of Phokos, reflected in the narrative tradition, strongly indicates that at some point there was only one brother, Peleus, involved in the murder, while Telamon was a later addition.[136]

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[134] Kirk 1985, 209.

[135] Σ *Il.* 16.14 <Ζώειν μὰν ἔτι φασὶ Μενοίτιον.> Αἰακὸς, ὁ Διὸς καὶ Αἰγίνης, γήμας Ἐνδηΐδα τὴν Χείρωνος θυγατέρα, ἔσχε δύο παῖδας, Πηλέα, καὶ Τελαμῶνα. Μιγεὶς δὲ καὶ Ψαμμάθῃ τῇ Νηρέως, γεννᾷ Φῶκον. Τοῦτον Πηλεὺς ἀποκτείνας, ἔφυγεν εἰς Μαγνησίαν τῆς Θετταλίας πρὸς Χείρωνα. Τελαμὼν δὲ, ἐν τῷ λόχῳ τοῦ Καλυδωνίου συὸς ἀνελὼν ἀκουσίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἕνα τῶν (10) συγκυνηγούντων, ἔφυγεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα· καὶ γήμας Ἐρίβοιαν τὴν Ἀλκάθου ἐγέννησεν Αἴαντα. Μενοίτιος δὲ, ἀποικίσας εἰς Ὀποῦντα, Πάτροκλον ἐτέκνωσεν. Ὁ δὲ, ἀποκτείνας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκουσίως Ἀμφιδάμαντος παῖδα Κλησώνυμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φυγὼν εἰς Φθίαν πρὸς Πηλέα, κατὰ συγγένειαν ἐπέμφθη παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Χείρωνα. Ὃς αὐτὸν μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἀνέθρεψεν. Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φιλοστεφάνῳ. = *FHG* III 33, fr. 35, Philostephanus of Cyrene, 3rd cent BCE.

[136] Symbolic interpretations of the myth, as a struggle between earth-bound (Peleus) and sea-bound (Phokos) powers, offered by McInerney (1999, 142–143) and Burnett (2005,

There is no doubt that it was a daring move on the part of the Aiginetans to claim one after another two otherwise unrelated lines of famous heroes. There are grounds to argue that the appropriation of Peleus and Telamon were two separate undertakings.[137] One had to serve as a model for the other. The sheer boldness and ingenuity of method used in attaching the Thessalian Aiakids to the Aiginetan Aiakos, without abducting them altogether from the Thessalian scene, suggests the primacy of this step. In constructing the link, the Aiginetans employed a well-known folkloric motif of *akousios phonos*, involuntary manslaughter, thus making their version of events both familiar and believable. Prinz also views the addition of Telamon to the Aiakid genealogy as a separate stage in the process, but he does not see it as an Aiginetan initiative. His theory involves the participation of Megara who was vying with Athens for the control of Salamis ca. 600 BCE. Prinz adds one more piece to the puzzle: a fragment of Hesiod (MW 204, 44–51 = 96Rz = Test. 19), which portrays Ajax as one of Helen's suitors who brings her a gift of cattle and sheep stolen from, among other places, Aigina. Such an episode could not have remained in the narrative tradition, Prinz argues, if Aigina had been already identified as Ajax's paternal home.[138] Prinz concludes therefore that the linking of Telamon with Aiakos took place between the creation of the Hesiodic poem, which he dates to 650 BCE, and the epic *Alkmaionis*, dated 600 BCE. The Hesiodic fragment (MW 204, 44–51) does not actually prove that a narrative tradition about Aiakos' parentage of Telamon was not yet in circulation at the time. It might simply be reflecting a contemporary rival tradition that continued to portray Ajax and Telamon as Salaminian.

The broader question of the Megarian presence in Aiakid genealogy, nonetheless deserves some attention. We know of two mythological traditions about Endeis, the mother of Peleus and Telamon. One makes her a daughter of Khiron, and therefore Thessalian,[139] suggesting that Endeis came to Aigina in a genealogical package with Aiakos and Peleus. The second tradition makes her a daughter of the Megarian hero

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17–18), ignore the presence of Telamon, i.e., do not discuss what Telamon was supposed to represent.

137 Prinz (1979, 34–56) also envisions separate stages; however, he accepts the traditional view that the Aiginetans appropriated the Thessalian hero Aiakos, while there was no Aiakos on Aigina before then.

138 Cardin 2010 demonstrates that Book 4 of the *Catalogue of Women* focused on the Asopids, and Thetis's marriage to Peleus in particular, leading to the narrative of *Helen's Suitors* in Book 5.

139 Philostephanos *FHG* 3.33 Fr.35 = Σ Hom. *Il.*15.14, Sch. Pind. *N.*5.12b.

Skiron.[140] The linking of Endeis to Megara was secondary, according to Prinz, and modeled on the appropriation of Aiakos by the Aiginetans. While this hypothesis makes sense, the next one is less convincing. Prinz suggests that the Megarians legitimized their territorial claim to Salamis by assigning Aiakos a Megarian wife, and providing Telamon with both a mother and a wife from Megara. Prinz does not explain, however, why it was not enough for Megara just to construct a link between some/any Megarian heroine and the Salaminian Telamon directly, that is, it remains unclear why they needed to use the third party, the Aiginetan Endeis, to link Megara and Salamis. Only after Telamon had been made a brother of Peleus and inherited Peleus' mother Endeis as his own, that is, only after Telamon had been made the son of the Aiginetan Aiakos, could the Megarians claim that Endeis was actually a daughter of their local hero. I agree, however, with Prinz that we may date Megarian participation in the construction of the regional genealogy to ca. 600 BCE, when Megara and Athens were fighting over Salamis and when it would have been most advantageous for the Megarians to attach themselves to a renowned line of heroes, the Aiakids. Thus, I envision the development of the Aiakid genealogy in five stages from Homer (where Aiakids are not connected to Aigina, and Telamon and Peleus are not brothers) to the *Catalogue of Women* (where Aiakos, Telamon, and Peleus are Aiginetan). Stages 1 and 5 are reflected in our sources, while intermediate stages are reconstructed. Stage 1 represents the Thessalian genealogy as known from Homer. Stage 5 is the product of the Aiginetan and Megarian appropriations of the Thessalian genealogy. The in-between stages are variously reconstructed by scholars. On the basis of the arguments presented above, I outline my view of an hypothetical development of the Aiakid genealogy.

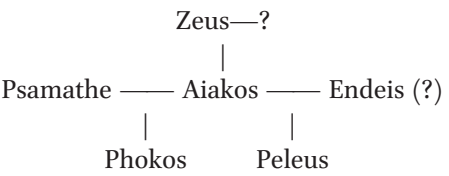
(1) (a) Homer, *Iliad*—Thessalian genealogy—ca. 800–750 BCE

Zeus
|
Aiakos
|
Peleus
|
Achilles

[140] Σ Eur. *Andr.* 687; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.158 (Test.21); Paus. 2.29.9; Plut. *Thes.* 10.3.

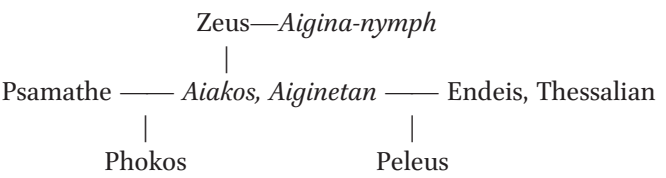
The entire line of heroes is Thessalian.

(b) Hesiod, *Theogony* 1004–05—Thessalian genealogy—ca. 750–700 BCE



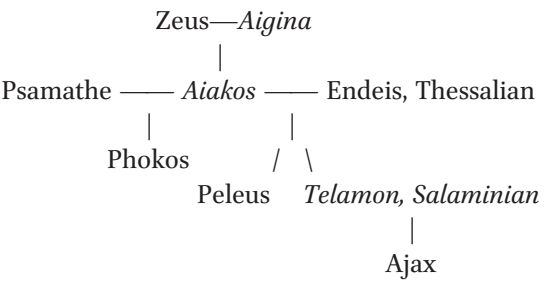
Phokos and Peleus are half-brothers.

(2) *no source, reconstructed—Aiginetan—post 750 BCE—ante 600 BCE



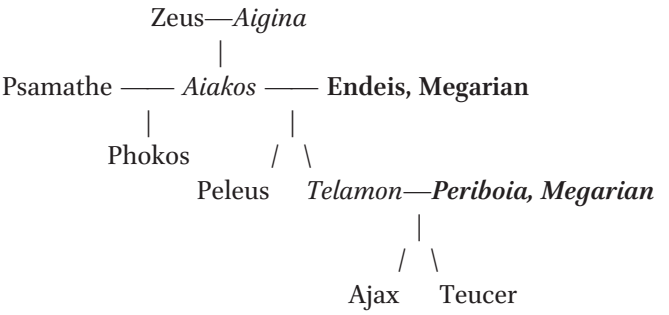
The Thessalian line is taken from the Homeric/Hesiodic version, but Homeric Aiakos is identified with the Aiakos of the Saronic island Oinona and made a son of Zeus through a union with a nymph Aigina who gives her name to the island. Zeus's paternity of island-Oinona's Aiakos through Aigina may have been a separate story predating an identification with the Thessalian Aiakos.

(3) **no source, reconstructed—Aiginetan—ante 600 BCE



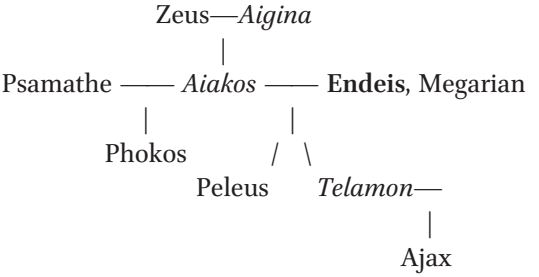
Telamon of Salamis is added to the Aiginetan genealogy as a second son of Aiakos and Endeis.

(4) ***no source, reconstructed—Megarian—ca. 650–600 BCE



Endeis, who was presumably part of the Thessalian genealogy is re-identified as a Megarian, as is Telamon's wife.

(5) *Catalogue of Women*—Aiginetan version—ca. 580–530 BCE



If we leave out the Megarian contributions, we may envision three stages in the development of the Aiginetan mythological tradition about Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina:

(I) Aiakos—local hero of Aigina, just and pious ruler, son of Zeus and nymph Aigina, a successful petitioner of Zeus on behalf of the Greeks;

(II) Aiakos of Aigina is identified with the father of Peleus and the ancestor of the great Homeric heroes; with Peleus come the Myrmidons; Peleus kills his half-brother and is exiled, effectively returning back to the place of his origin, Thessaly.

(III) Building on the model of stage II, Aiakos the Aiginetan is identified as the father of Telamon. Telamon and Peleus are made to share a mother, so that they both can be made accomplices in the grudge

> against their half-brother Phokos; this circumstance also allows, in the same way as with Peleus, for Telamon to be brought to Aigina and then to be restored to his native Salamis in one stroke.

Perhaps the fourth stage in the process involved the participation of the Megarians, whereby they offered an alternative provenance for Endeis and introduced a Megarian wife for Telamon. Since these corrections did not affect the core patrilineal connections of the Aiakid stemma, and may have even helped to strengthen the local (Saronic Gulf) ties of the Aiakids, the Aiginetans would have had no reason to reject them. The Aiginetans would have had an active interest only in creating links between the local Aiakos and the Thessalian Aiakids, and between the Aiginetan Aiakos and Telamon of Salamis.

Is there any way we could date these stages? When would have the Aiginetans been interested in tying Peleus and Telamon to Aigina? The effort that the Aiginetan tradition takes not to contradict Homeric genealogies, but rather to work with them, suggests a post-Homeric date for stages II and III. The *post quem non* date for stage III is the date of *the Alkmaionis*, or more securely, of the *Catalogue of Women*. We have to conclude that the formative stages of the Aiakid-saga on Aigina took place in the late seventh or early 6th century BCE,[141] in the wake of and alongside the Homeric epics. The development of a heroic pedigree for the home community should therefore be seen in conjunction with the processes of economic growth and political self-determination of Aigina in the same period.

We should now turn from the mythological tradition to the evidence of the cult proper. The cult of Aiakos on Aigina was a hero-cult. This is shown both by the mythological tradition, which portrays him as a son of Zeus and a nymph, as well as by the explicit references in Classical and Hellenistic authors (see 7.2.1). The same mythological tradition portrays Aiakos as the first inhabitant and the first king of the island. He is an explicitly indigenous hero. Shrines of Aiakos are not attested anywhere else in Greece, except Athens, which is a special case (see 11.4). Besides the fact that Aiakos is a local hero, he is a progenitor of the most important Homeric heroes. Although the cult of Aiakos is rarely discussed by scholars working on hero cults, it presents an interesting example that puts to test most definitions of the concept of "hero cult." Some scholars, Carla

[141] Cf. Zunker 1988.

Antonaccio and Robin Hägg among them, argue in favor of differentiating between tomb cult, cult of ancestors and hero cult proper. According to Antonaccio:

> [Early hero cults] belong in the seventh century and later (rather than the eighth century) and they were not connected with major poleis, as one would expect, were they a significant part of a Panhellenic system of shared values and structures early on . . . Nor are hero cults connected with tombs, as one would expect if they were predicated on physical remains or relics that "bound" the hero to a place.[142]

While I agree with Antonaccio on the points of dating hero cults proper, that is in the 7th century or later, the case of Aiakos shows that a hero cult could be connected with a major *polis* and was associated with a tomb. Whether it was a real tomb, or not, is not as important as the fact that the locals thought that it was, albeit in the Roman period.

As I have said we do not have hard evidence for the existence of the cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina in the period much earlier than 510 BCE. Our mythological evidence (the fragment of the *Catalogue of Women*, and probably of the *Alkmaionis*) testifies to the existence of the local Aiginetan tradition about Aiakos and the Aiakids some time ca. 600 BCE. We can only speculate that the mythological tradition accompanied cultic practice. If that was the case, however, and the Aiginetan stages of the cult (from the solo worship of Aiakos to the joint worship of Aiakos and the Aiakids) could be correlated with the dates of the poetic sources, then we would be dealing with a cult of Aiakos, independent of the Aiakids, sometime in the seventh century, if not earlier. Such dating for the cult of Aiakos would then fit the chronology of the phenomenon known as the "rise of hero cults," attested in various parts of Greece. One of the prevalent theories, explaining the rise of hero cults, connects it with the circulation of Homeric epics. An earlier theory postulated that hero cults preceded them.[143] Farnell, and more recently, Coldstream, and Mazarakis[144] defend the view that hero cults derive from the Homeric

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[142] Antonaccio 1993, 62.

[143] Rohde 1894.

[144] Farnell 1921; Coldstream 1976, 8–17; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 356–57: "I am convinced that Coldstream is right that the rise of hero cults in the LG period was partly due to the spread of the Homeric epics . . . The phenomenon of HC must have been stimulated by the dim memory of exceptional individuals who lived during the LBA and the DA, the extraordinary exploits and virtues of whom were kept alive and remembered through the epic poems."

epics, while Snodgrass[145] views the two phenomena as unrelated. In the case of Aiakos, we have a definitive example of the influence exerted by the authority of Homeric epics, if not on the establishment of the cult, then on its redefinition. The importance that Aiginetans of Late Archaic/Early Classical times placed on their ancestral connection with the Aiakids strongly suggests that a familiarity with and an acknowledgement of the authority of Homeric epics motivated the Aiginetans to tie the famous epic heroes to local soil. The influence of Homeric poems can be also seen in the fact that after the appropriation of the Aiakid line, Aiginetans still felt the need to explain the Thessalian connections of the line of Achilles, which are so prominent in the *Iliad*. By attaching the Aiakid genealogy to local soil, Aiginetans claimed descent from the greatest Homeric heroes, carving out for themselves a distinct identity among the Greeks. Conversely, by returning the same heroes back to their Homeric homes (Thessaly and Salamis), Aiginetans reinforced the authority of Homer that had made their heroes prominent in the first place.

To sum up, the cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids originated on Aigina in the Archaic period. It probably developed as a two-step process, whereby the stemma of the indigenous hero (Aiakos) was remodeled through the appropriation of the epic past (by adding the lines of Homeric heroes, Peleus and Telamon) in order to claim a prominent position among the competing ideologies of the archaic Greek states. The introduction (and subsequent reconstruction) of a hero cult is a different mode of expanding the local pantheon than the one exemplified by the cult of Damia and Auxesia. In the case of Aiakos and the Aiakids, the cult was not a duplicate of a homonymous one across the border, but a particular local manifestation of hero worship, enhanced by a unique genealogical link with the panhellenic Homeric tradition.

9.2.6 *Introducing New Cults: Herakles*

The third cult introduced to Aigina in the Archaic period was the cult of Herakles. The evidence for this cult has been discussed in chapter 7.14. The epigraphic evidence, a presumed *horos* of the sanctuary of Herakles, is dated by Jeffery to the 7th century BCE.[146] As we saw in 8.2.1–8.2, Herakles is prominent in the Aiginetan odes of Pindar, portrayed as a particular friend of the local heroes, Aiakos, Telamon, and Peleus. Herakles

[145] Snodgrass 1980, 37–40.
[146] *LSAG* p.110, pl. 16, no. 3.

also possibly appears on the West pediment of the Aphaia temple. The evidence of Pindar allows us to place the arrival of the cult at least in the 6th century BCE, and the inscription suggests a date in the seventh century. Why was this cult adopted on Aigina in the Archaic period?

Herakles became a popular figure of art and myth in ancient Greece by the 7th century BCE,[147] and Aigina was no exception.[148] As we know from literary sources, Pausanias in particular, Herakles was well represented in the sacred topography of the Saronic Gulf, especially in the Argolic plain and Eastern Argolid. This is not surprising since much of Herakles' biography is connected to this area, and most of his labors take place in the Peloponnese. What is remarkable is the extent to which the physical geography of the area was conceived of as an imprint of Herakles' presence. In Troizen, there was an olive tree, from which Herakles had cut his club (2.31.10), and a sanctuary of Artemis Savior where Herakles had dragged Kerberos up from Hades (2.31.2), also in Troizen, there was a fountain of Herakles (Paus. 2.32.4), and on Methana, Pausanias saw an image of Herakles in the agora (Paus. 2.34.1). On the road up to Mount Koryphon in Epidauria (Paus. 2.28.2) there was an olive tree called Twisted. It was Herakles who gave it this shape. In Hermionia there was a "place of Klymenos" with a chasm in the earth. Herakles was said to have brought the Hound of Hades through that hole (Paus. 2.35.10). Indeed, Herakles's patronage was claimed by many other places and communities of the Greek world, and the Aiginetan particular claim made her both similar to and different from other Greek locales in this regard.

The appearance of the cult of Herakles on Aigina can be seen as another example of how an early state shapes its pantheon by establishing mythological connections between a cultic figure and their territory. Unless they were all a product of the poet's myth-making, we might speculate that Pindar's references to the special ties of *xenia* and *syngeneia* between Aiakos, the Aiakids and Herakles reflect local Aiginetan lore. In that case, we would have a cult mythologically rooted in local soil. Whether a product of Classical ideology or of Archaic Aiginetan lore, the strategic use of local deities and heroes to highlight the Aiginetan *eudaimonia* is undeniable. Herakles' cult comes to Aigina at the same time when it comes to many other Greek locations, and this exemplifies a particular

147 Burkert 1985, 209.

148 Herakles appears on the pediment of the second Apollo temple on Kolonna dated ca. 570 BCE (Walter 1993, 41, fig. 34), and then on the pediment of the Aphaia temple.

type of cult introduction, displaying a desire to gather as much divine support for one's side as one could. The stories of heroic bones moved around and of stolen images of divinities testify to the same mode of religious thinking.

The case of Damia and Auxesia showed how a local cult could originate as a result of the physical movement of sacred objects from one civic territory to another. The cult of Aiakos displayed an indigenous, "autochthonous" engendering of divine protectors, enhanced by mythological affiliation with Homeric pedigree (Peleus and Telamon). The cult of Herakles was neither indigenous, nor stolen. It represented Aiginetan participation in the panhellenic appropriation of Herakles, whereby every location that introduced his worship also developed a series of myths that justified his unique and special connection to their place. In addition, we should point out again, the narrative traditions attached to a particular figure did not function suspended in a performative or cultic vacuum: it was a natural result of being a property of the same worshipping community that links should be built between narrative traditions belonging to different divinities, so that Aiakos and Zeus would become father and son, and the former cast as a founder of cult for the latter; or Herakles would be cast as a *xenos* of Aiakos and the Aiakids, etc. (see 7.2.9, 7.20.2, 8.2). Although, due to limited sources, we can illustrate the phenomenon of the interlinking narrative traditions in only a few instances, it is suggestive of broader mechanisms at work: an associative integration of local cult figures into a meaningful whole. This process, that is, the mythological and cultic interlinking within the religious mesocosm, is another characteristic of the Archaic period, running in paralleled with the introduction of new cults. All together, the cults that came to Aigina in the Archaic period each in their own way helped to define the character of their host community.

9.2.7 *Archaic Developments at Geometric Cult Sites*

Introduction of new cults was not the only religious development of the Archaic period. Another development was an architectural elaboration and monumental construction at older, that is, Geometric, cult sites: Kolonna, Aphaia, and Oros.

Although first signs of ritual activity at the site of Aphaia, such as the presence of small votive objects and pottery suitable for ritual dining, appear in the Geometric period, no signs of architectural elaboration are in evidence at the time. It is thought that ca. 700 BCE, the sanctuary was

an open-air site, without a temple, but possibly with an altar, a *temenos* wall, and an *Amphipoleion* (Priester- und Verwaltungshaus).[149] Ca. 600 BCE a Propylon and a so-called "Gate-house" were added, but still there is no evidence of a temple, although Ohly postulated one on the same spot where the later temple would be erected, a structure made of perishable material from which nothing had survived: "In solcher Bauweise—Steinsockel, Lehmziegel, aus Holz Sauelen und Gebälk—muss man sich auch den gleichtigen Tempel errichtet denken, von dem sich jedoch keine eindeutigen Reste gerettet haben."[150] Aside from speculation about earlier structures, the first hard evidence of monumental construction dates to ca. 570 BCE, according to Schwandner,[151] or ca. 550 according to Ohly.[152] It is not clear what brought that temple down (an earthquake, a fire, or a foreign invasion), but the early 6th century temple was eventually replaced with the one, whose remains are still standing erect (in reconstructed form) at the site today. The date of this last temple is hotly debated, but no one puts it before 510 BCE or later than 475 BCE, including the dates for the pediment sculptures.[153]

At Kolonna, sympotic activity, or ritual dining, begins in the 10th century BCE, as suggested by volumes of sympotic pottery, followed from the middle of the 8th century by votive deposits.[154] On the west side of the Kolonna hill, in the area called by the Austrian archaeologists the Westkomplex (see Maps 1 and 4), several paved stone platforms of Proto-/Early Geometric date (in the Kernbau marked on the site plan),[155] associated with contemporary burials, probably signify funerary rites or ancestor worship. The area continued to be used for ancestor worship in the Late Archaic period and later.[156] Several fragmentary walls of the Geometric/Archaic date are mapped on the site plan in the Nordbau (Raum 1), Südbau, and Ostbau 1. A definitive architectural ensemble of Late Archaic date in the Westkoplex consists of several unroofed rooms and courtyards interpreted as dining rooms.[157] Throughout the site, large

[149] Walter 1993, 65–82; Williams 1987, 669–80; Ohly 1981, 23–34.
[150] Ohly 1977, 25–27, figs. 12–13.
[151] Schwandner 1985, 128–129.
[152] Ohly 1977, 26, fig. 14.
[153] Bankel (1993, 169–170) provides a detailed summary of the debate on dating. Andrew Stewart (2008b) argues in favor of the post-Persian war construction date, to which Watson (2011) objects, while Hedreen (2011) offers a balanced evaluation.
[154] Jarosch-Reinholdt 2009.
[155] Felten et al. 2009, 80, fig. 1.
[156] Felten 2007b, 22; Felten et al. 2010, 43–50.
[157] Felten 2007b, 22.

quantities of Corinthian and Attic pottery and dedications are attested in this period. Monumental construction begins with the first limestone temple ca. 600 BCE; the second temple replaced the first ca. 570/60 BCE and may have suffered from fire soon after that;[158] the third was built ca. 520–10 BCE, but the dates of construction are debated (see chapter 7.6.3). Hoffelner and Felten suggest that at the end of the 6th century, the architectural evidence at Kolonna points to "an extensive new building program . . . which affected the entire Kolonna hill."[159]

At the summit of the Oros, fragments of Archaic Corinthian roof tiles, and a tile stamped with the name of Zeus, indicate a roofed structure, possibly a naiskos, in the Archaic period (see 7.20.3). At the festival grounds of the sanctuary of Zeus at the northern foot of the Oros, the terrace walls date to the late 6th century. Hans Goette hypothesizes an earlier poros construction based on his discovery of very small, pebble-like poros fragments under the ramp, but they are too insubstantial as evidence for a building.[160] Welter indicated on his site plan a possible Archaic rectangular enclosure, oriented north-south, atop the west terrace, on the same level with the stoa atop the eastern terrace and partly overlaid by later Byzantine walls (see Map 8 and Fig. 24).[161]

A number of facts indicate that the architectural elaboration of sanctuaries and the construction of monumental temples, starts no later than 600 BCE on Aigina. By the late 6th century BCE, monumental construction at Kolonna, Aphaia, and the Oros appears not as a series of isolated events, but as a deliberate island-wide building program. If the dates of construction for temple II on Kolonna (570/60, according to Hoffelner) and the first limestone temple at Aphaia (570 according to Schwandner) are correct, then we cannot fail to observe that they fall in the same decade. Their architectural styles are similar, rasing the possibility that some of the same builders/architects were responsible for both.[162] Subsequently, late sixth-century construction is attested for Kolonna and the Oros, while the date of the last Aphaia temple is debated. Bankel and Ohly put it in the last two decades of the 6th century, although their dates, at least in part, stylistically depend on the dating of the third Kolonna temple

[158] Hoffelner 1999, 47–64.

[159] Felten 2007b, 28; Hoffelner (1999) proposes that the last temple of Apollo, the perimeter/retaining wall, the Building with Inscribed Walls (Hoffelner's 'Thearion'), the small Archaic building and a fountain next to the 'Thearion' are all contemporary.

[160] As reported by Hans Goette in *AR* 45 (1998–1999).

[161] Welter 1938a, 11–12, fig. 5.

[162] Wurster 1979; Hoffelner 1999.

(see above). Gill's and Stewart's lower dates, 478–475, depend on the analysis of pottery in foundation deposits and on the style of sculpture.[163]

Thus, we witness nearly simultaneous construction phases at the major sacred sites of the island in the third and then in the last decades of the 6th century BCE, possibly followed by the post-Persian war reconstruction. Unfortunately, nothing exact can be said about the dates of new sanctuaries established in the Archaic period (the Aiakeion, the twin-templed sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia, and the bisected *temenos* of Herakles) or about their monumentality or lack thereof, since their sites are unknown.[164] Monumental construction always required financial and human resources, which could only be procured in three possible ways: via a budget allocation of state funds, via a private donation, or as a combination of the first two. The lack of evidence for civic administration on Aigina at any point in history makes it difficult to speculate which of the two possibilities was the most likely. We know that Aigina was ruled by an oligarchy, but its social orientation remains obscure: some scholars argue in favor of a traditional agricultural elite, while others postulate a mercantile class, or a hybrid of agricultural elite with an interest in trade.[165] There can be no doubt, however, that Aigina's wealth at least in part derived from trade, and that Aigina was indeed very rich, if in the middle of the 5th century Athens could impose an exorbitant tribute of thirty talents, out of all proportion with the island's size and population. In other words, the island must have had the financial resources needed to fund monumental construction at public sanctuaries. What we are missing is the information on how these resources were pulled together for public benefit: whether there was a treasury of public funds, or a system of private liturgies.

Some scholars working on Pindar's poetic productions for Aiginetan clients point out a vested interest of a few elite families in the particular heroic rhetoric evident in the *epinikia* and in the religious oversight of certain cults.[166] It is difficult to see, however, how a small group of

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[163] Gill 1993; Stewart 2008b. Watson 2011 is critical, and Hedreen 2011 is open-minded about the low dating.

[164] For several possible candidates identified as sacred sites by Faraklas 1980, see Appendix 3. The inventory of the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia (*IG* IV^2 787) makes it clear that each deity owned her own enclosure. Whether they were conjoined as two chambers of one building, or were separate structures we can only guess. For the bisected *temenos* or plural *temenê* of Herakles: see Pind. *N.* 7.93–94 and chapter 7.14.2.

[165] De Ste. Croix 2004: agricultural elite; Figueira 1981; Hubbard 2001: mercantile class; Hornblower 2004 and 2007: compromise view (traditional landed elite, but possibly engaged in trade); Kowalzig 2011: hybrid elite, with emphasis on trade.

[166] Fearn 2011; Nagy 2011.

elite families could entirely monopolize local mythological discourse and ritual life for personal aggrandizement. The crews of some thirty Aiginetan ships in the Battle of Salamis, and 500 Aiginetan hoplites in the battle of Plataia must have represented more than a small group of elite families. The hoplite class, from which the 500 derived, would have had no less keen an interest in the local civic discourse and the religious icons of local identity than the presumed elites. In addition, whatever personal mileage the elite families may have wished to gain from the patronage of and a promotion of particular cults, especially that of Aphaia, or that of Aiakos and the Aiakids, the only reason why they would have been motivated to do so would be if the said cults had already established a pedigree and an international repute that would have been worth getting affiliated with. It is my contention, therefore, that the praise of the Aiakids in Pindar's *epinikia* was not all for the benefit of a few elite families, but for the benefit of Aigina and the Aiginetans at large, as Pindar explicitly states. It is also not obvious to me how we could subsume to the benefit of only a select group of Aiginetans the cult aetion of Damia and Auxesia, which so explicitly characterizes the Aiginetan community as a whole, stressing their identity as *thalassokratores* and Dorians. In other words, it does not appear possible to section out some cults on Aigina as an exclusive preserve of the rich and mighty, who would be imagined exercising financial control and religious authority, while leaving the ritual engagement of the rest of the Aiginetans to a subordinate condition.

Although I hope that such considerations take the edge off the arguments that claim an exclusive elite control of Aiginetan religious life, the possibility of private liturgies or euergetism in the construction of temples need not be ruled out. For instance, in democratic Athens, private contributions, even if they were assigned rather than volunteered, continued to function alongside state administration of public funds.[167] We may therefore speculate private sponsorship, total or partial, for the monumental construction at sanctuaries on Aigina, but should not automatically conclude that with the financial contribution came an entitlement to the monopoly of cult or to the exclusivity of access. Liturgies involving public works could have been an opportunity for conspicuous consumption and self-advertisement for elite families, but they probably could not be exercised at the cost of public displacement. There is a case for seeing all Aiginetans of citizen status as one worshipping community rather than

[167] Jameson 1997, 180 with reference to Dow 1965; Parker 2011, 10, 65–66, 170.

as a hierarchy of tiers of religious entitlement. As was noted above (7.6.4), the dedications at Kolonna and Aphaia in the Archaic and Classical periods show close parallelism, which is best explained not as the sameness of deities worshipped at the two sites, but as the sameness of worshippers accessing each.[168]

We may come back now to the consideration of the nearly simultaneous construction phases at the major sacred sites of the island in the early and the late 6th century BCE. Whether funded from the public treasury or by private liturgies, the temples and renovated sanctuary grounds were to be open for public access to all Aiginetans. As a result, the sanctuaries' decorative programs and their ideological messages could not have been an expression of elite interests alone. They had to speak to the interests and social concerns of the broader community. It is therefore legitimate to speak at least of communal interests, if not necessarily communal efforts, behind the building programs at the major sanctuary sites on Aigina.[169] Coming as they do in the Archaic period, the construction projects at Aphaia, Kolonna, and the Oros mark the 6th century as a formative period in the history of the Aiginetan religious mesocosm, when both the mythological discourse at public celebrations and the material expression at cult sites appear to be working together in exhibiting and promoting the particulars of Aiginetan identity.[170]

Thus, the major difference between the first (Geometric) and the second (Archaic) stages in the development of local cults on Aigina is that the topographically determined cults of the Geometric period that reflect an introvert, inward-looking orientation of the island's religious world, are joined, in the Archaic period, by a group that articulates extrovert, relational, and integrative aspects of the Aiginetan mesocosm: through these cults Aigina works out her modes of interaction with the outside

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[168] For instance, earlier scholars, e.g., Welter, Thiersch, and Sinn argued in favor of seeing Aphaia as a Doric tribal deity, and her sanctuary as a center of Doric settlers (in opposition to Aigina-town under the patronage of Apollo), while Williams interpreted the dedications of Aristophantos and Damonidas as those of two patrons (7.4.5–7.4.6). The dedications of those two are not limited to Aphaia, however, as we find them at Kolonna as well, and this once again confirms the sameness of worshippers and patrons across the island.

[169] Cf. Osborne 1996, 101: "The sanctuary at Perachora did not develop because of what one woman or man did, but because the community felt the need to express certain aspects of its identity by instituting cult activity at a new significant location."

[170] Cf. Morgan 2003, 109: "the proliferation of shrines during the 8th–6th centuries was accompanied by closer definition of the role of each one, and thus of the nature of investment there."

world, projects her boundaries and discovers areas of overlap and contestation (more on this in chapter 10.1). In this respect, Aiginetan developments appear in line with the social processes attested in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE across the Greek world: "separate communities competing with each other" from the 8th century,[171] continue to grow apart in subsequent centuries, engaged in figuring out their similarities and differences on many social levels: any form of panhellenic identity is little pronounced, while phylaic and ethnic affiliations are employed discursively in articulating much more localized identities.

Competition between the Archaic communities took place on many levels: territorial control, military power, trading privileges, appropriation of the epic past.[172] Whatever could be claimed and appropriated was being claimed and appropriated in this period by all means available: military force, political propaganda, economic influence, and so on. Gods and heroes were among the entities claimed and appropriated. If the transitional period of the 9th–7th centuries can be seen as the age of shared regional cult centers, then by the 6th century, the age of sharing was over.[173] It was no longer sufficient for neighboring communities to share a cult site such as, for instance, the Argive Heraion.[174] A drive for political control often expressed itself through a tighter claim on religious authority by one community at the expense of another: limiting access, excluding outsiders (on the basis of citizenship or ethnicity).[175] Only some previously shared cult sites managed to continue in that role throughout and beyond the Archaic period, becoming the sites of panhellenic games. Here we observe the bi-polarity of competitiveness: on the one hand, striving towards total victory by the elimination of rivals; on the other hand, having to preserve and encourage rivals in order to have someone to compete against. Hence, the development of such sites as Olympia, Isthmia, Delphi, and Nemea into panhellenic arenas that played a dual role in the Archaic period: they were not only a place where an individual and his community could make themselves known to a wider Greek

171 Osborne 1996, 161.
172 Cf. Kowalzig 2007.
173 Polignac 1994; Morgan 1996.
174 Cf. Hall 1995.
175 "There was no true community among the Greeks which was not at the same time a cult-community, whether family, genos, tribe, or the state itself" (Finley 1985, 97 quoting from Ehrenberg 1932, 6). Cf. Burkert 1995, 202: "Citizenship meant κοινωνία ἱερῶν" (Andoc. 1.71, 32f.).

community,[176] they were also places where Greeks came together to display their differences.[177] The attraction of the Olympic and other panhellenic games was that they provided a panhellenic audience for epichoric voices, but not because epichoric voices wished to be lost in a common Greek chorus, but because they relished an opportunity to reach as many different Greek communities as possible with their specific local message.

9.2.8 *Stage 3. Classical Period: Narrowing Specialization*

The process of self-definition through religion continued in the Classical period on Aigina, but it would seem to have had a different character. Paradoxically, we can say much less about the cults that become detectable in the Aiginetan system in the Classical period than we could about the earlier ones, and this is primarily for the same reasons that make the Geometric and Archaic groups of cults so prominent: we lack both the identification of sites and of archaeological remains for most Classical cults, and we lack extensive narrative traditions. The post quem non date in this case, that is, "no later than" the Classical period, is particularly telling of our inability to pinpoint with any more precision whether these cults were as late as Classical. We have to leave open the possibility that the cult of Aphrodite Epilimenia, of one or the other of Apollos, of Demeter Thesmophoros, Hekate, Koliadai, Dionysos, or Pan, had been introduced in the Archaic period. At the same time, we may note that a couple of characteristics appear to be shared by the members of this group, supporting, perhaps obliquely, a view that they should belong to one and the same phase in the development of local cults. Firstly, the lack of any narrative tradition associated with these cults suggests that they were mostly void of ideological significance. This lack is particularly noticeable considering the fact that the ideological significance of the Archaic, and sometimes earlier cults, such as Zeus Hellanios, Damia and Auxesia, Aiakos and the Aiakids, Aigina, Herakles, and Aphaia is known to us through their articulation in the Classical (Pindar, Herodotus, Isocrates), rather than earlier sources. Secondly, the deities in this group represent a much narrower specialization of social roles than an often broad range of functions notable in the earlier cults: for example, Aphrodite is associated primarily with seafaring, Demeter Thesmophoros with fertility,

[176] Osborne 1996, 98–100; Morgan 1990.
[177] Scott 2010, 250–272.

Hekate with personal wellbeing, Asklepios with healing. One more curious characteristic shared by some deities in this group is their topographic association, and one has to presume, cultic affiliation with the deities of the earlier (Archaic and Geometric) cults: Pan at Aphaia; Koliadai at the Oros, Dionysos at Damia and Auxesia; possibly Athena and Artemis at Kolonna. With some caution, due to the possibility that new data might be uncovered in the future enabling us to date the appearance of these cults on Aigina more precisely, we may suggest that the additional cults of the Classical period expand the scope of social functions (e.g., personal wellbeing, health and afterlife) already addressed by the earlier cults and enhance the representation of some others, presumably those of the highest local concern, such as seafaring, rainfall, fertility.

9.3 Summary of Diachronic Stages

We may now summarize the development of the Aiginetan cults from the 8th to the 5th centuries BCE by going back to the questions we posed at the beginning of this chapter. In the period between the 8th and 5th centuries BCE the number of cults on Aigina increased at least four times over: from four to sixteen securely identified cultic figures on Aigina. The expansion appears to have proceeded in stages characterized in qualitatively different ways.

In Stage I, the Geometric period, the prominent topographic position of cult sites (three mountaintops, and one, on a promontory by the main harbor of the island) and their association with Bronze Age archaeological remains are the most telling features, suggesting a process of (re)engagement with, or appropriation of the Bronze Age social and religious landscape by the Early Iron Age inhabitants.[178]

In Stage II, the Archaic period, we see a glimpse of several mechanisms of cult introduction and of the ideological discourse that comes to be associated with them, marking a significant difference with the preceding stage, and highlighting Aigina's participation in the pan-Greek political power struggle of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. This stage coincides with the formative period of the Aiginetan economy and political identity,

[178] Cf. de Polignac 1995. The absence of comparable Bronze Age written evidence on Aigina does not permit a hypothesis of anything like the continuity that Schachter envisions for Boiotian Thebes (Schachter 2000, 14–16).

illustrating the intimate intertwining of the political and religious dimensions in the local mesocosm.

Stage III (5th century BCE) appears to be qualitatively different from Stages I and II and, most strikingly, much more spare in both textual and archaeological evidence. Our interpretations of the evidence are therefore more hazardous and conclusions more cautious. The "new" cults (the Classical period can be asserted no more firmly than as a *post quem non* date) do not stand out either topographically or ideologically, but add to the diversity of functions served by the local deities, thereby addressing more needs of the local community. At the same time, we see neither an earlier cult becoming obsolete (although for those cases where we have just one piece of evidence in a certain period (Pan, Thebasimakhos, Koliadai), this assertion is necessarily unprovable), nor a Classical cult becoming more important than the earlier cults.[179] Perhaps most importantly, the diachronic survey of Aiginetan religious developments showed a multifaceted interdependence between the land, the people, and the gods, progressing in a coordinated rhythm that corresponds both to internal social dynamics and to wider historical processes.

[179] Cf. Snodgrass 1980, 64–65.

PART FOUR

REGIONAL AND PANHELLENIC CONTEXTS

CHAPTER TEN

REGIONAL DIALOGUES AND RELIGIOUS CONTESTATION

10.1 (Un)Bounding the Local Religious World

In chapter 9.1 we noted that the relationship of cult groupings to their host territories changed over the course of some 400 years between 800 and 400 BCE. In this chapter, we look deeper into the spatial dimension of polytheism. Central to the enterprise of defining ancient Greek polytheistic systems is the question of boundaries. As I have argued in 1.3 and 2.4, the relationship of communities to the land they inhabit and to the gods they worship constitutes the matrix of ancient polytheistic societies, shaping the very core of who they are, their sense of identity. Through much of their literary and ritual discourse, the ancient Greeks say: we are who we are because of our land and our gods (see 2.4, on *enkhôrioi theoi*). The understanding of what constitutes the notion of 'our land' (χώρα, as in *enkhôrioi theoi*) is therefore intrinsic to the understanding of local religious systems. "Our land" has two related, and yet distinct, dimensions: a real physical place, and a mental image of the same.[1] Enmeshed with the constitution of both is a person's/community's emotional engagement with 'home' and 'homeland' (father-/motherland), commonly in the modes of nostalgia and patriotism.[2] Thus, 'our land' is a place where we feel at home.[3] It is a complex notion, in which a physical place and a

[1] Roger Downs' and David Stea's classic *Maps in Mind: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping* continues to be the best introduction to these concepts. Construction of mental maps is a process in which most humans engage unconsciously, because it is a faculty of "a fundamental human need: the need to know the world around us . . . We must synthesize past and present experiences of our spatial environment with beliefs and expectations of places as yet unvisited and never to be visited." Cognitive mapping is about "the inner space," which is "the representation of the geographical environment as it exists within a person's mind. It is the world as people believe it to be" (Downs and Stea 1977, 4).

[2] Smith (1987, 30) cites Alan Gussow (1971, 27): "[t]he catalyst that converts any physical location—any environment if you will—into a place, is the process of experiencing deeply. A place is a piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feelings." Among ancient Greek sources, the theme and vocabulary of homeland is particularly poignant in the *Odyssey*.

[3] See Smith 1987, 28–31.

mental image of the same contribute to an unmappable, and yet perceptible result.[4]

To understand the social basis of ancient Greek religion, that is, the co-existence and interaction between multiple local religious systems,[5] to know where "our land" ends and "their land" begins, we need to address the question of boundaries. We need to consider how the Aiginetans of Archaic and Classical times may have envisioned the spatial extent of their religious world. The geopolitical contexts of the Saronic Gulf, of South-Central Greece, of the wider Greek world, and of the Mediterranean basin should be considered.

10.1.1 *Greek Terminology of Place and Border*

In so far as boundaries relate to physical space, they designate belonging, that is, ownership.[6] Greeks signified ownership with markers placed at private properties, market places, state borders, and possibly intra-state divisions.[7] With respect to state borders, which are our particular interest in this chapter, the Greek notion of boundaries and consequently the

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[4] In the essay "Map is not Territory," which was adopted as a title for the collection of his works, Jonathan Z. Smith (1978, 291) defines religion in terms of space and place: "[r]eligion is a quest, within the bounds of the human, historical condition, for the power to manipulate and negotiate one's 'situation' so as to have 'space' in which to meaningfully dwell." For the ancients, their mental maps of the world would therefore appear to be inescapably religious.

[5] In two seminal articles, "What is *Polis* Religion?" and "Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion," two decades ago, Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a [1990a], 17) proposed to re-define Greek religion as "polis-religion," "a network of religious systems interacting with each other and with the panhellenic religious dimension," in opposition to the traditional "panhellenic" view (see description in Parker 1996, 2; Price 1999, 3–10) that envisions Greek religion as a unified whole common to all ancient Greek communities in all periods of antiquity. Proposing to envision Greek religion as a network of *polis* religious systems, Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a [1990a], 18) focuses on the notion of *polis* as a community of *politai*, "citizens," rather than as a territorial unit. She does not discuss the spatial determinants of the local religious systems beyond referring to the Greek "law" reported in Thuc. 4.98.2: "whichever polis had control over a land also owned its sanctuaries."

[6] On *horoi* marking land properties, e.g., as "a stone marking legal encumbrance," see Finley 1985; Lalonde 1991, 18–21. On *horoi* as signifiers of difference with context-specific social meanings, see Ober 1995.

[7] Finley claims that boundary markers are "known to us from all periods and all regions of the ancient Greek world," but adds that epigraphic evidence "reveals their widespread and continuous use from the fifth century BC to late in the Roman Empire" (Finley 1985, 3–4). For types of properties marked with *horoi*, see, e.g., Appendix I and P. Millet's addenda in Finley (1985, 172–5, xxxi–xxxiii). For an overview of various uses of *horoi*, see Lalonde 1991. For the summary of the debate and relevant bibliography on the subject of Attic rupestral *horoi* and whether they marked deme boundaries, see Ober 1995, 114–123.

use and demarcation of the latter, were apparently quite different from modern notions.[8]

The modern concept of "political territoriality" operates with a notion of topographically fixed defended container-like boundaries,[9] while in the ancient Greek world, boundaries were not continuous lines of barbwire and plowed strips of land vigilantly watched over by patrols and permanent border guards. Rather, boundaries were construed as spaces, not lines. The Greeks had several words for the concept of 'boundary:' *horos* (ὁ ὅρος), equally used to mean "limit," "boundary," and "boundary marker," and *termôn* (ὁ τέρμων), "boundary," "limit," in the Aitolian-Akarnanian dialect area, from the third century BCE onwards.[10] In addition to *horos* and *termôn*, such expressions as γῆ μεθορία (Thuc. 2.27.2, 4.56.2) or τὰ μεθορία (Thuc. 2.18, 5.3.5, "lands lying between as a boundary") were used. Another term, *eskhatia* (ἡ ἐσχατιά) could also signify 'a limit' of an area, or rather 'an edge,' yet its usage, in inscriptions, in particular,[11] suggests that this term was not absolute, but relative to what was perceived as

[8] Schiller (1996, 12) notes: "In the modern, capitalist society, especially in the "West," territories usually are created by empowering the limits or borders of the area with a desired value, such as the designation of political membership, and thereby containing that value within the area." Schiller's study (1996, 66) demonstrated that "contrary to the modern nation, which has well-defined boundaries, the *chorai* are never defined well, as evident in all the territorially determined defensive alliances, if at all." He refers to Rousset 1994 for the lack of evidence for boundaries around *poleis*. Schiller's main explanation for the lack of definition of boundaries in ancient Greece is that "sovereignty of the ancient Greek state (i.e., the *polis*) was placed among persons, not within areas, save for the empowerment of political centers." Cf. Hansen 1991, 58. Contra Schiller: e.g., Ober 1995; Mosley 1994. Yet their opinions are not without internal contradiction: "The line of border fortifications implied the existence of a fixed linear frontier, or at least signaled an Athenian desire that stability should pertain. Although even in the 4th century we have no epigraphic examples of Athenian state border horoi, the forts and towers themselves may be thought of as representing a line of border-markers which defined the limits of the Athenian *patris*" (Ober 1995, 114). "The limits of territory, whether private, corporate or state, were clearly defined . . . the concept of a defended frontier was less firmly fixed . . . Open movement was then regarded as more legitimate than now . . ." (Mosley 1994, 173–174).

[9] See Morgan 2003. Schiller (1996, 392) points out in his doctoral thesis *Political Territoriality of the Classical Athenians, 508–338 BCE*: "Historians have often assumed that every polis incorporated its citizenry spatially, since in most poleis possession of land was a requirement for citizenship in the Archaic age. The assumption includes notions of boundaries and container-like grouping." The conclusion of his study is that "apart from falling back on the territorial definition of the state according to the aggregate of constitutional demes of Attica, historians need not look for territorial definition of the political community. Sovereignty of the polis extended beyond horoi. Sovereignty of the deme assembly extended beyond the geographical limits of the deme. Sovereignty was extended to and defined by citizens, not areas" (Schiller 1996, 337). See also Hall 2012 [2007], 170–191.

[10] Gschnitzer 1994.

[11] Lewis 1973, 210–212; Jameson 2002.

the center.[12] The term γῆ μεθορία, "land between borders," is particularly telling of the Greek view of boundaries. The way this expression is used in Thucydides evokes an image of a photograph, which is sharp and in focus in the center, and fuzzy at the edges. Boundaries between ancient Greek states were such fuzzy spaces, of indeterminate or contested extent: sometimes a no-man's land, and sometimes everyman's.[13]

Ancient Greeks mostly relied on natural and man-made landmarks to indicate borders: for example, mountain peaks (ἡ κορυφή, ὁ κορυφός), mountain ridges (ἡ/ὁ ράχις), roads, settlements, sanctuaries, rivers, walls, places (*topoi*) typically served as landmarks.[14] While ancient Greek states clearly distinguished themselves from one another as political and territorial entities, their "interstate borders were fluid, or . . . state territories were not exclusive to one community or another."[15] If correct, this observation holds far-reaching implications for the subject of Greek religion, especially for the argument that religious sanctuaries served as boundary markers between the territories of neighboring states.[16]

Some relatively recent models (e.g., those of F. de Polignac, or C. Sourvinou-Inwood) representing the inter-relationship between political and religious structures of the ancient Greek world assume a virtual isolinearity between political borders of ancient Greek states (in the Archaic and Classical periods) and the confines of their respective religious worlds. Alternatively, the concept of 'cult communities' coined by Morgan,[17] and 'territories of grace,' as well as 'nesting allegiances to the world around' used by Horden and Purcell, allow for a more flexible view of this relationship. In fact, Horden and Purcell suggest that "the catalogue

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[12] Casevitz 1995.

[13] See Rocchi 1988, 25–47.

[14] See, e.g., Ager 1996, no. 20 (arbitration of borders between Phanoteus and Stiris, 3rd cent. BCE), no. 30 (arbitration of borders between Melitaia, Chalai, and Peuma, c. 270–260 BCE), no. 41 (Thyrreeoin arbitrates boundaries of Matropolis and Oiniadai, 239–231 BCE), etc.

[15] Schiller 1996, 72.

[16] Polignac 1995, 40. In the words of Polignac (1995, 36), "many of these [extra-urban] sanctuaries also mark a frontier, but a political one. The fact is, of course, that "otherness" upon which the protective sanctuary looks out, either warding it off or rehabilitating it, was constituted not only by a disturbing and hostile nature, with its own untamed deities, but also by other human beings: in other words, a neighboring society." In general, discussions of boundary sanctuaries most often emphasize the structuralist idea that the topographic location on the border imparts characteristics of liminality onto the divinities worshipped and rituals performed there: e.g., Kahn 1979, 201–212; Sartre 1979, 213–224; Vernant 1984, 13–27; Osborne 1994, 143–160. On the notion of liminality and the historical reality of Athenian frontiers, see Polinskaya 2003, 85–107. See also Horden and Purcell (2000, 455–459) for a geo-ecological view of frontier sanctuaries.

[17] Morgan 2003.

of religious identifiers [of a region] may a be a more potent description than the delineation of administrative boundaries."[18] In this perspective, mental maps of a religious world are given equal if not greater value than physical geopolitical borders. The following discussion examines the spatial extent (in physical and cognitive terms) of the Aiginetan religious world.[19]

The link between the foundation of sanctuaries and the territorial expression of statehood in ancient Greece, articulated by Francois de Polignac, and in a different way, by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, and yet differently by Catherine Morgan, is crucial for the understanding of Greek religion. Although Polignac's model of a bi-polar city with an extra-urban sanctuary marking the state's border has lost its appeal in recent years, at least in its application to the early Archaic period,[20] nevertheless the so-called "shared" sanctuaries in frontier areas may hold an answer to the questions of historical development of Greek religious structures from the Dark Age to the Archaic period.[21]

At the same time, Sourvinou-Inwood's insightful model of *polis*-religion, while focusing on the social basis of religious life, does not address its spatial and territorial aspects, and still begs the question of how to draw boundaries between multiple "local religious systems," or, in other words, how to determine where one *polis*-religion ends and another begins. Being a mono-nucleous island state,[22] Aigina's geopolitical border was signified by its coastline. At the same time, there is substantial evidence for the Aiginetan involvement in religious contacts and conflicts outside its geopolitical borders. Three Aiginetan cults offer an insight into the complex interrelationship between the religious and geopolitical domains: the cults of Damia and Auxesia, Poseidon Kalaureios, and Aiakos and the Aiakids.

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[18] Horden and Purcell 2000, 451.

[19] The following clarification of terms is necessary. I use 'territory' in reference to a politically defined geographical area (see above, note 8); 'border'—in the sense of 'borderline'—an identifiable line marked by topographical features and/or artificial markers. 'Boundary' refers to a complete circuit of borderlines that contain an area. 'Frontier' refers to an area perceived to be on the margins of a territory: it can be viewed as a zone or a series of points.

[20] See Alcock and Osborne (1994), where de Polignac (1994) revises his model, emphasizing sharing and mediation rather than competition and conflict as hallmarks of frontier sanctuaries in the late Geometric period, and where all other papers in one way or another also correct de Polignac's model. See also Malkin (1996, 75, 80) for remarks on the applicability of Polignac's model to the late Classical period.

[21] De Polignac 1995, 38–9; 1994. On the role of big rural sanctuaries in the transitional period between the Dark Age and the Archaic period, see Hall 1995; Morgan 1996.

[22] Cf. Reger 1997.

10.1.2 *Deities and Worshippers in and out of Aigina*

(a) We turn once more to the aetiological story of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina related by Herodotus 5.82–86 (see detailed discussion in 7.10 and 9.2). Here we will see how stealing statues serves to bound the Aiginetan sovereignty. The story as presented by Herodotus explains three matters: the beginning of ancient enmity between Aigina and Athens (Hdt. 5.81 ἔχθρης παλαιῆς, Hdt. 5.82 ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη), the Aiginetan break from Epidaurian hegemony, and the origin of the cult of Damia and Auxesia on the island. Herodotus 5.83 tells that there was a time when Aigina was subject to Epidauros (Hdt. 5.83: τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα), both legally and in all other matters, as the Aiginetans had to cross over to Epidauros to give each other satisfaction at law (καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδίδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται). This detail (διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον) suggests that the physical watery gap between the island and the mainland was not, in Herodotus' view, a political barrier: on this reading, Aigina in the time of its dependency upon Epidauros would be part of the Epidaurian political territory.[23] Hence, the ideological and political significance of the Aiginetan claim to have stolen the statues of the goddesses Damia and Auxesia from Epidauros: by doing so, Herodotus indicates, Aiginetans wished to proclaim their break (ἀπέστησαν) with the old relationship.[24] Aiginetans installed the stolen statues in the inland region (*mesogaia*) of their island,

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[23] At different points in history, the island of Aigina formed part of the larger territorial domain of some ancient state or other, alongside mainland territories. In the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.559–564) Aigina belongs to the domain of Diomedes, along with Argos, Tiryns, Hermione, Asine, Troizen, Eïonai, Epidauros, and Mases, the cities of central, southern and eastern Argolid. Residents of these cities make up the crews of 80 ships that Diomedes, Sthenelos son of Kapanes, and Euryalos son of Mekistes bring to Troy. Later on, during the Peloponnesian war, in 420 BCE, Argives viewed Aigina as part of the Athenian chora (Thuc. 5.47). As Schiller (1996, 399–400) explains: "Aigina was called Athenian territory by the Argives, when a Lacedaemonian fleet passed by the island: but we know not how exactly Aigina of 420 was part of the Athenian chora, other than that Athenians controlled the island at that time . . . As the campaigning Argives point out, the onus of defending the impediment fell upon the Athenians."

[24] Ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καί σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μέν ἐστι οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει. "From the same time as they [the Aiginetans] had built ships they had also become filled with arrogance, and they revolted from the Epidaurians. Seeing themselves superior as the rulers of the sea, they secretly seized the images of Damia and Auxesia, carried them away and installed in the hinterland of their own chora . . ." Cf. Buck 1981, 5–6.

and instituted votive regulations, sacrifices, and choruses in their honor, ordinances that were still followed in the time of Herodotus.

The ideological significance of the story has recently been interpreted allegorically as part of the Herodotean historical view of human progress.[25] Allegorical readings aside, what lies on the surface of the story is the connection between the Aiginetan appropriation of statues and the assertion of political independence. This connection is rooted in the notion of roles played by gods in human affairs. When Athenians tried to remove the statues of Damia and Auxesia from the island in order to restore them to Epidauros, according to the informants of Herodotus (5.86), the statues fell on their knees and remained in that position thereafter. Herodotus does not provide an explicit interpretation for the action of the statues, but the context leaves no doubt that the action signifies a refusal on the part of the goddesses to be removed from Aigina.[26] It is a well-known fact that ancient Greeks considered the presence of a deity or a hero in a land as a guarantee of security and prosperity for the place and community.[27] Conversely, the presence of foreign gods could be perceived as a potential problem for the community inhabiting that land, and in that case the notion of an actual physical boundary of a territory would normally come into play, as a ritual of casting out foreign gods illustrates.[28]

The indispensable element of the plot in the story of Damia and Auxesia is the fact of their transfer from Epidauros to Aigina. The peculiarity of this case is that the introduction of a new cult does not simply add another protective figure to the group of deities already present in a sovereign territory and in the service of a clearly defined social body. Rather the physical transfer of the statues from the Epidaurian coast to the Aiginetan land gives new meaning to the pre-existing topographic features and social groups. The Saronic Gulf, which previously served as a bridge connecting Aigina and Epidauros, enabling Aiginetans to reach the ground where they had engaged in legal trials, became a barrier once the statues were stolen, preventing Epidaurians or Athenians from an easy retrieval of their loss. The social group that previously included Epidaurians and Aiginetans in

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[25] Haubold 2007; Irwin 2011, 389–390.

[26] Cf. Ciccio 1983. Kowalzig (2007, 211) agrees about the symbolic interpretation of the statues' gesture of falling on their knees.

[27] Cf. Polignac 1995, 128–149; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a, 26; Wilson 1997.

[28] Hdt. 1.172 describes Kaunians [inhabitants of Kaunos, a city founded by Cretans in Caria] marching to the borders of Kalynda to cast out foreign gods from their land: ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἠβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἠέρα μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἵποντο καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

one political body (even if not on equal terms, but as one subordinate to the other) now became two clearly independent parties.[29] The Herodotean story brims with evidence that his Aiginetan informants were keen to articulate numerous differences, which, as they clearly believed, came to distinguish them from outsiders in consequence of the Damia and Auxesia episode. These differences, such as, Doric dress as opposed to Ionian/Attic dress, very long dress pins (one and a half times longer than before the stealing of Damia and Auxesia), prohibition of all Attic goods, including pottery, from use in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia (Hdt. 5.88), as well as the change in the character of cult from secret to public (Hdt. 5.83 mentions that Epidaurians, in addition to abusive choruses, also had ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι for Damia and Auxesia), all serve as identity symbols that distinguish Aiginetans from their opponents in the conflict, mostly from Athenians. This emphasis on symbols of identity bespeaks the ideological significance of the story for fifth-century Aiginetans,[30] and emphasizes the notion that the relationships with the gods hosted and worshipped in a particular community speak of the local people as a distinct social entity.[31] As the story indicates, the transfer of cult statues of Damia and Auxesia imparts new meaning onto topographic features and social bodies: it creates a political boundary and a distinct political community where there was none before. Thus, the fifth-century aetion for the origin of the cult of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina presents the case where Aiginetans view the political and religious boundary of their state as identical with one another. Moreover, this imaginary boundary is both solid and impenetrable, neither allowing the local goddesses to leave the territory under their protection (consider the statues' show of falling on their knees), nor allowing foreign influence, or foreign agents to reach the local goddesses from the outside (consider the prohibition of all Attic goods from the sanctuary, and the inability of the Athenians to drag the images away).

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[29] I doubt that the political dependence of Aigina on Epidauros implies "tributary" status, as Kowalzig (2007, 211) suggests, or that an annual gift to Athena Polias and Erekhtheus makes Epidauros "tributary" to Athens, and therefore I cannot agree that breaking away from Epidaurian control, Aiginetans were also "by implication," as Kowalzig puts it, breaking away from Athenian control.

[30] The ideological importance of Aiginetan claims in the Herodotean story is better understood if we recollect that the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 5th century BCE find Aigina desperately fighting to defend its political independence against the imperial ambitions of Athens keen on forcing all the Aegean states into the Athenian alliance and into the yoke of paying tribute (see Figueira 1991, 104–128).

[31] Cf. Horden and Purcell 2000, 451, 457.

(b) The cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids provides evidence that undermines the notion of a solid politico-religious boundary evident in the case of Damia and Auxesia. According to the Aiginetan tradition, Aiakos was an indigenous king of Aigina, born there, on the island, from the union of Zeus and the nymph Aigina. Aiginetans of historical times worshipped Aiakos as a hero, and considered themselves his progeny descendant through the Aiakids (see chapters 7.2 and 9.2.4).[32] It is this close identification with the heroes of old that Pindar emphasizes in the odes for his Aiginetan clients.[33] Aiakos and the Aiakids were worshipped on Aigina together, and apparently shared a precinct that was called the Aiakeion and located in the most prominent part of town (see 7.2.2).

While Aiakos and the Aiakids were the hallmarks of Aiginetan identity, and were worshipped by the Aiginetans as patrons of their community as a whole and of individual Aiginetans, the most intriguing evidence about their cult on Aigina pertains to the practice of lending the images of these heroes to outsiders. The evidence of this practice is found in Herodotus (5.80–81; 8.64, 83, 84). He describes two separate occasions when the Aiakids, apparently their images (see 7.2.3–4), were lent by the Aiginetans to outsiders as military help. We should presume from Herodotus that these images were portable, and therefore of manageable size and weight.[34]

The first loan was in response to the Theban plea to the Aiginetans for help against the Athenians, ca. 508/7 BCE (Hdt. 5.80–81). The Aiginetans sent "the sons of Aiakos" in aid, but the Thebans were defeated, and "they sent [to Aiginetans] again, giving back the Aiakids, and asking for men instead" (αὖτις οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο). On another occasion, the allied Greek army summoned the images of Aiakos and the Aiakids for help in the Battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8. 64, 83, 84). The two episodes show that both the Aiginetans and other Greeks believed that the Aiakids could bring help in battle in the

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[32] Zunker (1988) collects and discusses all the evidence on the genealogical myths of the Aiakids. For "Aiakids" used as an ethnic, see, e.g., Hdt. 5.79; Pind. *N.* 3.65.

[33] Pindar on Aiakos and the Aiakids as representatives of Aigina, as icons of local identity (e.g., in *P.* 8:21–8; *N.* 3:64–6; *N.* 4:11–13, etc.). Typical paraphrases for Aigina: Αἰακιδᾶν ἠύπυργον ἔδος (*N.* 4:11–12); πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ δορικτύπων Αἰακιδᾶν (*N.* 7:9–10). Nagy 2011 and Fearn 2011 seem to think that Aiakids served mostly as symbols of Aiginetan aristocracy rather than of the whole community (see 9.2.6).

[34] The mobility of cult images is in itself a relatively infrequent phenomenon in Greek religious practice, especially in contrast to some other cultures (e.g., Near East, or South Asia): Burkert 1985, 92; Jameson 1997, 485–99.

role of συμμάχοι (Hdt. 5. 64, 8. 64). The intriguing question that arises from this testimony is whether the Aiginetan practice of sending Aiakos and the Aiakids on missions outside of Aigina and on behalf of non-Aiginetans detracted from the heroes' ability to protect Aiginetan interests, to stay loyal to one side only. After all, other ancient Greek evidence suggests that a hero had to reside, or rest, in the land to be an effective aid to the locals: so argues Oedipus in Sophokles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1521–1534.

Heroes are closely connected to the physical place where they are worshipped, which often has to do with the alleged or actual presence of skeletal remains at the site where a hero cult is instituted. Often, but not always, it is the presence of a hero's grave that imparts the beneficial power of a hero onto the area of their interment, hence, the motivation for Athenians to bring Theseus to Athens, for Spartans to bring Orestes to Sparta, or for Mantineans to bring Arkas, son of Kallisto, from Mainalos.[35] At the same time, the multilocality of heroes, that is, an association of one and the same hero with a number of locations, is a well-attested phenomenon, which seems to have bothered the Greeks very little.[36]

The practice of letting Aiakos and the Aiakids travel outside of Aigina to aid non-Aiginetans stands in sharp contrast to the cases of Theseus at Athens and Orestes at Sparta and to the ideological meaning the Aiginetans themselves seem to attribute to the fastening of the statues of Damia and Auxesia hard to Aiginetan soil. The local Aiginetan heroes cross the political border and act outside of it, on behalf of non-Aiginetans, apparently without losing a clear association with their native island or with the Aiginetan political community. As much as the story of Damia and Auxesia suggests that the Aiginetans perceived a solid and impenetrable wall between their own religious world and the outside, the case of Aiakos and the Aikids, testifies to the contrary: Aiakos' and the Aiakids' sphere of action extends beyond the political boundary of the Aiginetan state, and yet this apparently does not undermine the integrity of the Aiginetan religious world.

One way we might be able to explain this apparent paradox is if we understand the principles encoded in the notions of *enkhôrioi* and *patrôoi* deities. What serves as a basis for calling Aiakos and the Aiakids away from Aigina is either their connection to a particular geographical domain, or

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[35] See, e.g., Boedeker 1993; Parker 1996, 154, 168–170; Paus. 8.9.3–4. Also on *Oedipus at Colonus*: Wilson 1997, 91–106, 179–186; Cf. Polignac 1995, 128–149.

[36] J. Hall 1999.

their connection to a group of people through ancestry. The Aiakids are summoned for help in the Battle of Salamis, because they are the *enkhôrioi* heroes of the Saronic Gulf, or rather of the only two large islands in the central and northern parts of the Gulf where the battle was to take place. The allied Greek army, in this sense, does not call Aiakos and the Aiakids 'away' from their domiciles, but invokes them 'within' their area of patronage, in their capacity as *enkhôrioi*, albeit here *khôra* is understood as a broader region than that of each piece of dry land (Salamis, Aigina) within the watery region of the Saronic Gulf, and as a region that is geographic rather than political in nature, because to constitute the Saronic conceptually as one *khôra* is to downplay the presence of political boundaries between Athens and Aigina. Herodotus does not gloss over the paradox: there are two state territories at stake (Athens as the owner of Salamis, on the one hand, and Aigina as the master of the Saronic waterways, on the other), but the Aiakids form one group that belong together and yet reside both on Aigina and on Salamis, and thus, as it were, bridge the political divide. Herodotus, significantly, does not call the Aiakids either Athenian or Aiginetan: rather Telamon and Ajax are "from Salamis" and Aiakos and the other Aiakids are "from Aigina."

On the occasion of Aiginetan aid to Thebes in ca. 506 BCE, the basis for summoning the Aiginetans was the activization of the second conceptual dimension: a connection through ancestors. Thebans interpreted "proximity" not as territorial, but as genealogical. The Aiakids were allowed to travel outside of Aigina because of the ties of kinship: in mythology, Aiakos's mother Aigina, and Thebê, the eponymous nymph of Thebes, were sisters and at some point both inhabited Boiotia. As we have noted earlier (see 1.3), the capacity to 'travel' long distances and assist away from home is precisely the ability of *patrôoi* and occasionally, of *matrôoi*, as in this case, *theoi and hêrôes*. We could postulate, therefore, that Aiakos and the Aiakids did not act 'away' from Aigina and on behalf of a 'non-Aiginetan' political community, but rather 'within' their sphere of power (the Saronic Gulf) in the capacity of *enkhôrioi*, and on behalf of Aiginetan kin, the Thebans, and so in the virtual capacity of *matrôoi*. Here the cognitive map of the religious world supersedes the geopolitical map: the former has a virtual capacity for expandability, so that in that mental dimension, Aiakos and the Aiakids do not necessarily break away from their Aiginetan domain, rather the Aiginetan world expands along conceptual ancestral lines to include geographic locations further afield.

(c) The case of Aiginetan worship of Poseidon presents yet another variant of inter-relationship between religious and geopolitical boundaries. When and in what way the Aiginetans worshipped Poseidon is not a simple question to answer. I have argued elsewhere that a series of *horos*-stones dated to the 2nd half of the 5th century BCE (*IG* IV² 798–801)[37] do not constitute evidence for local Aiginetan cult of Poseidon, and that Plutarch's testimony, *Quaestiones Graecae* 44 (301E–F), about the festival of "solitary diners" (οἱ μονοφάγοι) on Aigina in honor of Poseidon was a domestic celebration rather than a public feast at a communal sanctuary (see 7.18.2). In addition, we cannot tell from Plutarch's evidence alone whether the feast of *monophagoi* was celebrated in pre-Roman times. The apparent absence of a public sanctuary of Poseidon on Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods gives special meaning to Aiginetan participation in the cult of Poseidon at Kalaureia, a short sailing trip of perhaps two-three hours to the southwest of Aigina (depending on the winds and on where one sets off from, Kolonna or Perdika).

According to Strabo 8.374, Aiginetans were members of the Kalaureian amphictyony. Membership in an amphictyony presumes a form of political interaction at state level, hence, participation in the Kalaureian cult involved Aiginetans as a community. The difference between the feasts of "solitary diners" on Aigina (if ever they were Archaic or Classical) and Aiginetan participation in the Kalaureian cult, is the difference between domestic and public worship of Poseidon(s). Because Aiginetans would have sacrificed to Poseidon on Kalaureia on behalf of the entire community (we presume), we could view Poseidon on Kalaureia as one of the Aiginetan communal deities. We should note that not only the manner of worship (public versus domestic), but the nature of the two Poseidons in question may have been different: the one honored in the feast of *monophagoi*, to my mind, had to do with the dangers of seaborne travel and/or with ties of kinship, while the one at Kalaureia may have had other aspects, for example, a regional concern with earthquakes and with interstate relations. (see 7.18.3).

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[37] Polinskaya 2009. Welter (1954, 40–41, fig. 12c) interpreted the inscription that reads ΦΡΑ on an *omphalos*-shaped stone from Aigina (*IG* IV² 1003), as a reference to the cult of Poseidon Phratrios, but there is no evidence to substantiate this hypothesis. See also Lambert 2000, 513–4 for a fragmentary inscription from the collection at the British School at Athens ([-]ρο Ποσ[-]), dated c. 457–425 BCE? and purported to be from Aigina (*IG* IV² 1018), which Hereward restored as a *horos* of a sanctuary of Poseidon. As Lambert notes, other restorations, not involving Poseidon, are equally possible.

How then should we view the fact that the location of the cult lies beyond the geopolitical border of the Aiginetan state, off Aiginetan soil, and across the Saronic Gulf? Aiginetan involvement, perhaps as a founding member, in the cult of Kalaureian Poseidon contradicts the solidity of the imaginary religious boundary that is evident in the case of Damia and Auxesia. Instead, similar to the case of Aiakos and the Aiakids, it supports the notion of an open political border that does not impede the extension of the religious world across the Saronic Gulf, and in fact, into foreign territory.[38] While in the case of Aiakos and the Aiakids the worshipped, that is, the Aiginetan heroes, travel in and out of Aigina, at the same time as their domicile is permanently fixed on Aigina, in the case of Kalaureain Poseidon, the worshippers (Aiginetans) travel in and out of Aigina in order to reach the seat of the deity. Thus, in some cases, the Aiginetan deities (Aiakos and the Aiakids) find themselves temporarily, and in other cases (Poseidon Kalaureios), permanently, located across and beyond the political border of Aigina, yet no less connected to and in service of the Aiginetans.

The comparison of the cults of Damia and Auxesia, Aiakos and the Aiakids, and of Poseidon Kalaureios shows that the Aiginetan religious world in the Archaic period on occasion extended beyond the geopolitical borders of the Aiginetan state. It is a complex picture of a local religious world, where sometimes a foundation of cult (Damia and Auxesia) creates a religious boundary, which simultaneously signifies a fiercely guarded geopolitical border between the neighboring states, while in other situations the unimpeded, although not unregulated, traffic of both cultic figures (Aiakos and the Aiakids outside of Aigina) and worshippers (Aiginetans to Kalaureian Poseidon) across the recognized geopolitical border washes away the geographical clarity of a religious boundary. Perhaps, similarly to political boundaries, as discussed by Schiller (see above),—religious boundaries were a flexible and stretchable concept in territorial terms, while the definitive characteristic of a local religious system in ancient Greece was the social tie between the community's divine and human members. These are the dynamics of a local polytheistic matrix, a three-way relationship of people to gods, gods to land, and land to people.

If we extend our observations beyond Aigina, we perceive that a similar contradiction between the distinctive containment and simultaneous

[38] Kalaureia was part of the Troizenian territory (*Neue Pauly* 12/1, 869, s.v. Troizen (by Y. Lafond); 6, 153, s.v. Kalaureia (by H. Kaletsch)). Cf. Schiller 1996, 66, 72.

openness of local religious worlds may be found in local cultic practices and cultic discourses outside of Aigina.[39] We may remember that some other neighbors of Aigina in the Saronic Gulf (Epidauros, Hermione, Athens) were also members of the Kalaureian amphictyony, and had to straddle their own political borders in order to participate in the cult. Any given local cult therefore had the potential of bounding or unbounding the local religious world in a dynamic, ad hoc manner, contributing to a flexible yet distinctive mental map of the latter. Understood in this way, the territorial picture of ancient Greek religion emerges as a patchwork of over-lapping, or interpenetrating local religious units, or 'communities of cult' rather than as a neat honeycomb of clearly demarcated *polis* religions.[40]

10.2 Defining the 'Region'

As the discussion in the previous section has shown, the cognitive conceptualization and physical perception of boundaries circumscribing a local religious world could vary in the social discourse and in the social practice of local inhabitants, but the actuality of defined local religious worlds was never in doubt: this is clear from the deployment of contrasting designations "our gods" versus "their gods" in ancient Greek discourse (see 1.3). At the same time, local religious systems in ancient Greece did not exist in isolation from one another. Interjecting into one another and sometimes overlapping, local religious worlds enabled and supported interaction between their respective members on many practical and ideological levels. The most immediate sphere of interaction between local religious systems was between geographical neighbors. Islands furthermore might count any area reachable by sea as a neighbor, and the

[39] Cf. Morgan (2003, 107–63) speaks in terms of 'communities of cult;' see also Hall 2012 [2007], 83–87.

[40] The observations we have made about the extent of the Aiginetan religious world in the Archaic period fall in line with the general conclusions reached by Horden and Purcell (2000, 451) regarding the territorial definition of religious communities in the Mediterranean: "One vivid example from the Mediterranean diaspora, Contella in Mexico, is a settlement of some ten thousand inhabitants, with ten municipal subdivisions, forty religious fraternities, and annual pilgrimages to seventeen different shrines. Like Medieval Verona, this community can be expressed by such an enumeration. The catalogue of religious identifiers may be a more potent description than the delineation of administrative boundaries. As among the bedouin of South Sinai, the aim may be to control not so much 'a clearly bounded territory, but defined points in it and paths leading through it (Marx 1977, 33)."

position of Aigina in the middle of the Saronic Gulf defined the expanse of the Gulf and its coastal areas as the logical sphere of regional interaction for the Aiginetans.[41]

10.2.1 *The Athletic Circuit*

The most explicit form of religious interaction between Aiginetans and other Greek religious communities was the hosting of foreigners at Aiginetan religious festivals and athletic games, and vice versa, the participation of Aiginetans in festivals and games outside of Aigina. We get a glimpse of this interaction from the Pindaric *epinikia*. Pindar names eighteen Aiginetan athletes who won in competitions outside of Aigina.[42] Instructive for us is the distribution of victories vis-à-vis the geography of athletic festivals. Aiginetans won at all four stephanitic games, Olympia, Pythia, Nemea and Isthmia, but the Olympic and Pythian victories number in single digits, while the Nemean and Isthmian ones in dozens. The explanation for this statistic is apparently not to be sought in the inability of Aiginetan athletes to compete in the upper league, but perhaps in part in the greater distance they had to travel to attend the Olympic and Pythian Games,[43] and possibly in the closer economic and/or cultural ties with the hosts of the Nemea and Isthmia. Another relatively distant place is

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[41] For recent debates on defining regions and microregions in the Mediterranean, see, e.g., Horden and Purcell 2000 (particularly useful concepts of 'definite places,' 'territories of grace,' 'microregions'); Broodbank 2000; Malkin et al. 2009.

[42] Alkimedon (*O.* 8.16, boys' wrestling) at Nemea; Theognetos and Kleitomachos, uncles of Aristomenes (hero of *P.* 8), were winners at Olympia and Isthmia respectively (*P.* 8.35–37). Aristomenes, son of Xenarkes, won at Megara, Marathon, and three times in "Hera's local contest," i.e., in Argos (see 7.1.2), and at the Pythian games (in wrestling, 446 BCE) (*P.* 8.79–80). Aristokleidas, son of Aristophanes, won in the Nemean games, at Epidauros, and at Megara (*N.* 3 84—pankration, 475 BCE). Timasarkhos, son of Timokritos (boys' wresting, 473? BCE) won at Athens and Thebes (Games of Herakles)—*N.* 4.18–24. Kallikles, uncle of Timasarkhos, won at Isthmia; Theandridai- clan of Timasarkhos—won at Olympia, Isthmia, and Nemea (*N.* 4.75). Pytheas, boys' pankration, 483? BCE, at Nemea. Euthymenes, maternal uncle of Pytheas, won at Nemea, Megara, and at home, on Aigina (*N.* 5 41–46). Themistios, Euthymenes' father, won twice at Epidauros, in boxing and pankration. Phylakidas, Pytheas' younger brother, won twice at Isthmia and once at Nemea (*I.* 5.17–19). Clan of Bassidai—twenty-five victories: Alkimidas of Aigina, boys' wrestling, 465? BCE, Nemea (*N.* 6); Alkimidas' grandfather, Praxidamas—the first (of Aiginetans?) to win at Olympia, five times at Isthmia, three times at Nemea; Kallias, of the Bassidai clan—won at Pythia; Kreontidas, of the Bassidai—at Isthmia, and at Nemea. Sogenes, son of Thearion (*N.* 7)—at Nemea, boys' pentathlon, 485? BCE. Deinis, son of Megas, double foot race, 459? BCE—at Nemea (*N.* 8) and his father—also at Nemea. Kleandros, son of Telesarkhos—winner at Isthmia (*I.* 8) and Nemea, and at Megara (games of Alkathoos, son of Pelops), and at Epidauros.

[43] So Hornblower 2004, 217.

Thebes where one Aiginetan is mentioned as winning.[44] All other competitions, in which Aiginetans participate, are those of the surrounding regions: at Megara, Argos, Epidauros, and Marathon on the East coast of Attica.[45] Pindar also tells us about Aiginetan victories at home,[46] but one wonders if it was not more prestigious to win abroad. Wherever they were taking prizes, the Aiginetan athletes customarily acknowledged the help of their local deities in securing athletic success, for example, by dedicating victory crowns to Aiakos (Pindar *N.* 8.13–16, *N.* 5.95, *N.* 6.17–18).

Conversely, citizens of the Saronic Gulf states and further abroad came to Aigina to participate in athletic contests that were part of local religious festivals. Pindar (*O.* 13.155) says that Xenophon of Corinth won at many places, including Megara and "the sacred grove of the Aiakids" (a paraphrase that designates Aigina, but perhaps more specifically the festival of the Aiakeia). Diagoras of Rhodes (*O.* 7.85) won six times on Aigina. Telesikrates of Cyrene (who won a race in full armor at the Pythian games, 474 BCE?)—won also on Aigina and three times at Megara (*P.* 9.90–91). It is notable that although Aiginetan athletes compete primarily in the games in the region of the Saronic Gulf (Epidauros, Argos, Nemea, Isthmia, Megara) and Attica (Marathon), the athletes that come to Aigina are not limited to the citizens of the Saronic Gulf states, but hail from as far away as Rhodes and Cyrene. Such distant overseas connections underscore the economic and trading relations between Aigina and other Mediterranean states, but also illustrate the channels of religious interaction, by means of which Aiginetan local traditions were communicated to foreigners and by means of which Aiginetans came into contact with local religious traditions and customs of the wider Greek-speaking world.

10.2.2 *Damia and Auxesia in the Saronic Gulf*

The task we are pursuing here, of exploring the geographic context of local religious worlds, brings us back to the cultic pair of Damia and Auxesia. Their presence in several religious mesocosms of the Saronic Gulf allows

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[44] Timasarkhos, son of Timokritos (boys' wresting, 473? BCE) won at Thebes in the Games of Herakles—*N.* 4.18–24.

[45] Cf. Kowalzig (2007, 218) who takes Aiginetan participation in the regional games as a sign that Aigina was an economic hub maintaining "a viable smaller-scale regional network."

[46] Aristomenes, son of Xenarkes, native Aiginetan, won at home, on Aigina, in the pentathlon of Apollo (and Artemis: this is how the scholia explain ὑμαῖς- *P.* 8.65–66. Euthymenes, maternal uncle of Pytheas, won on Aigina (*N.* 5 45).

us to address the question of whether the 'spread' of cult can serve as a basis for identifying a region.[47] Damia and Auxesia were known at four locations in the Saronic Gulf: Epidauros, Aigina, Troizen, and Athens.[48] The deities of Epidauros and Aigina were essentially the same in origin, at least according to narrative traditions, as reported by Herodotus 5.82–86, and different only in some details of cult. The nature of their cult at Epidauros had to do with a cure of land's infertility: Their names at Epidauros appear in variant forms similar to those on Aigina: Mnia, Azesia, Azosioi *theoi*. Herodotus tells us that female mocking choruses were also a ritual practice in the Epidaurian cult, although we are not told how they were organized, and there is no evidence that the Epidaurian choruses would have competed with the Aiginetan.[49] Herodotus 5.83 is clear that the choral abuse was directed at local women: κακῶς δὲ ἠγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας.

The cult of Damia and Auxesia at Troizen, as well as the aetion of its origin, appears to be very different from the Epidaurian and the Aiginetan. Troizenian Damia and Auxesia better fit the profile of heroines rather than goddesses: human maidens who came from Crete, became victims of local social struggles, suffered violent death as a result, and were subsequently honored with a festival called Stoning, *Lithobolia*.[50] The pattern of the aetion and of the ritual show no indication of social functions served by the two figures, although we may speculate an expiation ritual of some kind, as is common in cases when the violent death of innocent figures serves as foundation of a cult aimed at the expiation of wrongdoings, personal or communal. The existence of an aetion and a ritual of Stoning at Troizen is known to us only through Pausanias, and it would be remarkable if it were passed over in silence by contemporary historians

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[47] In scholarship on Greek religion, the expression 'spread of cult' refers either to contemporaneous geographic distribution of cult, or to sequential appearance of a cult in a number of locations.

[48] Contra Kowalzig 2011, 141.

[49] Fearn (2011, 93) provides no supporting evidence to back his statement that the Aiginetan choruses were established in order "to rival the choruses that honoured them in Epidauros."

[50] Troizen (Paus. 2.32.2): "Of Damia and Auxesia (for the Troizenians, too, share in their worship) they do not give the same account as the Epidaurians and Aiginetans, but say that they were maidens who came from Crete. A general insurrection having arisen in the city, these too, they say, were stoned to death by the opposite party; and they hold a festival in their honor that they call Stoning." ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν—οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ὃν Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἀφικέσθαι παρθένους ἐκ Κρήτης: στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι, καὶ ἑορτὴν ἄγουσί σφισι Λιθοβόλια ὀνομάζοντες.

had it been known in the time of Herodotus. It is conceivable that the cult developed at Troizen in post-Classical times, although the context for its introduction would be hard to reconstruct.

In Athens, Demeter Azesia had a precinct in the Athenian agora in the 4th century BCE, as is attested by an inscribed boundary marker (Agora I 513).[51] Demeter may have been worshipped in Athens under this title, already in the 5th century, if not earlier, since she is mentioned with this epithet by Sophocles.[52]

The case in front of us illustrates rather well a refraction of divine name/personality in local/regional conceptualization and cult practice. Divine names here appear in three permutations: (a) as distinct for each deity, but doubled up in what seem to be dialectal variants (Mnia/Damia and A(u)zesia/Auxesia); (b) as an undifferentiated plural (Azosioi *theoi*); and (c) as an epiclesis attached to another divine name (Azesia Demeter). Thus, the names, in spite of their permutations, provide the possibility of seeing connections between religious mesocosms. The aetia of origin where they are known (Epidauros, Aigina, Troizen) for the cult in each area are completely different, and there are explicit differences in cult, some greater and some lesser. At the same time, there is something tying them conceptually together, which allows Pausanias to speak of "sharing in the deities:" ἐς δὲ τὴν Δαμίαν καὶ Αὐξησίαν—καὶ γὰρ Τροιζηνίοις μέτεστιν αὐτῶν. Considering the differences between the aetia and the details of worship, this something can be neither seen as the 'spread' of cult, nor as linear borrowing, or at best can be seen as 'borrowing' in only one case out of four. It could be said, with provisos, that Aiginetans 'borrowed' their cult from Epidauros, or that it 'spread' from Epidauros to Aigina, but the origin of Demeter Azesia in Athens and of the Troizenian heroines do not easily fit into that model. Above all, it is names, in their variations, that seem to tie them together and (unless Pausanias knew more than we do about their divine nature and cults) just the sharing/similarity of names appears to be enough for Pausanias to assert the "sharing in the deities." I would suggest that the similarity of names represents a common semantic field within which the differences of worship and aetia could be conceptually accommodated and made intelligible for contemporary Greeks.

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[51] *Agora* XIX, H16 (Ed. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1953) 52–53 no. 14, fig. 14; *Agora* III, p. 85; *Agora Picture Book* No. 10, no. 25; Ritchie 1985, TA 25 (pl. 24, fig. 21).

[52] Anecd. Bekk., p. 348, 26: Ἀζήσια. Οὕτως ἡ Δημήτηρ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ καλεῖται οἱ δὲ τήν εὐτράφη (Nauck, *TGF*, Sophocles no. 894).

That said, it is the differences, not the commonalities, that are exploited as instruments for articulating political relations between Saronic Gulf neighbors.

So, as far as the contentious relationship between Athens, Aigina, Epidauros, and Argos, at the center of which was the episode of stealing the statues of Damia and Auxesia from Epidauros, it is mainly three parties that are directly involved: Athens that provided wood for the statues, Epidauros that made the statues and hosted them at the start, and Aigina that obtained statues by robbery and hosted them thereafter.[53] While the contention between Epidauros and Aigina is most direct, where the act of stealing statues served as an expression of revolt and the thwarting of the old ties of submission to Epidauros, the Athenian involvement is only tangential. They get involved on account of the olive wood they had allegedly provided for the making of the Epidaurian statues. The Athenian origin of the wood used in the making of the statues of Damia and Auxesia was an excuse for the Athenian invasion of Aigina. It might be noted that if we removed this Athenian element from the Herodotean account, the backbone of the story would still hold: the Aiginetans who used to be dependent on Epidauros, once they had built a fleet, came and raided Epidauros stealing the statues of two local goddesses. Whether any such thing ever happened or not, it is clear that in the creation of oral tradition on this subject, the Athenian element could have been a dispensable addition.

In light of this consideration, we should note a curious discrepancy between the information on the subject of wood provided by Herodotus and the evidence of the inventory (*IG* IV^2 787), which is roughly contemporary with Herodotus and might have been a product of Athenian activity on the island. The Athenian participation in the episode of Damia and Auxesia hinges entirely on the provision that the statues had to be made of Attic olive wood, according to the Delphic oracle. From the inventory of the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia (see Appendix 4 for the translation and commentary) we surmise that each deity had a separate building, for

[53] That Herodotus views this event as theft is unambiguous (κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων 5.84.1). The argument of the Epidaurians about their obligations to the Athenians to pay an annual tribute to Athena Polias and Erekhtheus is rather illuminating: the party that has the statues is the one that derives the benefit, hence that party is responsible for the payments. The benefit and the value travel together with the statues. When you have the divinities in your land that is when you have to pay the price—in the form of sacrifices and/or annual tributes to others. It is all about ownership.

the inventory presents two lists, one "in that (ἐν τôι) of Mnia", and another "in that (ἐν τôι) of Auzesia." ἐν τôι most likely refers to a naos, or oikos (see Appendix 4 for a detailed commentary). In "that of Mnia" there is a following entry, lines 8–9: ἄγαλμα επὶ τês τραπέζες κυφαρίσινον *h*έν μικρὸν ἄγαλμα τês Μνίας, "an image of cypress wood on a trapeza one small image of Mnia." The pattern of entries in the rest of the catalogue (description of an object followed by a count) suggests that the punctuation should occur after the count: "an image of cypress wood on a trapeza, one; small image of Mnia." The question then is whether we have one statue listed, with a clarification as to the size and identity, or if we have two statues: one anonymous statue of cypress wood on a trapeza and another small one of Mnia.

The part of the inventory describing the possessions of Auzesia reads in lines 33–35 as the following: ἄγαλμα Αὐζεσίας *h*έν ἀγαλμάτιον μικρόν, "an image of Auzesia one small image." Once again, this entry either accounts for two statues, or one, with an elaboration as to its size. There is one more statue in the sanctuary: following right after the entry on the statue(s) of Mnia, we read in lines 9–10: ἐν τοî *h*υπισθοδόμοι· ἄγα[λ]- | μα το Διονύσο *h*έν. Here the image is named, and its count given, without any further elaboration as to the size or material. A comparison with the pattern of recording and counting objects in the inventory should be of help. Forty-three groups of objects are listed in the inventory, and among them there are three or perhaps five statues (depending on how we break up lines 8–9 and 33–35), and either all three are given a count (one) and two are additionally provided with the notice of their small size, or three of the statues are given a count, and two are just described by reference to their small size, and not given a count. Of the other objects in the inventory, only three groups (multiple incense burners, ll. 1–2, an iron base for a krater, ll. 4–5, and a small bronze basket, l. 33) are not given a count, while all others are followed by a count. In other words, each entry usually ends with a count suggesting that in the case of the statues as well, we should expect the count to end a respective entry. At the same time, the fact that in both cases, of Mnia and of Auzesia, secondary phrases μικρὸν ἄγαλμα τês Μνίας (l. 9) and ἀγαλμάτιον μικρόν (l. 35) are not followed by a count, suggests that they do not constitute independent entries, but rather serve as an expansion of the preceding ones. If then the entry in lines 8–9 is to be read as one: "a statue made of cypress wood on a trapeza, one, [namely], a small statue of Mnia," then we have a case of a wooden statue of Mnia made of cypress and not of olive wood. This could be significant. The very base upon which the entire involvement of the Athenians in the

story was pinned would be undermined.[54] What if the statues on Aigina were indeed wooden, but not of olive wood? One may object that had that been the case or had the Aiginetans known about the wood being cypress, they would have challenged Herodotus' account, but how do we know that they did not? What we find in Herodotus is a reflection of a propaganda war en cours, on the discursive level of regional interaction, with Athens arguing for their righteous and justified involvement in the war with Aigina, and Aigina stating that they have nothing to do with the Athenians (οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα, Hdt. 5.84). Perhaps this phrase (οὐδὲν πρῆγμα) contains not only the Aiginetan denial of the Athenian right to the statues, but a denial of the Athenian claim to have had provided the wood in the first place.

If we were to remove the speculation and deal only with hard facts, we would still need to raise a question why the inventory does not list the kneeling olive-wood statues of Mnia and Auzesia. Even though the shape and the posture of the statues may not have been a concern for those making an inventory, the material of which they were made, certainly was because the material is specified in most other entries in the inventory. If, however, the statue of cypress wood in the temple of Mnia was that of the goddess herself, and if the wood was properly identified in the inventory as cypress, then we would have to conclude that the olive wood of the Herodotean story may have existed nowhere else, but in the story, and specifically, in the Athenian version of the story as an effective narratological connector supplying a cause for action. In the early 5th century BCE, Athens used a claim of monopoly on the sacred olive wood as a justification for the invasion of Aigina in a narrative about earlier times (Ἀθηναῖοι μέν λέγουσι . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἐόντα, Hdt. 5.85). Whether the wood was or was not olive was perhaps besides the point, even if an independent commission was set up to test the wood, for it was not a war of facts, but of claims (people talk: Ἀθηναῖοι μέν λέγουσι), a war of words and stories. It was a war for the public opinion, and as we know today all too well, it is not facts, but more often the likeness of facts that wins the day. If the Athenians wished to claim that the wood had originated from Attica, not much could be done against that claim by the

[54] Sissa and Detienne (2000, 193) claim that the Athenians believed that the images of Damia and Auxesia made from Attic olive wood "in reality belonged to the land of their own territory, the only soil to grow the olive tree . . ." hence, they "were determined that the idols made out of wood from their territory should remain forever Athenian" and invaded Aigina to retrieve the statues.

Aiginetans except to claim that even if that were so, the statues had no desire to return to Attica: they fell on their knees in the act of resistance.

Herodotus provides two explanations why the olive wood had to be Athenian, and by doing so inadvertently acknowledges that there was nothing obvious about that injunction (for, as today, olive trees are found throughout Greece): ἐδέοντο ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι ("because Epidaurians considered them to be the holiest") λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ("it is also said that at that time the olive trees were to be found in no other land but in Athens"). This is clearly a rationalization on the part of the narrator.[55] The origin of the olive wood is an important element in the story, as it leads to war. If the olive wood had not been from Attica, this story would be not cited as an explanation for the ancient hatred between Athens and Aigina. The story's claim to the Attic monopoly on olive wood is certainly contrary to historical evidence, even as far as the pre-historic period is concerned. In the classical period, olive was cultivated throughout Greece and to refer to the time when olive would have been cultivated only in Attica is to make the hatred between Athens and Aigina ancient indeed—transporting the audience to primordial times. I suspect, therefore, that the olive wood of the Athenian version of this story is not a historical fact, but very possibly a clever detail introduced by Athenians in the course of the fifth-century war for public opinion.

But we may note that from the Aiginetan perspective, the whole episode was more about their relationship with Epidauros than with Athens. The stealing of statues was an act of revolt on the part of the Aiginetans, an act of asserting their independence from Epidauros, while Athenian involvement was tangential at best. It would suit mostly the Athenian interests to introduce the claim about the olive wood. It seems possible in the light of these considerations to view the heraldless (πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον) war between Athens and Aigina as in large part a

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[55] Some scholars, however, would like to see an indication of this in the matter of olive wood. Kowalzig (2007, 211) sees olive wood as "agricultural produce" rather than construction material. In conjunction with the ban on Attic goods from use in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia on Aigina, Kowalzig interprets the whole as "a myth talking about local crops and local products on the one hand, but tied into an economic network and rivalry in the Saronic Gulf, on the other." I find it difficult to view olive wood as a type of produce, and do not think we can use it as a basis for interpreting the myth as symbolic of economic rivalry between Athens and Aigina.

cold war, a propaganda war, a war of claims and counter-claims, a war for public, that is, international opinion, rather than simply an on-going series of military clashes. In this particular type of warfare, the Aiginetans had an advantage from the start.

By the early 6th century BCE, Aiginetans, it seems, had firmly won international public opinion on the origin of the greatest Trojan Wars I and II heroes, the Aiakids. By that time, it was widely accepted and known in the Greek world that Aiakos was a local Aiginetan rather than a Thessalian hero, and that the Aiakids were Aiginetans (see 9.2.5). Athens was just about this time actively involved in claiming Salamis as its possession and may have discovered that she was in some sense too late in entering the ideological battle scene.[56] The greatest heroes of Greece had already been ingeniously abducted from Thessaly and appropriated by the Aiginetans. Athenians, however, tried to do as much as they could in both connecting themselves to one of the Aiakids, Ajax, and in finding other mythological connections to rival those of the Aiakids. Whatever the particular role of Pisistratus and his sons in this regard, it is in the 6th century BCE that Theseus becomes the hero par excellence of Athens: a new, and what seems to be a previously unknown series of deeds is attributed to Theseus in myth and appears in art.[57] The Athenian eagerness to appropriate Salaminian Ajax can also be seen not exclusively in terms of the struggle between Athens and Salamis, and Athens and Megara, but as an offshoot of the wider ideological competition for preeminence on the inter-state arena, in which the contest with Aigina was particularly problematic for Athens. This is illustrated by Athenian and Aiginetan claims to the possession of the Aiakids.

10.2.3 *Aiakos and the Aiakids: The Athenian Version*

In the Herodotean account, the immediate aftermath of the episode of Damia and Auxesia involved a change of fashions in Athens from Doric to Ionian dress, and an oracle from Delphi instructing Athenians to establish a precinct of Aiakos in Athens. The instruction to build a *temenos* for Aiakos in Athens appears as a direct *quid pro quo* action: if the Athenians felt that the Aiginetans took possession of what rightly belonged to the Athenians (statues made of Attic olive wood), then the plan to cut a

[56] Taylor 1997, 21–47.
[57] Parker 1996, 69, 85.

temenos for Aiakos in Athens appears as a clear desire to reciprocate in kind by appropriating the Aiginetan hero.[58]

The Aiakeion in Athens was laid out in response to the Delphic oracle. Herodotus tells only that the oracle recommended the allotment of a *temenos* (Ἀιακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας Hdt 5.89, τῷ μὲν Ἀιακῷ τέμενος ἀπεδεξαν), but nothing more. In other words, it was not prescribed by the oracle either that any religious rites were introduced, or that any cultic structures were constructed in the *temenos*. *Temenos* is a common term for a consecrated plot of land given to a deity. A *temenos* does not have to be a site of religious activities, it can also be an agricultural estate exploited as would be any other farmland, with the provision that the proceeds from the rent of that land or the produce grown would be used or sold for the benefit of a deity, to subsidize a sacrifice, or a communal feast in honor of that deity.[59] A *temenos* can also be a sacred area, an *abaton*, set aside and not used in any productive way. What kind of *temenos* was established for Aiakos in Athens? Most scholars infer "inauguration of the cult of Aiakos" in Athens from the information about the allocation of a *temenos*.[60] We may begin our discussion from an observation made by Ronald Stroud, that "the other twenty-nine examples of the word in Herodotus designate an open precinct that may or may not contain buildings."[61]

It is instructive to compare the Herodotean description of how a *temenos* of Aiakos is established in Athens with several other cases of cult foundations. We may start with the introduction of the hero Melanippos from Thebes to Sikyon by Kleisthenes. The expression used for this cult introduction is ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον, "to lead in, introduce" Melanippos (Hdt. 5.67). There is no specification, in which form Melanippos comes to Sikyon: Thebans simply "gave" (ἔδοσαν) the hero. At the same time, the transfer of Orestes from Tegea to Sparta is described with the same verb ἐπαγαγέσθαι, and in that case, hero's bones are explicitly indicated: Ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους (Hdt. 1.67).

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[58] Watson 2011, 106; Athanassaki 2011, 274.

[59] A good example of such *temenos* is the *temenos* of Herakles at Porthmos near Sounion that was exploited by the *genos* of Salaminioi (*Hesperia* 7, 1938, 9–10, no. 2 = *Agora* XIX L4b; Parker 1996, 309–310).

[60] E.g., Athanassaki 2011, 274. Unlike others, Ronald Stroud 1998 is more cautious in speculating cultic honors for Aiakos in Athens, as he closely inspects the evidence and finds no direct evidence of worship.

[61] Stroud 1998, 86.

What is noteworthy in the case of Melanippos is that the process of cult foundation is described as consisting of several distinct stages (Hdt. 5.67): (a) bringing the hero (ἐπαγαγόμενος τὸν Μελάνιππον), (b) apportioning a *temenos* (τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηίῳ), (c) installing the hero (again, not clear, in what form) in the *temenos* (καί μιν ἵδρυσε ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ), and finally (d) establishing ritual honors: sacrifices and feasts (ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπὲδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὁρτὰς . . . ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ). Special vocabulary is used to describe each step of the process. Step (b), the apportionment of the *temenos* is described with the same phrase as the recommendation of the Delphic oracle (Ἀιακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας Hdt 5.89) and the subsequent action of the Athenians (τῷ μὲν Ἀιακῷ τέμενος ἀπεδεξαν) in the episode with Aiakos.

In another episode, which we have already discussed on a number of occasions, the process of cult foundation for Damia and Auxesia on Aigina is described using the same terminology: the Aiginetans snatch the divine images (ὑπαιρέονται), install them (ἱδρύσαντο) in Aigina's hinterland, and institute ritual honors, sacrifices and mocking choruses (ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, θυσίῃσι τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι . . . ἱλάσκοντο). In this case, the allotment of a *temenos* is not explicitly named, but is certainly implied by the indication of the area where the deities are installed (a place called Oiê, in the Aiginetan hinterland), but steps (c) and (d) are described in precisely the same terms, as in the case of Melanippos.

In yet another case described by Herodotus (7.178), the Delphians establish (ἀπέδεξαν) an altar for the winds in the *temenos* of Thyia, and then honor the winds with sacrifices (θυσίῃσί σφεας μετήισαν): μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ᾽ ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίῃσί σφεας μετήισαν. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται.

Elsewhere in Herodotus, the verb *apodeiknumi*, when used with reference to sanctuaries, means something like "show, present, demonstrate, point out": in 1.171: [οἱ Κᾶρες] Ἀποδεικνύουσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί. But in all other cases, the verb must mean an action that results in a *temenos* or an altar being made visible, in the sense "to cause to be seen." In 7.178, the Delphians do not "show" what is already there, but take action to put an altar into place, so that it can be shown thereafter. They cause an altar to be seen. The same meaning of the verb is to be presumed in the cases of Melanippos and Aiakos.

Thus, in two cases in Herodotus (Melanippos in 5.67, and winds in 7.178), where a *temenos* or a *bômos* are described as being "caused to be seen", this action is followed by an explicit statement of what rituals of worship were introduced in conjunction with the establishment of sacred structures. In another case, of Damia and Auxesia, where divine images are being installed (ἱδρύσασθαι), that action is also followed by an explicit statement of the cultic honors instituted for the deities. The only case, where a *temenos* is told by the Delphic oracle to be "shown," but no further word is said about the institution of cultic honors, is the case of Aiakos in Athens. To my mind, the comparative analysis of analogous passages in Herodotus suggests that the silence about cultic honors for Aiakos in Athens is not an ellipsis of what we must assume would have followed an allotment of a *temenos*, but an indication that in fact, nothing else, but the allotment of a *temenos*, had taken place. In other words, the Delphic oracle recommended allotting land to Aiakos, and then going to war with Aigina, perhaps with a view to bringing Aiakos to Athens upon victory, but it should be reiterated that the Athenians were not told, and since Herodotus says nothing on the matter, they apparently did not introduce cultic honors for Aiakos at the time when they had allotted him a *temenos* near the agora.[62]

All other relevant sources, both textual and archaeological, show the same lack of evidence that the *temenos* of Aiakos in Athens had ever been used for religious purposes.

With regard to the archaeological evidence, Stroud sums up:

> Apart from its [architectural] form, there is no archaeological evidence to indicate that the Rectangular Peribolos was a sanctuary. The excavators found no deposits of votives, no inscribed dedications, no remains of an altar or the like.[63]

Stroud rightly considers the possibility that the *temenos* may have contained "no more than a simple altar, one that could not be expected to leave much evidence behind,"[64] but in light of the other evidence, both the comparanda in Herodotus, as discussed above, and the following lexicographic sources, we should allow for alternative explanations.

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[62] Stroud (1998, 88) persuasively shows that Athenians did not attempt to bring Aiakos, or the Aiakids, to Athens at any other time than that described by Herodotus.

[63] Stroud 1998, 101.

[64] Stroud 1998, 102.

Lexicographic testimonies consist of three items. The first is a fragment of a lexicon of the 2nd century CE (*POxy* 2087) restored and translated by Stroud as following:[65]

16 Αἰά[κ]ιον κ(αὶ) ἡ Θόλος ῥ[ῦ] φασι [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν
17 οἰκῆσ[α]ι· Θό[λο]ς δ(ὲ) ὅπου δει[π]νῖ ἡ πρυτα-
18 νε(ύ)ου[σ]α φυλή. [ἐν δ(ὲ)] τῷ δικ(αι) ἀ(να)γράφον/ται.

"Aiakeion and the Tholos: where they say that Aiakos used to dwell; now the Tholos is where the prytanizing tribe dines; [whereas in/at] the Aiakeion *dikai* are published."

The second source is an entry in the *Lexicon* of Hesychios, A 1658: Αἰάκειον· οὗ φασιν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι. The third and last source is Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 1.212.15: Αἰάκιον· τόπος οὗ φασι τὸν Αἰακὸν οἰκῆσαι. We should note that all three entries are 2nd century CE or later, and interrelated, communicating the same definition of the Aiakeion as a dwelling place of Aiakos. Although in Herodotus, the structure is explicitly called a *temenos*, here it is vaguely described as a dwelling place. Ronald Stroud aptly observes that the conceptualization of a deity's or hero's shrine as his dwelling place is common in Greek sources,[66] and yet, I think, here we are dealing not with a simple substitution of *oikos* for *temenos* in the sense of "shrine," but with loss of original meaning, and a later attempt at etymologizing and speculating. The structure was introduced into the Athenian landscape with the purpose of being a *temenos*, but it had lost that ascription of purpose already by 373 BCE, and possibly even earlier, in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian settlers would have had to retire from the island of Aigina they had occupied for over a quarter century, leaving the Aiginetan hero behind, having lost once and for all an opportunity of transferring him to Athens. This might have been a moment of realization for the Athenians that the Aiakeion was not fated to fulfill its purpose after all, and that the large area set aside for it, could be put to other uses. But the original name for that bounded area must have stuck and continued to be used, and in the absence of cult, a suitable alternative explanation (as Aiakos' dwelling place in the days bygone) would have been eventually invented by the locals.

[65] Stroud 1998, 91.
[66] Stroud 1998, 103 n. 39.

In sum, the cumulative weight of the evidence, suggests that the *temenos* of Aiakos in Athens never served as a seat of Aiakos' cult. The typical Herodotean formulae and patterns of description that are attested in other unambiguous cases of cult introductions are missing in this case, suggesting that rituals of worship were not established for Aiakos in Athens at the time of the consecration of his *temenos*. The archaeological evidence shows no traces of cultic activity in the Rectangular Peribolos, so convincingly identified as the Aiakeion by Stroud. The Grain-Tax law of 374/3 BCE shows the Aiakeion being used for utilitarian purposes at the time,[67] and the later lexicographic entries testify to the fact that the original meaning of the place and of the name was eventually forgotten and a new explanation invented. To address a potential objection that the hero may have been introduced and worshipped in 506 BCE, but relocated elsewhere by 374 BCE, we may note that the idea of relocating or expelling a hero, or even a deity, was not alien to the Greek mind. It is present in the same Herodotus: Kleisthenes of Sikyon wanted to throw out (ἐκβαλεῖν) Adrastos from Sikyon. Such an action, however, had to be sanctioned: Kleisthenes sought permission from the Delphic oracle. When it was denied, Kleisthenes, short of a chance to uproot Adrastos and throw him out of the land (ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης), decided to take away Adrastos' ritual honors (sacrifices and choruses) and give them to other deities, Melanippos and Dionysos, respectively. It would appear that Adrastos retained a precinct, but was deprived of ritual honors, that is, was not worshipped while Kleisthenes was in power. Thus, again, we see that having a *temenos* and being worshipped could be two separate things. If by 374/3 BCE, the Aiakeion in Athens was being used as a granary, then it is certain that we are talking about an empty shell, simply a bounded area, but neither a ritual space, nor a sacred plot of land. If the *temenos* were still a property of Aiakos, provisions would have been made for a lease of this property with the benefit to a hero, but no such provisions are indicated in the Agyrrhios' law. I conclude that the cult of Aiakos in Athens never materialized. In the 5th century BCE, however, the purpose of offering Aiakos accommodations in Athens must have been very clear to both Athenians and Aiginetans. It was meant to steal away from the Aiginetans the support of their main hero and with him, the claim to fame and glory

[67] Stroud (1998, 94–104) agrees that by 374/3 BCE, the *temenos* must have lost its sacred function, with the result that it was available for utilitarian use as a granary.

that the Aiakids signified to all of Greece, and the favor and protection of the heroes that continued to keep Aigina safe.[68]

10.2.4 *Ajax of Salamis: An Aiginetan Hero And An Athenian Eponym*

Although Athenians discovered too late that they had lost time and ground in the early Archaic ideological appropriation of the past, they sought to remedy that situation by establishing claims to genealogical connections with the heroes of old through various secondary lines of contact. The status of Ajax, the hero of Salamis, had been the most stable, both genealogically and territorially. Ajax is firmly associated with Salamis in the Homeric epics and everywhere else thereafter. Aiginetans claimed Aigina as the birthplace of Telamon, Ajax's father, and apparently, it is only Telamon who was worshipped on Aigina, not Ajax (cf. Pindar, *N.* 4.46), even though the Aiginetans succeeded in convincing everyone that Telamon, and hence Ajax, were the Aiakids (see 7.2.4). Notably, in Pindaric odes (e.g, *P.* 8.100), a prayer to the Aiginetan heroes on Aigina does not include Ajax, while it includes Telamon. In Herodotus (8.64), the allied Greeks send two ships for the Aiakids, one to Aigina, and another to Salamis (for Telamon and Ajax).

A resident hero of Salamis,[69] with a strong mythological background of an indigenous connection to Salamis, Ajax was the hero of choice for both Megarians and Athenians to claim the descent of their citizens and cult associations.[70] While Herodotus is very clear that Ajax is counted among the Aiakids, and that by his time Aigina has a legitimate and established claim to his origin, we have evidence that Athenians were making efforts to attack the Aiginetan position on this issue in several ways, and this attack is parallel to their ploy to abduct Aiakos from Aigina. In 508/7 BCE, Ajax was made an Athenian tribal hero (Hdt. 5.66.2) by Kleisthenes on the grounds that the Salaminian hero was a neighbor (*astygeiton*) and an ally (*symmakhos*). According to some mythological traditions, Ajax was

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[68] Stroud (1988, 47): "Kearns (1987, 47) is undoubtedly right in interpreting the Athenians' motive in laying out the temenos ca. 500 BCE as an attempt to summon away the most powerful hero of an enemy state."

[69] Taylor 1997.

[70] Sarah Morris (1984, 95 n. 21) suggested that a certain noble Athenian family that produced several men by the name of Miltiades claimed its origin from Ajax, but the Greek text (Jacoby, *FGH* 20—quoted by Marcellinus in his *Life of Thucydides*, 2) says nothing more than a certain "Filaios, the son of Aias, lives in Athens." We should not exclude the possibility that Aias here is not a heroic name, and no connection to Ajax of Salamis is implied.

also given an Athenian father, Aktaios or Theseus.[71] These claims must have fallen on barren soil and sent no roots. Herodotus in any case, is unambiguous about Ajax being a foreigner with respect to Athenians: ἐξευρὼν δὲ ἑτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Αἴαντος· τοῦτον δέ, ἄτεἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἐόντα προσέθετο (Hdt. 5.66).

Another tradition had Ajax's sons, Eurysakes and Philaios, emigrate to Athens and hand over the island of Salamis to the Athenians (Paus. 1.35.2).[72] In the words of Robert Parker, this was a charter myth that justified Athenian claims to Salamis. Ajax did not receive a separate shrine in Athens, but there was a sanctuary of Eurysakes at Melite and the decrees of the Aiantion tribe were displayed there.[73]

The arrival of Salaminioi into Athens, accompanied by the introduction of cults of clearly Salaminian connections (Eurysakes, Athena Skiras, Skiros, Teuker), all listed in the sacrificial calendar of the Salaminioi (*IG* II^2 1232.80–95), and the special privileges given to this *genos* may be also seen in the light of the ideological struggle for the Aiakids. The parallel attempts of Athenians to attack Aiginetan claims to the Aiakids on all fronts, that is, by laying claims to Ajax as an ancestor of one of the Athenian tribes, and by establishing a *temenos* of Aiakos in the agora of Athens, illustrate the seriousness of the cold war between the two states, on the one hand, and the great weight of the early established Aiginetan claim to the Aiakids, on the other. No matter what Athens tried to do in the 6th and 5th centuries to subvert the Aiginetan claim to the Aiakids, it seems to have produced no lasting impression on the interstate arena of the Greek world, but the prize was apparently so valuable that from the Athenian perspective it was worth their continuous efforts. The ideological competition between Athens and Aigina was not limited to the Aiakids, for as Athens was working on forging her identity on the basis of a special link to Athena,[74] her arch enemy did not waste time in undermining this Athenian claim.

Some further evidence comes from pottery. A number of Attic pots (twenty-seven listed in *LIMC*), dated between 490–440 and 475–450 BCE, carry representations of Zeus's pursuit of the fleeing Aigina.[75] We should

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[71] *Neue Pauly* 1, 309–311, s.v. Aias (by E. Kearns).

[72] Taylor 1997, 4, 42–43.

[73] Parker 1996, 311 n. 71.

[74] Athens probably began striking coins with the head of Athena and an owl in the late 6th century BCE.

[75] Arafat 1997, 110–115; Stewart 1995, 85–87.

note that this theme is attested only on Attic vases and only in the stated period. Although the theme of divine pursuit and abductions was quite popular in Athenian art at the time, Larson observes:

> Aigina is the only one of the Asopids to be firmly identified in the paintings. Stewart has suggested that these pursuit scenes may be erotic metaphors for the growing self-assertion of the Athenian male citizenry during the period . . . It is likely that the vase paintings reflect contemporary hostilities with Aigina, expressing the view that the island Aigina's eventual submission to Athens was as inevitable as the nymph Aigina's submission to Zeus.[76] At least one of the examples includes a figure of Nike holding a fillet and dates to the decade of Aigina's final subjugation.[77]

I am not sure we should read "Zeus equals Athens" in these vases. After all, Zeus's "rape" of Aigina was celebrated, not shunned in Aiginetan mythology, but perhaps it could have carried a different, negative, connotation in the eyes of Athenians.

10.2.5 *Athena on the Pediments of the Aphaia Temple: A View from Afar*

An opportunity to reply to the Athenian attack on the Aiakids seems to have come to Aiginetans around the time of the Perisan wars.[78] During the Persian wars, Athenians distinguished themselves with the help of a powerful fleet rivaling that of Aigina and Corinth for the first time in Greek history. For the first time, Aigina may have felt that Athens was gaining an upper hand, winning the present day glory that could rival the ancient glory of the Aiginetans. In the second Persian campaign, however, Aigina played her part as a valiant defender of Greeks against Persians, and the Aiginetans may have viewed that as an opportunity to make a new point in their ideological struggle. No matter how we decide to identify and interpret human figures on the pediments of the Aphaia temple, one identification that is beyond debate is the presence of Athena as the central figure of both pediments. What is the meaning of her presence on the Aiginetan temple? According to a recent revision of data, the temple of Aphaia was built in its entirety after the Persian wars, within a period

[76] E.g., *LIMC*, s.v. Aigina, nos. 1–2, 13–16, 19–21, 27.

[77] Larson 2001, 145. Larson (2001, 306, n. 70) also notes that the Aeschylean satyr play Sisyphos Drapetes (fr. 225–34) dealt with the myth of Aigina.

[78] If we are to accept the indications of the date for the Athenian introduction of the *temenos* of Aiakos in Athens given in Herodotos (around 510 BCE).

of four to six years, "wholly within the 470s."[79] The latest revision has also been re-dated to the 470s and reduced the number of hypothetical pediments from four to two, attributing the differences in style not to a temporal gap, but to progressive and conservative styles respectively of the two teams of sculptors commissioned for the work.[80]

I agree with those scholars who reject the idea that the temple was reconsecrated to Athena at any point in time (see chapter 7.4.4). Two other strands of explanations for the presence of Athena on the pediments are current. One is ideological, the other—art historical. Watson's is the latest in the string of ideological explanations: the scale and decorative program of the Aphaia temple, rebuilt after a fire which had struck ca. 500 BCE, according to Watson's reconstruction,[81] "was designed, at least on some level, to respond to the Old Temple of Athena Polias," "in order to make a point to the Athenians," "an attempt to show that Aeginetan heroes—not Athenians—played the key role in the conflict with Troy." As for Athena's presence in particular: "the Aeginetans were indicating that the Athenians had no monopoly on that goddess and were actively claiming Athena for themselves."[82]

Art historians, unsurprisingly, favor explanations that address the composition of the pediments and the poses struck by Athena, more than any possible messages encoded by the choice of the characters represented. So, Walter-Karydi explains Athena as the choice for an 'effective centre,' "which has nothing to do with either cult or politics, but is connected with the personality of the goddess as perceived at the time;" while Guy Hedreen argues that the Athenas on each pediment represent statues of

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[79] Stewart (2008b, 596) is able to reach this conclusion on the basis of pottery analysis from the fill of the northern terrace of the Aphaia temple, the latest pieces of which date to 485–480 BCE, and because, on Aigina, the Attic pottery of this date would most likely have been used before it was discarded and dumped in the fill, "this could lower the date of their deposition to ca. 480 or even later." Earlier, Gill (1988 and 1993) had argued for the post-Persian war date for the construction of the temple against the alternately proposed dates of 510–500 BCE (Bankel 1993), and 500–490 (Williams 1987).

[80] Eschbach 1995, Eschbach (forthcoming); Stewart 2008b, 593 and 596: 'extra' cornice fragments "could fit perfectly well into the fabric of the temple and others cannot belong to it at all," extra 'pedimental' figures are identified as freestanding votives, and the 'extra' acroterion falls into that category as well. Stewart points out that the reduction of pediments to 2 revives Delivorrias' 1974 suggestion, and in terms of the dating of sculptures supports the earlier views of Ridgway (1970, 13–17), and Stewart's own (1990, 137–138).

[81] Watson 2011, 101–113, contra Stewart 2008. See earlier ideological explanations: Kowalzig 2007, 209–210; Santi 2001; Williams 1987. Further bibliography on the relations between Athens and Aigina in this period is collected in Kehne 1998.

[82] Watson 2011, 110.

the goddess, marking the site of the battle as Troy, and leading to the remarkable conclusion that "[t]he Aeginetan heroes at Troy are making their own opportunities and achieving success without the help of the goddess of the Athenians."[83] The art historical arguments are well taken, and yet even if the placement of Athena in the center of the pediments was determined by purely artistic reasons, the possibility of an associative ideological viewing by visitors to the temple (Athena on the pediments of Aphaia and Athens on the horizon to the north—clearly visible from Aphaia in good weather) would have been inevitable.

An ideological viewing of the pediments was therefore anchored in the topographic setting of the temple: it could suggest itself more strongly in times of political conflict, and recede to the background in other times. Whatever the historical period when the pediments were carved and erected, their architects and designers would not have been concerned exclusively with the present and its political connotations, but with the relevance of their artwork for years to come. Whether Athena on the pediments was simply symbolizing a heroic battle (not taking part in it), in her capacity as a warrior goddess (so Walter-Karydi), or signifying the location of the battle (Troy), or was conceived as fighting amidst and alongside the Aiakids,[84] perhaps the most irrefutable fact is that Athena, as embodied in sculpture on the Aphaia pediments, finds herself spatially on Aiginetan soil. Just before, during, and right after the Persian wars, [85] this would have been a strong visual message to the Athenians across the Saronic Gulf: Athena, whether a statue of a goddess or a statue of a statue, the patron-deity of Aigina's arch enemy, is situated on the Aiginetan side of the Gulf. The poignancy of the message would be emphasized by the position and the orientation of the temple. Perched on the crest of a hill in the northeast corner of the island, Aphaia looks north and east to Athens

[83] Walter-Karydi 2006, 80; Hedreen 2011, 362–363. Hedreen's is logic is vulnerable, however. If the statues of Athena on the pediments represent *statues of the goddess* symbolizing the location of the battle, then we cannot draw conclusions about participation or non-participation in the battle of the *goddess* Athena. The latter conclusion could make sense only if the statue of Athena on the pediments was representing a goddess, not a statue [of a goddess].

[84] E.g., in Ohly's (1976, 64, 84) interpretation.

[85] Stewart (2008b, 596–597) suggests that the reason for the choice of pedimental decoration, in his opinion, representing the first and second Trojan wars, was to create an association with the Aiginetan role in the Persian wars, and he finds a confirmation of his idea in Pindar's *I.* 5.34–50, where the two Trojan wars, prominently featuring the Aiakids, first in company with Herakles, and then in company with the Atreidai, are juxtaposed with the Aiginetan role in the Battle of Salamis.

and Attica. For the local Aiginetans coming to sacrifice and worship at Aphaia, the presence of Athena on the pediments and the view of the city of Athens in the distance on the horizon would read as a powerful message: the gods and heroes are with us, on our side, now as before. The visual and topographic association would likely tell the same to foreign visitors to the sanctuary.

10.2.6 *Athenian Occupation of Aigina during the Peloponnesian War*

Whether Athenians had a chance to reciprocate in the ideological struggle with Aigina before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war is a matter of debate.[86] In the political arena, Athenians soundly defeated Aiginetans in 457 BCE, pulled down their fortification walls, confiscated the Aiginetan fleet, and imposed a tribute, which Aigina paid with some interruption (448–445 BCE) from 454 to 432.[87] In 431 BCE, at the onset of the Peloponnesian War, Aigina was occupied by the Athenians, and for the following twenty-seven years Athenians had a free hand in using Aiginetan resources and, no doubt, religious establishments, in the way they saw fit. After centuries of winning in the ideological war, Aigina was finally defeated in

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[86] The political statement the Aiginetans were intending to make with their placement of Athena on the pediments of Aphaia may not have lasted as long as the Aiginetans had hoped it would. In 458/7 BCE Aigina was defeated by Athens in a naval battle and besieged. It later surrendered on humiliating conditions: "they pulled down their walls, gave up their ships, and agreed to pay tribute in future" (Thuc. 1.108). It is possible that at this point in time Athenians made their own reply to the Aiginetan placement of Athena on the pediments of Aphaia. In 1985, Frederick Cooper presented an annual Mellon lecture at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, in which he discussed the origin of a base from the sanctuary of Athena Nike on the Athenian acropolis. Cooper argued that this base was one of a set of four, and that it came from the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina. He pointed out that the type of stone (poros), the reused nature of the blocks, the dressing of the bases (hacked away on the bottom and with similar chisel marks), the size, the rectangular sockets, all made it "inescapable," in his words, that the four belonged together. Cooper suggested that the four served as bases for columns forming a tetrastylon, "four columned free-standing structure around a sacred area," and he restored such a tetrastylon over the altar of Aphaia. Cooper argued that the base had to be transported to Athens before 438 BCE because it was then covered over in the construction of the Propylaea, hence, Cooper's choice of 458/7 BCE as the most plausible date for such a transfer. If indeed the Nike base had originally belonged to the sanctuary of Aphaia, we may see its transportation to Athens as another example of a continuous ideological war between Athens and Aigina, in which religious symbols were used as weapons of choice. Alternatively, bases with rectangular cuttings interpreted by Cooper as supports for a tetrastylon could have also accommodated stelae. Possible comparanda can be found at Metapontum (MetA28 and MetA29, as illustrated on figs. 109–110 in Doepner 2002, 69).

[87] *ATL* I, pp. 218–219, III, pp. 38, 57, 303; see further discussion in Polinskaya 2009, 249–250.

brutal physical terms in real war, and consequently the ideological struggle lost its propagandistic value, and ceased: after the exile of Aiginetans in 431 BCE, no one in the Greek world could be mistaken who was a more prominent power, Athens or Aigina. We may wonder at this point why the Athenians, now that they were in the possession of Aigina, did not go ahead with the long postponed project of bringing Aiakos to Athens. The answer is perhaps very simple: Aigina was now part of Athenian territory,[88] and the Athenians were perhaps arrogant or confident enough to think that their hold on Aigina would last, and hence they may have seen no need to move Aiakos from one part of the Athenian territory to another. Also, the very purpose for which Aiakos was to be moved originally had now been accomplished: Aigina was defeated.

We have no direct testimonies about the activities of Athenians on Aigina during the time of their occupation, but some epigraphic data can be interpreted as evidence of their presence: the inventories at the sanctuaries of Damia and Auxesia, and at Aphaia, as well as various *horoi* marking sacred and secular plots of land were most certainly inscribed at this time.[89] The ideological struggle between Athens and Aigina moved after 431 BCE to the level of comic derision: Aiakos, the venerated hero of Aigina, and the object of Athenian envy in the previous generations, is portrayed in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes in the lowly servile role of a doorkeeper of Hades. Aiakos' "honor," however, seems to be restored later in the fourth century, notably after the Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian war, when we find him in Plato's descriptions of the underworld as one of the Judges of the Dead, and he appears in the same venerable role in the visual representations from that time onwards (see 7.2.10).

The long and bitter rivalry between Athens and Aigina played out on political and ideological levels from the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE, but it may have been offset by one religious engagement of non-belligerent nature. Both states were members of the Kalaureian amphictyony, although we know not from what date. Since we know nothing about the manner of interaction between the members of this amphictyony in the worship of Poseidon Kalaureios, we can only guess that representatives of member states participated in a common sacrifice and celebration. Assuming that the amphictyony was in place in the 5th century BCE, then in spite of the vicissitudes of diplomatic relations between Athens and

[88] See discussion of this point in Polinskaya 2009 and above, 10.1.2 (p. 456 n. 23).
[89] See Polinskaya 2009.

Aigina, it must have provided a context for peaceful interaction between the members in a common religious setting. In this sense, the amphictyony may have served in the Saronic Gulf the same mediating role of a regional cult center that was on the panhellenic level served by such cult centers as Olympia and Delphi. On the other hand, we have to allow for a possibility that political motifs could intervene, whereby the host state would bar participation of some otherwise eligible members. In principle, however, at these sanctuaries and at times of festivals, representatives of enemy states had to interact in a peaceful and respectful manner, even if never giving up the competition on ideological level expressed in the recital of local myths, and more palpably, in the athletic contests where the victory of an individual always had a double significance as a victory of his home state. The interaction between Athens and Aigina in the context of the Kalaureain cult may thus have been an occasional opportunity to relax on-going hostilities, or alternatively, a chance to articulate ideological differences.

Although the relationship with Athens dominated the regional level of Aiginetan engagement, there may have been other religious interactions in the Saronic, whose traces, however, are detectable only in the Roman period. At the time, Aigina was a center of several religious cults that attracted the participation of many non-Aiginetans. One of these cults was the cult of Hekate (detailed discussion in 7.13). Another such cult might be hiding behind the term *hiera pentapolis*, a "sacred association of five cities," mentioned in the honorific inscriptions of the 2nd–3rd centuries CE (see 7.6.10). Since public feasts of the *hiera pentapolis* were hosted on Aigina, it is logical to assume that the island was the center of this religious association, and even more likely, the *pentapolis* was confined to Aigina rather than uniting Aigina and four other *poleis*. We have no means to determine a deity or a cult associated with the *hiera pentapolis* (detailed discussion in 7.6.10), and once again, this institution is unattested in pre-Roman times.

10.3 Conclusions

The multifaceted religious interaction between the states of the Saronic Gulf in the Archaic and Classical periods, especially between Athens and Aigina, appears to lend support to the notion of a common Greek religion. After all, several different communities participate in, that is, worship, one and the same deity, within the framework of the Kalaureian

cult. Athenians and Aiginetans lay claim to the same hero, Aiakos, and in addition, Aiginetans use the statues of Damia and Auxesia from the neighboring state of Epidauros and worship them with similar rituals to those of the original owners. The worship of Herakles also seems to make Aiginetans similar to, rather than different from the rest of the Greeks. And yet, the regional context also illustrates a series of tangible boundaries, and specific socio-territorial affiliations of cults that regulate interaction between neighbors: divine images (e.g., Damia and Auxesia, or the Aiakids) are not a communal property of any and every resident of the Saronic Gulf. Rather they belong to particular political communities and are rooted in particular locales. In order to avail themselves of the powerful assistance of specific deities, outsiders (those who are not citizen residents of specific host communities) have to either ask permission to use (Thebans ask Aiginetans), or steal (Aiginetans from Epidaurians) divine images from the hosts. A common understanding of the religious principles informing such interaction between host communities suggests that the Greeks religiously "speak the same language," but imbedded in the common language is the recognition of the social basis underlying local religious systems: there is "our land" and "our gods," and there is "their land" and "their gods." This apparent paradox is the engine powering ancient Greek religious behavior: sharing spawns competition, and competition betrays common interest. Local myths and cults become primary vehicles of self-definition and self-representation for ancient Greek communities in the Archaic period, while the Classical period reinforces their authority and efficacy: genealogical connections to epichoric deities and heroes, and an alliance with a select group of divinities serve as an expression of local civic identities. In the concluding chapter, we look into the inner workings of this paradox, asking how a common panhellenic religious dimension co-exists with distinct and numerous local religious mesocosms, and how local religious mesocosms depend upon the panhellenic religious dimension.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE AIGINETAN MESOCOSM AND THE 'PANHELLENIC RELIGIOUS DIMENSION'

11.1 Common and Particular in Ancient Greek Religious Experience

In chapters 8 and 9, my aim has been to demonstrate how the Aiginetan religious system constitutes a meaningful whole, via the interplay of local social needs and available religious responses. In chapter 10, we stepped outside the confines of the Aiginetan world to explore the mechanisms that hold that world together, that is, its physical and cognitive boundaries, as well as its regional context, that is, the interaction with neighbors which feeds into the Aiginetan religious mesocosm, and which in turn reacts to Aiginetan self-projections. I now come back to the question, raised at the beginning of this study (1.3): how the elements that combine to produce the particulars of the Aiginetan mesocosm relate to and inform our understanding of what Sourvinou-Inwood labeled the "panhellenic religious dimension:"

> [t]he latter is articulated in, and through, Panhellenic poetry and the Panhellenic sanctuaries; it was created, in a dispersed and varied way, out of selected elements from certain local systems, at the interface between the (interacting) *polis* religious systems—which it then also helped to shape. The Greeks saw themselves as part of one religious group . . .[1]

Apart from this definition, repeated in similar ways throughout the article, Sourvinou-Inwood did not elaborate in that study on her choice of the word 'dimension,' nor on Panhellenic poetry as a medium of interaction. Her examples of individuals' and *poleis*' interaction with the panhellenic religious dimension are limited to panhellenic cult centers: via *theôriai*, oracular consultations, and participation in athletic games. At the same time, the choice of the words 'dimension' and 'level,'[2] the inclusion of poetry, and her view of the evolution of the 'panhellenic religious

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[1] Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a [1990a], 300.

[2] "[T]he Greek deities existed at two levels—the local, polis level, and the Panhellenic level" (Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 148).

dimension' suggest that she saw it as extending beyond the cultic sphere. In an earlier study where she discusses the panhellenic and local dimensions of divine personalities, it is clear that she views 'panhellenic' not only as a cultic, but also as a conceptual dimension of mental images and ideas, articulated or discursively presented in panhellenic poetry.[3] It is this broader definition of the 'panhellenic religious dimension' that I will entertain in the discussion that follows, but the two components highlighted by Sourvinou-Inwood, that is, panhellenic poetry and panhellenic sanctuaries, will come to particular attention in the process.

It has been apparent throughout this study that the Aiginetan religious world in its substance and operational principles is both broadly comparable and wholly comprehensible as one among other Greek religious mesocosms. Its functionality, in addition, was informed and in part enabled thanks to Aiginetan integration into the broader Greek framework of religious communication—via regional and panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals, as well as via personal religious engagements at all levels. The many axes of comparability can hardly be overstated embracing as they do varied categories of verbal, visual, glyptic, choreographic, and architectural expression, as well as ritual behavior and religious rationale. The names of Aiginetan deities, with the exception of Aphaia, and the special case of Damia/Mnia and Auxesia/Auzesia, are all paralleled outside Aigina. Aiginetan sanctuaries, at least those that have been identified and excavated, display formal characteristics of sacred space recognizable in other parts of the Greek world, with *temenos* walls, altars, dining halls, temples, storage rooms, open air enclosures dotted with lustral basins, votive sculpture, and so on.[4] Aiginetan sculpture, displayed as votives in local sanctuaries or produced for foreign clients, was designed in a familiar Greek style, if we compare, for example, sphinxes, *kouroi* and *korai*, at the Athenian acropolis and at the Aiginetan Kolonna, and Aphaia (see 7.4.3, 7.4.5, 7.6.4). Aiginetans not only shared in the common Greek practice of making dedications to the gods, but often dedicated the same peculiar items as attested elsewhere (e.g., miniature armor at Aphaia on Aigina, and at the Heraion on Samos). In addition, Aiginetans sought to please

[3] For Sourvinou-Inwood (1978, 148), the existence of panhellenic sanctuaries and the notions about divine personalities encoded in literature together justify the use of the concept of Panhellenic religion: "the agents of Panhellenic religion, the Panhellenic sanctuaries and literature such as the Homeric poems."

[4] Aiginetan archaic temples are comparable to those at Athens, Olympia, and Euboia (see Bankel 1993, 170–171; Hoffelner 1999, 43, 111, 172; Wurster 1974, 115–119; Schwandner 1985, 128–129).

their gods with songs (e.g., for Aiakos on Aigina), choral dances (e.g., for Aigina-nymph), and athletic contests (e.g., for Apollo and for Aiakos on Aigina), as many other Greeks did in their respective locales on festival occasions. In art, many of the same subjects, for example, labours of Herakles, or adventures of Odysseus, were appealing to the Aiginetans as to other Greeks, and they show familiarity with the same myths.[5] We could go on adding further examples, but the point being made is surely clear: Aiginetans were part and parcel of the broader religious dialogue current among the Greeks.

At the same time, such commonalities, or similarities, were present on Aigina and in other Greek locations alongside numerous and important local differences. The overlap, indicating what was common, is significant precisely in demonstrating the permeability of religious (and sociocultural) boundaries between local mesocosms as well as in outlining specific areas of interaction where sharing was constituted as both legitimate and productive.

In some recent publications explicitly addressing the tension between the panhellenic and the local in Greek religious life, the cumulative effect of assembled similarities, overlaps and common features has often led to a leveling conclusion such as, for example, that our evidence illustrates "a religious system common to all Greeks."[6] In this perspective, the 'common' appears as a kind of modality that subsumes under its leveling plane the hills and valleys of the 'particular,' with the effect that the latter appears either as less significant or less systemic than the former, which is also seen as fairly static.[7] At the same time, some other studies point out that crucial nuances in the interplay between the common and the particular should be observed at various conceptual and structural levels

[5] E.g., the theme of Odysseus escaping from the cave of Polyphemos, on a Protoattic oenochoe from Aigina (Aig. Mus. 566; *LIMC* VI, p. 958, Odysseus 109, Ram Jug Painter, 675–650 BCE).

[6] Price 1999, 3: "The religious system exemplified in the *Anabasis* was one common to all Greeks. The 10,000, drawn from numerous Greek cities, were not just an army of Greeks, they were almost a Greek polis on the move. Their practices and attitudes illustrate a religious system common to all Greeks. They were able to operate easily with a common set of rules, despite the fact that they and their diviners were drawn from numerous cities in different parts of the Greek world."

[7] E.g., "The Greeks, of course, knew that other people had their own gods and worshipped them in their own ways and only with them were they uncertain over how to articulate common ground" (Price 1999, 4) and "[t]his book ranges widely in time, from the archaic period down to the second and third centuries CE (and indeed beyond). The system was, I believe, fairly stable over this long time space . . ." (Price 1999, 7).

in the Greek religious experience. For instance, as far as deities and their epithets are concerned, Jon Mikalson and Henk Versnel demonstrate that for a particular Greek community their deities were *both* the same and not the same as those of other Greeks.[8] This approach differs from that taken by Simon Price in not prioritizing what is common and downplaying what is different, but trying to appreciate the role of each. In what follows, the examination of further aspects of Greek religious life will aim to show that the Greeks operated in several cognitive and ritual dimensions, in some of which they on occasion were part of one common religious system, and in others of which they belonged to different religious systems.

It is widely acknowledged that local and panhellenic dimensions were not polar opposites,[9] but formed a continuum of an individual's religious experience, in which there was also room for regional, ethnic, amphictyonic, and other forms of involvement.[10] Few scholars would object to the

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[8] Discussed above in 1.4.

[9] Julia Kindt (2012, 123) claims otherwise arguing that "panhellenic is frequently contrasted with those religious practices that were specific to a particular polis, that found no extension on the 'panhellenic' level." She cites no references to scholarship to illustrate this presumably widely held view about contrasting religious practices, instead quoting from Herrmann (1972) and Kyle (2007) who make a practical and unassuming differentiation between the status of some sanctuaries and games as having a greater degree of social and geographic reach than others. Such pragmatic differentiation between the status of sanctuaries is not a statement about contrasting religious practices and certainly not an illustration of viewing "the 'local' and the 'panhellenic' as ultimately antithetical terms" (Kindt 2012, 124). For what other scholars see as a continuum, Kindt (2012, 154) offers the descriptor "flexible and fluid" ("the case study of setting up dedications at Olympia has illustrated the existence of a flexible and fluid conception of the religious culture, in which multiple identities above, below and beyond the polis level related to each other"), which is a point well-taken and not exactly new.

[10] E.g., Parker 2011, 58 (which seems an implicit response to the type of critique articulated by Kindt 2009): "But it [polis-religion model] . . . is certainly not a denial of the role of individuals and of groups, of private sacrifices and dedications, in Greek religion. Nor is it a denial that individuals went outside the confines of their city for religious purposes, to consult an oracle for instance, and that certain religious events were organized by supra-polis bodies such as amphictionies." See also Simon Price (1999, 108, 114) who outlines a continuum of options available to any individual Greek, whom he sees as "the basic unit operating within the overall framework of the private and public worship of the gods": from religious roles socially prescribed to them in accordance with their gender, age, family or civic status to roles freely chosen, but still "within the framework of civic cults" to yet broader choices, determined by "greater or lesser levels of interest in the cults of one's own or other cities," e.g., cults of Asklepios, or the Eleusinian mysteries. Onwards to "further options . . . which lay outside the framework of the established civic and Panhellenic cults"—one should note that Price joins, not contrasts local and panhellenic here—"[t]hese came, for example, from specialists in private initiation" (followed by examples of the cult of Sabazios, Orphism, Pythagorean and Bacchic cults). Cf. also Polinskaya 2010 on various contexts for sharing in sanctuaries and festivals outside one's local setting.

notion that there was room for local in panhellenic and for panhellenic in local contexts. *Epinikia* are the case in point: raising local achievements (and not only those of an athlete, but of his community as a whole in recent, as well as in distant past) to the level of panhellenic relevance and impact through performance at the games, and conversely, taking a panhellenic aura of authority back home (via re-performance at home)—as a symbolic capital to empower either local athletes (e.g., feeding into rivalries for local leadership), or local communities (boosting their patriotic self esteem). Dedications function in a similar way: an object of epichoric workmanship and symbolism could be offered at Olympia. A good example is a victory statue of the Aiginetan athlete Theognetos, made by Ptolikhos of Aigina, and holding "the fruit of a pine tree and of a pomegranate tree," whose symbolism Pausanias did not know but suspected the existence of an Aiginetan *epikhorios logos* that could explain it.[11] Conversely, an Olympic victory crown could be brought home and dedicated at a local sanctuary, for example, the Aiakeion on Aigina. Continuum thus accepted, the interplay between the local and the panhellenic would remain vague if we do not probe the comparability of various forms of religious expression and experience along the spectrum of panhellenicity. We might like to ask whether by identifying a particular facet or category of religious phenomena (e.g., sacrificial ritual, or the manner of arranging a sanctuary) as panhellenic we mean something absolute or relative. When we identify poetry as panhellenic and sanctuaries as panhellenic do we use the term 'panhellenic' in the same sense? Even if we mean by 'panhellenic' something as general as 'bearing the same symbolic/semantic/functional load within and attested throughout the Greek-speaking world,' is one panhellenic category so to the same degree as another category of panhellenic? For instance, were common Greek forms of sacrifice panhellenic in the same sense as a common typology of cult statues or of altars? And were names of the gods panhellenic to the same extent as types of worshipping groups? I suggest that it is worth the effort to look closer at what exactly makes any given religious phenomenon or category panhellenic.

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[11] Paus. 6.9.1. It is not entirely clear what kind of pine Pausanias had in mind. *LSJ* tentatively identifies πίτυς ἥμερος with Pinus Pinea, stone pine, although ἥμερος normally means "cultivated" with reference to trees, usually olive or fruit trees. Kindt (2012, 140) cites this an example of an unsuccessful attempt on the part of an epichoric voice at "striking a subtle balance between communicating specific information and addressing an audience from different parts of the Greek world."

To address these questions, I propose to parse those phenomena ordinarily identified as common/panhellenic in a more deliberate way than is typically done. We have noted already in chapter 1.3 that a combination of criteria, such as names of gods, panhellenic sanctuaries, a common stock of myths, the "homogenizing force"[12] (the "authority" and "the spell")[13] of Homer and Hesiod, as well as basic forms of ritual, and "a common religious tradition" reaching back to the Bronze Age period,[14] are seen by many scholars as panhellenic features, indicia of a common Greek religion.[15] Earlier in this book (1.3, 1.5, 2.3–2.4) I expressed my unease with the scholarly use of such a shorthand term as 'common Greek religion' because it obscures a crucial difference between the operating structures of agency and the means of religious expression, which, as will be my contention, were 'common,' that is, shared by the Greeks, in qualitatively different ways and to different degrees. I am therefore proposing to probe the relative panhellenicity of common religious aspects through the lens of Burkert's definition of religion as a system of communication, which I have found helpful in modeling functional axes of ancient Greek religious life. These axes are participants, settings, and means of communication. How would common divine names, Homeric poetry, panhellenic sanctuaries, et cetera, map onto the tri-axial model of religion as communication?

11.2 Through the Lens of Communication Model: Naming the Gods

In 1.4, I sketched out the issue of divine names through an intentionally polarized juxtaposition of "local deities and panhellenic identities." There, in Part I (chapter 1–6), and later in the main body of the book (in particular, chapter 7), my aim was to lay emphasis on the local dimension, and to answer the question of what makes local deities local. Here, I return to the issue of divine names and identities to address the panhellenic side of the issue. I start with gods (and other types of divinity) as divine participants in religious communication, and focus on divine names as

[12] Schachter 2000, 10.
[13] Burkert 1985, 120.
[14] Schachter (2000), using the expression he borrows from Parker 1996, argues for a continuity of some central figures of the Mycenaean pantheon into the historical period.
[15] Burkert 1985, 119; Sourvinou-Inwood 2000a [1990a], 300.

illustrating most potently the relationship between particular and common, local and panhellenic.

Naming is the most fundamental function of language and of cognition.[16] In the act of naming (creating a sign), the signifier (what is expressed and made available for perception and interpretation) and the signified (a mental idea behind the signifier) are two instrumental components, between which lies a gap that can be bridged (linking the two) in socially determined ways. For instance, each language has a particular word (sign) to represent a specific concept. The same concept, in another language, is represented by a different word, a different sequence of phonemes in speech and letters in writing. That the linking of a word to a concept is arbitrary, and socially constructed, is illustrated by the difference in languages: in English the concept 'tree' is expressed by a sequence of phonemes "tree," in Russian "derevo," in German "Baum," in Hebrew "etz." Herein lies the matrix of semiotics, or semiology in general—the nature of a sign: a signifier (phonetic, visual, gestural, etc.), and its arbitrary connection with what it signifies.[17]

With respect to gods and their names, an awareness of the gap between a concept/substance/essence and a symbol/signifier that manifests it is evident in the ancient Greek tradition in many contexts:[18] so, for example, Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 160–163) implies that the name/appellation (the signifier) could change, but the essence of Zeus (the signified) would remain the same, even if unknowable: Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐ|τῶι φίλον κεκλημένωι | τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω, "Zeus, whoever he is, if it is dear to him to be called so, this I call him . . ."[19] And according to Herodotus,

[16] Jonathan Hall (2002, 126, the opening of chapter 5, "Land and Peoplehood. The Ethnogenesis of Hellenes") cites from Dewey and Bentley (1949, 147): "naming is . . . itself a form of knowing. Naming does things. It states. To state, it must both conjoin and disjoin, identify as distinct and identify as connected . . . Naming selects, discriminates, identifies, locates, orders, arranges, systematizes."

[17] What I outline and draw upon here are the basics of semiotics as articulated by Saussure 1960 [originally published in 1916] and the field of structural linguistics. See a good summary in Ryder 2004.

[18] See an excellent summary of the issue (*polyonymia* of Greek gods) in Versnel 2011, 60–84.

[19] In the translation of H. W. Smyth (Loeb 1926): "Zeus, whoever he may be,—if by this name it pleases him to be invoked, by this name I call to him." Plato, in *Cratylus*, 395e–396a, speculates a similar gap between names and substance with respect to Zeus: "And his father also, who is said to be Zeus, appears to have a very excellent name, but it is not easy to understand; for the name of Zeus is exactly like a sentence; we divide it into two parts, and some of us use one part, others the other; for some call him Zena (Ζῆνα) and others Dia (Δία); but the two in combination express the nature of the god, which is

gods exist (nameless) prior to being given names by Homer and Hesiod; that is, in this conception, the signified (gods) exists independent of the signifier (individual names).[20]

The subject of common divine names widely attested throughout the Greek world (and beyond, e.g., in Hellenistic Anatolia) has been thoroughly addressed in recent scholarship, and discussed earlier in this book (see 1.4, passim in chapter 7, and 10.2.2). The paradox that we register in the Greek world is that common names (signifiers) sometimes do and sometimes do not signify the sameness of divine identity (the signified). The gap between the signifier and the signified varies: it can be as wide or as narrow as an individual or community wishes it to be, and as far as the culture allows.

It would appear that the multilocality of Greek gods and heroes (numerous sanctuaries of Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Herakles et alia, throughout the Greek world) and the evidence for the use of the same names (sometimes differentiated by toponymic epithets, but often not) requires the gap between the signifier and the signified to be always left open. Many poetic genres, however, exploit the gap either by closing it (in Euripides *Heraclidae*, Athena is the goddess of Athenians, and Hera of Mycenae; there are no other Athenas or Heras in the dramatic world of the play),[21] or, as we noted in Euripides *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, opening the gap between the name and the identity in order to dramatize it—see

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just what we said a name should be able to do. For certainly no one is so much the author of life (ζῆν) for us and all others as the ruler and king of all" (Transl. H. N. Fowler).

[20] Discussion of Aeschylus, *Ag.* 160–163: Versnel 2011, 49–50. Herodotus 2.52: ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι . . . ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· ("Originally, the Pelasgians used to make all their sacrifices praying to gods . . . but they made for no one of them either eponyms or names"). After learning various divine names from non-Greeks and receiving the approval of Dodona's oracle to use those names: ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον ("From this time they sacrificed using the names of the gods, and from the Pelasgians the Hellenes later received them"). Rosalind Thomas (2000, 278–281) provides a useful background for understanding Herodotus here, by offering a succinct excursus into the intellectual debate on natural and conventional names as reflected in Archaic and Classical Greek textual sources. In a wider application to language: In Plato's *Cratylus*, 384c–d, Hermogenes expresses this opinion: "I have often talked over this matter, both with Cratylus and others, and cannot convince myself that there is any principle of correctness in names other than convention and agreement; any name which you give, in my opinion, is the right one, and if you change that and give another, the new name is as correct as the old—we frequently change the names of our slaves, and the newly-imposed name is as good as the old: for there is no name given to anything by nature; all is convention and habit of the users;—such is my view" (Trans. B. Jowett).

[21] Such complete appropriation is no doubt a suspense of reality required by the genre of drama.

earlier discussion in 1.3). In discourse, therefore, the gap between divine names and divine identities could be productively exploited, for example, as we have shown with the Aiginetan Zeus Hellanios repackaged as Hellenic Zeus in the service of Athenians (see 7.20.5). In cultic contexts, it would appear, the gap had to be closed, with each cult place providing a specific spatial/temporal circumscription (or several) of the divine persona. In those cases, the mechanism of shifting registers or foci of consciousness (the model articulated by Henk Versnel—see above 1.4) may serve as an explanation for how the Greeks managed to come from Zeus at home (e.g., Hellanios) to Zeus at Olympia, or vice versa, and approach them as different, and yet the same. Pindar in *Nemean* 3.65–66 addresses the Nemean Zeus, but says that his blood flows in the veins of the Aiginetans, whose fatherhood he otherwise ascribes to Zeus Hellanios, and so in this case, for a reason, the signifiers (implicit geographic referents that multiply Zeuses) are devalued while the signified (the unity of Zeus) is privileged: the links between the signifier and the signified being arbitrary, the gap allows the poet to switch from one signifier to another while retaining the signified.

A divine name (= deity) is therefore neither one (local), nor the other (panhellenic) in essence, but is either. According to Saussure, a sign does not constitute a sign until it is interpreted, and ancient Greek individuals were continuously presented with a need to interpret divine names and identities in particular spatial/temporal, or discursive contexts. Hence the ambiguity of a deity (= divine name) would become a certainty of a particular kind in each given context (e.g., Homeric poem, Attic tragedy, panhellenic sanctuary, or local cult(s)), but it is that very ambiguity or polyvalence of the divine as embodied in the name that enabled the Greeks to move from one conceptual plane (context, register) to another without contracting schizophrenia. We should not expect that the other axis of religious communication, worshippers, would necessarily reveal the same interrelationship between common and particular, panhellenic and local, as did their divine counterpart.

11.3 Worshippers: Alone, Together, at Home, and Abroad

It might seem a simple task to locate and define worshipper activities and worshipper groups as either local or panhellenic,[22] but in fact the

[22] See above, note 9 above.

interplay between these categories is rather complex, and to understand it better we will first have to draw a number of distinctions. In ancient Greece, worshippers are found acting in two principal modes: as individuals and as members of various social groups. For an ancient Greek, his or her participation in individual and group religious activities would have constituted a continuum, a meshing of inter-related dimensions. This continuum connected household, kinship group, state, regional, and panhellenic orbits. An individual could make an offering to gods in gratitude for, or in hope of, a favor at home, or he could do so at a panhellenic shrine. In either case, an individual's right of access and freedom to worship would have been circumscribed in accordance with the rules of a given sanctuary, but would have likely depended on a common set of limitations (ethnicity, family, gender, age, and free/slave status),[23] while the range of concerns and religious responses available to one at home and abroad would have been virtually the same. Thus, at first glance, one fails to detect a tangible difference between the local and the panhellenic dimensions when they concern the servicing of an individual's personal interests. What should be emphasized here is that not any and every Greek sanctuary, but specifically panhellenic ones could accommodate an individual worshipper in the same way as his/her home sanctuaries. In other Greek, but not panhellenic sanctuaries, a worshipper would have always needed the mediation of a local host. Limitations of access made regular use of such sanctuaries inexpedient.

To move from an individual worshipper to communities of worshippers, we should point out from the start that there was no perceptible clash between individuals and their communities. A contrast between 'polis religion' and 'personal religion,' sometimes drawn in current scholarship,[24] implies that the concerns of the *polis* (related to state

[23] Cf. Lupu 2009, 14–21.

[24] Julia Kindt (2012, 17–18) cites the example of "consultations of oracles, such as those at Delphi, Dodona or Didyma or any of the less-known oracular shrines," those consultations being of a "very personal nature, the significance of which was more embedded in personal circumstances than in polis concerns." "The polis model is of little help to us in understanding the motivations, intensions and dynamics of these private oracle consultations. Greek religion transcended the polis," she adds. The critique here seems to me somewhat disingenuous. On the surface of it, there is no objection to Kindt's point that the recovery of a person's missing blankets (one of the questions recorded at the oracle of Dodona) would not have been a *polis*' concern. At the same time, no special interpretive model is in fact needed to understand the "motivations, intensions and dynamics of these private oracle consultations." Their motivations are not hidden, but explicitly stated, and are universal, timeless and in need of no model to explain them, relating as they do

business) should be seen as at the opposite end of the spectrum to the concerns of individuals (related to one's person). This can lead to an oversimplification.[25] Rather each party (state/community and individual) was invested in the interests of the other, and a whole range of scenarios is attested in which personal religious concerns/benefits were intertwined with those of the community, and vice versa, where the concerns and interests of the community responded to the concerns of and translated into benefits for individuals. When the state/community invests in the construction of a sanctuary/temple to a local deity this sanctuary provides a setting for an individual to address a deity with one's personal concerns. Conversely, when an individual wins in the Olympic *agon*, an *epinikion* celebrating his success serves as a praise to the local and/or panhellenic deities and pleasing them secures further favors to the athlete and to his community, for an *epinikion* is a chance to utter a prayer for the community as a whole (see, e.g., Pindar *P*. 8.98–100). Further examples can be added,[26] but the main point is clear: much of 'personal religion' overlapped

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to the recovery of property or of health, fulfillment of wishes or a need for guidance. To claim that 'polis model' is not able to address such personal motivations is misdirected, since this is not the objective of the *polis* model (see Parker 2011, 58 "not primarily a thesis about religion as a matter of imagination, conceptualization, belief; it is about organization, policing, control"). Also, by pointing to an example that spatially takes a worshipper away from one's home community (*polis*, or other) in order to address his/her personal concern Kindt is able to emphasize rhetorically the distance (physical and conceptual) and hence the separability between an individual and his/her political community. This however passes in silence over the possibility of an individual approaching his/her local deity with personal concerns at home. Would this example be less suitable because an objection might be raised that by acting within one's home terrain an individual remains under the authority of his state? Conversely, an oracle might be located within an individual's *polis* and regulated by the latter, in which case it could be said that the *polis* structures are accommodating the individual's personal concerns. That "Greek religion transcended the polis" is a point well taken. Michael H. Jameson (1997, 172) and Walter Burkert (1995) have remarked on this some decades ago.

[25] Sally Humphreys (2004, 130), e.g., remarks that "[t]he division between 'public' and 'private' religion is rather unhelpful for understanding cultic activities in the demes," since in her view "deme festivals will have been more intimate and less formal than those of the city", thus providing room for a kind of private experience for each individual participant. She gives further references to Aleshire 1994, Jameson 1998, Dignas 2002 on the problems of applying public/private distinction to cult.

[26] Robert Parker (2011, 133–134 n. 40, and 198) refers to a regulation recorded in the sacred law of Magnesia on the Maeander (*LSA* 32), that the bull set aside for sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis was fed for 6 months "by voluntary contributions from the populace" ("may it go well for those who donate"). In this example, individuals are invited to contribute voluntarily for fodder towards a communal sacrifice, in which personal and communal benefits will be conjoined. In general, communal sacrifices carried distinct benefits for individuals through an allocation of portions. Parker (2011, 151–152) points out that a sacrificial share "was synonymous with full membership of whatever socio-political group was

with communal. Individuals and their personal concerns relate in complex and manifold ways to the various social membership groups to which they belong. 'Concerns and interests' is only one dimension that helps to map out the complexity. The occasion of a religious action, manner of its performance/mode of participation (alone or in group), location (at home or abroad), as well as its outcome/benefit should be added to 'concerns.'

To aid our discussion, I propose a tabled view of the possible combinations of occasion, interest, and benefit, on the one hand, with religious action, mode of participation, and setting of religious action, on the other. I shall start with individuals and then turn to groups. Among different types of religious groups we are likely to encounter different degrees of internal cohesion and longevity, differing sets of motivations (interests, concerns), and a variety of settings. The aim behind the proposed exercise of mapping out the dynamics of individual and group religious experiences in ancient Greece is to see how the category of 'worshippers' relates to the notions of common and particular, panhellenic and local.

Occasions (1) and (2) present cases where an individual acts out of personal interest and for personal benefit, on one's own (or in conjunction with close family members) and where the same principles of cult behavior apply at their local/home level and at other shared, including panhellenic, shrines to which they have unmediated access. Occasion (3) envisions a scenario where an individual also participates in a religious act (an athletic *agôn*) on one's own, but where personal interests and benefits overlap with pancommunal. This is the case when an *agôn* forms part of the traditional honoring of a deity or hero in a given community, whereby the provision of that honor is incumbent upon that community. Thus, participation of individuals in such a local *agôn* partakes of both personal and public dimensions: it is a community service (*somebody* in a community *has* to do it), and yet it requires personal interest (e.g., in fame and prize) and personal initiative. Thus, individuals may be driven both by personal and communal interests, with their action also producing both personal and pancommunal benefits at the same time. Here, a community

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celebrating the rite," and that "[t]he importance of all this in the lived reality of ancient Greece can scarcely be overestimated. The unequal distribution of meat could reinforce hierarchies, equal distribution could negate them, a mixed mode of distribution could allow compromise between different political models." At the same time, the practice of carrying away meat, that is, consumption not in the group at the site of sacrifice, but at home in smaller, *oikos* or family groups, once again emphasizes that individuals would have had a vested interest in communal sacrifices even if they enjoyed the benefits in private groups.

	Occasion	Mode of participation	Action	Setting	Interest	Benefit
1	A woman gives birth;	individual	votive gift	home	personal	personal
	one person wants to harm another;	individual	curse tablet			
	a man sacrifices to household gods	individual and family/oikos	domestic sacrifice	home	personal/ family	personal/ family
2	Want of children; want of health	individual	pilgrimage to oracle/ healing shrine	abroad (when unavailable at home, or wish for other authority)	personal	personal
3	Local *agôn* in honor of god/hero	individual	participation in local *agôn*	home	personal + pancommunal	personal + pancommunal
4	Panhellenic *agônes*	individual	participation in a specific athletic event	abroad (unless hosts)	personal + kinship group	personal + kinship group + pancommunal
5	Local subcommunal festival (e.g., of a kinship group)	subcommunal membership group	participation in rituals (e.g., sacrifice and feast)	home	subcommunal membership group + personal	subcommunal membership group + personal
6	Local festival, e.g., Thesmophoria	local status group (age, gender, family status)	e.g., a female chorus; a *kômos* of youths	home	pancommunal + personal	pancommunal + personal
7	Local festival, e.g., the Panathenaia	entire local community (+ metics)	participation in customary rituals	home	pancommunal + personal	pancommunal + personal
8	Regional/ ethnic/ amphictyonic festival	representatives of select Greek communities	participation in customary rituals	abroad (unless hosts)	pancommunal	pancommunal
9	Panhellenic festival (e.g., Theoxenia at Delphi)	representatives of all Greek communities	participation in customary	abroad (unless hosts)	each participating community	each participating community
10	Initiation into mystery cult	ad hoc religious group	initiatory rituals	abroad (unless hosts)	personal	personal

has expectation for individuals, and a handful of individuals (and each one singly) have a chance to benefit the whole community. Extending the possibilities for individual participation in religious actions further, let us consider an individual's competition in a panhellenic *agôn*—occasion (4). The difference from (3) is that in this case there is no compelling need for an individual to participate, there is no pressure from the community determined by the need to provide honors to local deities. The interest is that of a person, his clan, or kinship group, and yet the benefits of success extend to the community, and not only to the victorious athlete and his family. So, a community might not have an interest and yet reap the benefits.

Moving on, from individual to group participation in religious actions, let us consider a subcommunal membership group (5), such as based on kinship or professional affiliation. Here interests and benefits are shared by individuals and by that group, but not by the home community as a whole. Such grouping as (5) is therefore very different from that of (6), where grouping is based on gender, age, and social status, and religious actions performed in prescribed groups are of interest and provide benefit to the community as a whole. So, for instance, married women celebrating the Thesmophoria, while enjoying the benefits of their roles, for example, in terms of feasting and merriment, are performing an indispensable service for the community, which only they can perform, by honoring the deity whose blessings would benefit everyone.

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, in formulating the concept of *polis*-religion, sought to identify the structures of authority and control regulating religious activity. The table we have used here focuses on the broader structures of 'agency' which account for a wider range of possible relationships between individuals and the community (whether *polis* or other).[27] Julia Kindt recently criticized the model of *polis*-religion for its inability to account for 'personal religion,' but she, in turn, defined 'personal religion' rather narrowly—according to the criteria of personal interest and personal benefit alone.[28] This approach also falls short of accounting for the full range of a person's involvement in religious life: as has been noted above, one's personal interests and benefits are not limited to individual religious participation at home and abroad. Some-

[27] Humphreys (2004, 130–196, which is an excellent discussion of demes' cultic activities in Athens) applies the notion of 'agency' more narrowly in order to highlight the roles played by demes as opposed to control of the city.

[28] Kindt 2012, 18.

times they completely coincide with group or pancommunal interests/benefits, sometimes they overlap them, and sometimes they diverge from them. 'Personal religion,' if one should wish to use this term, would need to account for an individual's religious involvement not only when he or she can be found acting on their own, but also within group activities. When an individual participates in a status group or kinship group, or in a pancommunal worshipping group, it does not mean that he/she takes no personal interest and does not derive personal benefit from it. Participating in the Panathenaia, an individual benefits from a sacrificial portion of meat by virtue of being a member of a social group, either a deme or a *phylê*,[29] and hence a group's interest is also an individual's, certainly at every level of local grouping (5 and 6), and perhaps as well at representational occasions (8 and 9), but to a lesser degree. Extending group participation to include all members of the community in a pancommunal celebration (7), such as, for example, the Panathenaia, we should note that the interests and benefits of individuals and community here completely overlap (see further discussion below). Pancommunal interests and benefits also extend to other shared festivals, such as ethnic, regional, or amphictyonic (8), although in the latter case, only a group of representatives, not each local community as a whole, participate in a religious action.

The notion of 'agency' allows for capturing the scope of traditional roles performed by members of a community in the service of local deities. To worship all of them in a proper, that is, traditional way (*kata ta patria*) serves as a guarantee of communal wellbeing. But not every member of the local community was entitled to participate in all rites at all times. In 8.7, we explored the dynamics of agency in the Aiginetan religious system to find that various components of local society grouped themselves into specific combinations according to gender, age, status, and function in order to engage in the worship of specific local deities: for example, only married women participated in the Thesmophoria, and only men competed in the Aiakeia. Only maidens sang and danced for Aigina-nymph, while only male kinsmen dined in honor of Poseidon (7.18.2).

It might seem that this kind of evidence might prevent us from seeing the community of Aiginetans of all ages and genders as one religious group. Would only such cases as (7) illustrate local community as one

[29] Parker (2011, 267) discusses possible scenarios of how the distribution of meat by deme could also fit in with the attestations of 'feasting one's tribe.'

religious group? Rather it would be fair to say that the ensemble, the totality of worshipping roles performed by various constituents of the Aiginetan community, together amounted to the service of the totality of local deities. Most of those roles were no doubt prescribed by ancestral custom, and their individual performers mattered less than the fact that they were drawn from an eligible group (presumably, free-born Aiginetan men and women). Thus, it is not so much the mechanisms of control, as the substance of agency, the complex internal dynamics of ritual performance, the acting out of multiple ritual roles in a variety of combinations, that defines the Aiginetan mesocosm as one community of worshippers. Only when each individual member of the community fulfills a prescribed ritual role (in all their variety) correctly and diligently can the proper service of communal gods, and hence the beneficial operation of the local religious system, be insured. The members of a local religious system are therefore interdependent, locked into a relationship of mutual responsibility.[30] Herein lies the difference with (7) and (8). Worshippers in a local religious system come together in a variety of groups on multiple occasions throughout the year to address one after another a series of communal deities. This sort of periodic engagement in worship of the same gods at the same place, in the same communal settings is not to be found either at the panhellenic, or at individual levels of worship in the Greek world.

Worshippers at an amphictyonic shrine, or participants in other corporative festivals and cults, for example, based on regional or ethnic membership, illustrate a principle, where access is widely open to several non-local communities, but is still limited in one way or another, to exclude just any and every Greek from claiming a right of access. For example, the Panionian was not in fact open to all Ionians, but only to the founding members of the sanctuary, and the Hellenion in Naukratis was open not to all Hellenes, but only to the founding members.[31] On such occasions, participants certainly formed worshipper-groups circumscribed by a joint communication with the same deity at a given time and place, yet these worshipping groups were ad hoc formations, in the service of a particular deity. What distinguishes them from the worshipper-groups in a

[30] Social responsibilities of an Athenian, Corinthian, or Aiginetan in their respective religious communities left plenty of room for personal engagement with the divine: various life cycle events (birth, coming of age, marriage, death), as well as business engagements (war, travel, etc.) would have periodically called for an individual's personal interaction with the gods, predominantly their local, but also those further afield, at oracular or healing shrines, as well as in mystery cults (occasion 10 in Table 1).

[31] Polinskaya 2010.

local religious system (occasions (6) and (7)) is that their communion was limited to the worship of one particular deity (e.g., Poseidon Kalaureios), or a small group (e.g., Demeter, Persephone, and Ploutos). Members of such groups were not bound together by ties of mutual responsibility with respect to the totality of the divine. Worshipper groups of this kind were therefore quite different from the community of worshippers as constituted within local mesocosms.

We finally arrive at group participation at the panhellenic level. Here, two possibilities need to be considered: firstly, group participation by communal representatives in a common sacrifice and/or *agôn*, and other modes of honoring the gods (9); and secondly, participation of individuals in group rituals, such as initiation, for example, the Eleusinian mysteries, or those of the Great Gods of Samothrace (10). (8) and (9) have in common the representative mode of participation, which distinguishes (8) from (7), while in both the interests and benefits remain the same—pancommunal. (9) is unique among the described modes of participation in providing a setting for bringing together representatives of all Greek communities who care to attend.

On the occasion of panhellenic festivals, for example, the Theoxenia at Delphi (see references in 7.6.13), representatives of different Greek communities would gather at one place, at one time, to participate in the same ritual addressed to the same god(s). On these occasions the Greeks formed one religious group, that is, one community of worshippers. It is precisely this framework of religious sharing that Herodotus had in mind when he made a reference to "shared sanctuaries and sacrifices."[32] Notably, out of four elements that constitute the *hellenikon*, blood, language, and the way of life (*ethea*) are described as "homoia," that is, "the same," and only "buildings of the gods and sacrifices" are described as "koina," that is "held in common," or "shared."[33] Thus, "koina" refers to the sanctuaries that had shared significance for Greeks of different localities, such as were the panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, Delos, Isthmia, Nemea, and others.[34]

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[32] Some scholars take the Herodotean reference rather broader, as referring to religion in general, e.g., Perlman 1976, 3, and her n. 7: "In spite of the feelings of common origin, religion, language and culture . . ." I have argued against such broad understanding in Polinskaya 2010.

[33] Polinskaya 2010.

[34] Schachter (2000, 10) points out the same, but sees in Hdt. 8.144 "the first stirrings of panhellenism."

What I am unable to suggest is whether the interests and benefits of the participating Greek communities at a panhellenic gathering (9) constitute, or translate into, one common interest and benefit—a common Greek interest—by analogy with cases (3), (6) and (7) where the interests of individuals and of the local community coincide. In the case of (9), the Greeks form one religious group and participate in the same religious action in the same religious setting on the same occasion, but it is difficult to be sure that they act out of common interest and for a common benefit. Our sources provide little help with discerning the understanding of the effect of panhellenic gatherings on individual participating communities. The closest we come to an articulation of a sentiment behind the panhellenic celebrations is in Isocrates *Panegyricus* 43–44:

> τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δικαίως ἐπαινουμένων ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν, ὥστε σπεισαμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας διαλυσαμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κοινὰς ποιησαμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέρως δ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ τάς τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνανεώσασθαι καὶ καινὰς ἑτέρας ποιήσασθαι, [44]... ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκα πονοῦντας, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν ἥκουσι,—τοσούτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνόδους ἡμῖν γιγνομένων οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη.
>
> Now the founders of our great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom by which, having proclaimed a truce and resolved our pending quarrels, we come together in one place, where, as we make our prayers and sacrifices in common, we are reminded of the kinship which exists among us and are made to feel more kindly towards each other for the future, reviving our old friendships and establishing new ties ... and no one lacks zest for the festival, but all find in it that which flatters their pride, the spectators when they see the athletes exert themselves for their benefit, the athletes when they reflect that all the world is come to gaze upon them. Since, then, the benefits which accrue to us from our assembling together are so great, here again our city has not been backward. (Trans. G. Norlin).

The benefits that Isocrates identifies as stemming from panhellenic gatherings are of a pragmatic nature and have to do with relations between humans (communities and individuals), not between humans and gods. Thus, although the Greeks constitute themselves as one religious group on panhellenic occasions, a perception of a common religious interest and benefit would appear to be lacking even in this context.

Curiously, the Greeks, if we can judge from the testimony of Isocrates *Panegyricus* 46, considered such occasions as rare: αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πανηγύρεις

διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συλλεγεῖσαι ταχέως διελύθησαν "while the gatherings at the other great festivals are brought together only at long intervals and are soon dispersed."

Panhellenic festivals opened access to all Greeks, but the grouping of Hellenes that would attend on any given occasion most likely varied, and so not *all* Greeks would be actually present at each. The latter circumstance had no bearing on whether a festival was to take place or not. No quorum was required: one festival could presumably attract representatives of fifteen Greek communities, and another of twenty-five. It is the principle of open access to all Greeks that defined these settings as panhellenic, not the actual representation at any given time. In fact, some communities could be shut out on purpose due to specific interstate struggles. And yet, the fact that not all Greek communities would have been, or needed to be present, also makes the panhellenic nature of these occasions rather more virtual than real: they were most certainly Hellenic, but not exactly pan-Hellenic. This observation is important in so far as it allows us to see the difference between the nature of the religious group constituted by the attending representatives of Greek communities in comparison with the nature of the religious group constituted by the members of a specific Greek community attending some civic festival such as the Panathenaia. The former were more ephemeral, more ad hoc, and very narrowly circumscribed with regard to the specifics of time, place, and the divine addressee(s) of the ritual action. The latter were more tangible, achieved at more frequent intervals during the year, and either as a whole or through various constituency groups addressing the totality of the *enkhôrioi theoi kai hêrôes* of their inhabited realm.

To add to the peculiarity of social commonality achieved at panhellenic centers, we may submit a chronological observation: this occasional phenomenon, of "all" Greeks forming one religious group at designated sanctuaries on the occasion of certain festivals, did not acquire panhellenic status until the 7th or even, in some cases, early 6th century BCE.[35] The panhellenic status of Olympia and Delphi develops over time as a mode of

[35] Morgan 1993, 18, 36. The 're-foundation' dates for the Pythian and Isthmian Games might be some indication. On par with (Nielsen 2002, 223), Jonathan Hall (2012 [2004], 270), who cites the scholarly consensus that "panhellenism" is marked by the "emergence of interregional sanctuaries and the dissemination of the Homeric epics," argues for a post-eighth century date for these phenomena.

mediation and interaction between well-defined political communities,[36] rather than springing up as a vague testimony to a panhellenic homogeneity of Greek religious life from early on. A transition from the status of a regional sanctuary to that of panhellenic should be factored into the equation. Finally, we may note that the panhellenic status of Olympia or Delphi referred only to the eligibility of access to ritual activities at their sites, and had no bearing on authority over epichoric religious affairs, unless the Delphic oracle was specifically consulted on this matter: in general, there was no central Greek authority that could dictate what Greeks did in their individual states.[37]

To conclude then, panhellenic festivals stand apart as a setting where Greeks shared in all aspects of religious experience: joining in a common ritual, at one and the same time and place, with a common intent and using common vocabulary as means of communication with the divine. Such panhellenic festivals periodically constituted the spatial-temporal settings where Greeks comprised a common religious group. Interaction at panhellenic festivals was therefore a specific area of overlap in the worshipping activities of the Greeks. Panhellenic sanctuaries acquired such status only gradually in conjunction with political developments of the Archaic period, and even when they did, they were not solely reserved for common rituals. Only some sacrifices at Delphi, Olympia, and other panhellenic shrines, were common to all Greeks: the bulk of religious activities, such as consultation of oracles and competition in games, focused on the personal or state interests of individual Greeks and their communities. Panhellenic sanctuaries served more often as arenas for articulating epichoric differences than for celebrating Greek unity.[38]

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[36] Morgan (1993, 36) suggests that the panhellenic role of certain regional sanctuaries "may be seen as a political necessity resulting from a pattern of aristocratic activity which began, or escalated dramatically, during the eighth century."

[37] Cf. Parker 2011, 40–41. When the Athenians required their allies, members of the Delian league, to send contributions of first fruits to Eleusis, as well as a panoply to the Panathenaia, and a phallus to the Dionysia, they had to justify their demands on special grounds (it was otherwise quite out of the ordinary). Here we see an Athenian attempt to constitute a broader religious community, of Athenians and their allies, on the basis of votive participation in the same cult, and thereby reinforcing their military alliance (Parker 1996, 221–2; 2005, 254, 330–332; Smarczyk 1990, 184–216).

[38] Cf. Scott 2010.

11.4 Communicating with and about Divinity: Forms of Religious Expression

All symbolic forms of expression communicate, and in religious communication, that is, in any form of intercourse between deities and worshippers, such symbolic forms pertain to verbal, visual, gestural, audio, motional, rhythmic, glyptic, and other categories. We have already remarked on the fact that by and large such symbolic forms of expression were widely shared by communities situated far and wide across the Greek-speaking world. We can list here forms of cultic architecture, votive and cultic statuary, types and shapes of ritual equipment; verbal media such as hymns, paeans, prayers, curses, imprecations, oaths; dances and *agônes* of various kinds; common attitudes to ritual purity, common views on the inviolability of sanctuaries, common typology of ritual actions, and so on. In the area of symbolic communication, the panhellenic, common, shared characteristics overwhelmingly dominate the local.

One form of religious expression in particular is most often cited as a major contributor to the 'panhellenic religious dimension.' It is Homer and other epic and lyric poetry and song.[39] Here indeed a contrast is often drawn between epichoric versions, or traditions, and the so-called panhellenic ones. The distinction between local and panhellenic in this context is qualitatively different from local and panhellenic as relating to the inner cohesion and solidarity of worshipping groups.

Besides an adherence to the most general elements of narratives, such as 'Greeks won the Trojan war, 'Agamemnon was their leader,' we should note the use of recognizable cultural narrative patterns: for example, a hero has a divine parent or patron; involuntary manslaughter leads to exile; a foreigner marries a local princess; special/magical objects (often armor) help a hero to achieve his goals, and so on. The recognition, and the utilization in composition, of these narrative *topoi* was a common

[39] Besides Homer, the so-called Epic Cycle poems that work around the substance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are panhellenic in form and subject matter, even if they add various epichoric details to panhellenic substance: *Aethiopis* and the *Sack of Ilium* are attributed to Arktinos of Miletos (floruit in 776 BCE), the *Little Iliad*—to Leskhes of Pyrrha (or Mytilene) ca. 660 BCE, Cypria—to Stasinos of Cyprus (no date, but possibly the same as Leskhes of Pyrrha), *Nostoi*—to Agias (or Hegias) of Troizen, *Telegony*—to Eugammon of Cyrene. See Burgess 2001 and Davies 1989. Epichoric epic traditions are represented, e.g., by a triad of *Titonomachy, Corinthiaka, Europia*, which Martin West (2002, 109) regards as "a sort of Corinthian epic cycle transmitted under the name 'Eumelos,'" dated to the late 7th–mid-6th centuries BCE.

Greek (panhellenic) way of weaving a narrative. Sometimes, these *topoi* proved even more compelling as structural elements than an adherence to some prevailing version of content. In other words, the features of panhellenic poetry were both an agreement about a panhellenic subject matter, and about a panhellenic way of telling a story.

Among means of communication *with* and *about* the divine, heroic and genealogical epics, as well as other forms of hexameter poetry such as hymns to the gods, are most commonly cited as constituents and vehicles of the panhellenic religious dimension. Sourvinou-Inwood and Walter Burkert, as we have noted earlier, placed a particular emphasis on the role of panhellenic poetry.[40] Genealogical epics, such as the *Ehoiai*, i.e., the C*atalogue of Women*, and the *Great Ehoiai*, as well as the epics of Eumelus (focused on Corinth) and of Asius of Samos, show a greater degree of epichoric elements than the Epic Cycle, but in both, the heroic and the genealogical epics, the panhellenic and epichoric dimensions intertwine: heroic poetry incorporates local substantive details and sometimes reflects local interests of their authors, and genealogical poetry while more narrowly focused on local heroic lays strives to inscribe them into the panhellenic narrative and connect them to the central subjects of the panhellenic canon. Considering the Aiginetan material, we do not find a self-standing genealogical epic as such, but the local narrative tradition found its way into the *Catalogue of Women* and into the *Alkmaionis*, as well as into the lyric poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides, and into prose accounts of Classical and Hellenistic writers (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Theogenes and Pythainetos).

The main elements of the plot and dramatis personae of the Homeric epics took their widely acknowledged shape by some time in the early seventh century BCE. At the same time, points of secondary importance could still be contested. So, the Athenian and Megarian variations of two verses in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Plutarch *Solon* 10 and Strabo 9.1.10 (see further this section)). We should also adduce here the bold Aiginetan intervention into the Homeric canon with an alternative localization of Aiakos and the Aiakids on Aigina (9.2.5). It is quite certain from the Aiginetan evidence that the epichoric narrative tradition acknowledged

[40] See above, section 11.1, and Burkert 1985, 119: "The authority to whom the Greeks appealed was the poetry of Hesiod, and above all, of Homer. The spiritual unity of the Greeks was founded and upheld by poetry—a poetry which could still draw on living oral tradition to produce a felicitous union of freedom and form, spontaneity and discipline. To be a Greek was to be educated, and the foundation of all education was Homer."

the authority of Homeric epics: firstly, the very impetus to connect their local Aiakos to the Thessalian father of Peleus must have had to do with the appreciation of the heroic fame of the Aiakids sung by Homer; secondly, there are clear efforts to work with the Homeric tradition in maintaining the Thessalian localization of Peleus and Achilles by claiming Aigina only as a birthplace of Peleus, while letting him reside, rule as king, and engender Achilles in Thessaly (more on this in 9.2.4).

The specificities of 'content' are what really mattered, however: the poetic form could be dropped, and the story converted into prose, but the substance would continue to be communicated, proving its ultimate significance:[41] for example, in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, historiographers and mythographers began to convert earlier poems into prosaic summaries,[42] retaining the information that was valuable. Gregory Nagy defines panhellenic poetry, on the basis of content, as a product of "an evolutionary synthesis of traditions:"

> By Panhellenic poetry, then, I mean those kinds of poetry and song that operated not simply on the basis of local traditions suited to local audiences. Rather, Panhellenic poetry would have been the product of an evolutionary synthesis of traditions, so that the tradition it represents concentrates on traditions that tend to be common to most locales and peculiar to none.[43]

The precise evolution of the Homeric epic canon is bound to remain hypothetical, but it seems that panhellenic and epichoric dimensions coexisted from as far back as we can trace them: epichoric sagas contributed to the composition of the panhellenic canon,[44] and they continued to

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[41] West (2003, 27–28) on the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus: "This composition was valued more for its contents than for its poetry, and the poetic text was largely displaced from circulation by a prose version, still under Eumelus' name, that told the same story in what was perhaps felt to be more an accredited format . . . The work was concerned with the origins of Corinth and the history of its kingship, but it also took account of its western neighbor Sicyon."

[42] West 2003, 4 (with reference in footnote to Sadurska 1964): "The Hellenistic artists who depicted scenes from Troy and who named Cyclic poems and poets in their works were probably already using prose summaries, not the originals."

[43] Nagy 1994 [1990], 54.

[44] The evolution of the *Iliad* as we know it, according to West (2011b, 55) is reflected in the cardinal set of characters (1 Messenian, 1 Ithakan, 1 Lokrian, and 4 Thessalian, and 1 Euboian): "In these eight heroes, I suggest, with their particular talents and particular roles in the saga of Troy, we may identify eight primary members of the personnel of an eleventh-century Thessalian *Ilias*, from which the eighth-century Ionian *Iliaka* developed by the accretion of additional characters, episodes, and sub-plots." West 2011b, 64, e.g., names "an important saga zone" connecting Thebes and the Argolid. See West 2011a, 28–37

develop after the Homeric canon had been shaped:[45] molding themselves around the canon (in complementary fashion) as we saw in the Aiginetan case (9.2.5),[46] and sometimes besides it. In addition, we should note that poetic forms of folk lays must have also coexisted with prose forms from times immemorial (a contemporaneous folkloric repertoire of any cultural group typically contains both poetic and prose genres), and the fact that we witness how the content of stories survives transition from poetry into prose in 4th–2nd centuries BCE in Greece reminds us that we would be amiss to see it as a linear progression (the reverse transition, from prose into poetry, being equally possible). Rather the seeming predominance of poetic forms in early Greece should indicate the prevalence of poetic/sung performance as an effective mode of dissemination,[47] but Milesian tales, and other such prose forms must have played their role alongside poetry and song.

Nagy acknowledges "the interconnected development of traditions alongside each other,"[48] but to my eye there is little evidence for "an evolutionary synthesis of traditions," and even less for the notion of *alêtheia*, a single 'truth' as "the criterion of Panhellenism."[49] It is difficult to find

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on Aitolia (the home country of Diomedes' father Tydeus), and the kingdom of Pylos as sources of epichoric traditions reflected in Homer.

[45] West 2011b, 50: "In principle it is only to be expected that what has come down to us as a story about Troy should have absorbed material from other, unrelated sagas of varying antiquity, pre-Trojan and perhaps post-Trojan." West (2011b, 50–52) outlines a trajectory from "the poetic tradition about the Pylian wars of the thirteenth century" (Nestor) via Aitolia (with Oineus, Meleager, Tydeus), picking up Ithakan lore (Odysseus) on the way, and on to Lokris (Ajax son of Oileus) to Phthiotis "to join the reservoir of late Mycenaean Thessalian epic which . . . must be postulated as the main source of the later Ionian tradition," localized in Western Ionia, that is, Euboia (61–64).

[46] Cf. West 2003, 28: "Mythical histories had to be constructed for them [Corinth and Sikyon] in the archaic period. For Corinth the first step was to identify it with the Homeric Ephyra, the city of Sisyphus, which lay "in a corner of the Argolid" (Il. 6.152) but whose location was not firmly established."

[47] West (2011a, 36–37) compiles a list of nine of what to him looks "very much like epyllia, Einzellieder of the sort that the old Analysts often assumed as the building blocks of epic. There is every reason to suppose that the *Einzellied* was what an epic singer commonly, even usually performed: a self-contained episode that might or might not be understood to have a definite place in a larger context. Demodokos' two songs of the Trojan war (ϑ 75–82 and 499–520) are of this kind."

[48] Nagy 1994 [1990], 53.

[49] Nagy 1994 [1990], 63. Cf. also his view that "the *alêtheia* of Greek poetry tends to contrast with the divergence of local poetic versions in the overarching process of achieving a convergent version acceptable to all Hellenes" (p. 60) and "I would argue, however, that *muthoi* 'myths' stand for an undifferentiated outer core consisting of local myths, where various versions from various locales may potentially contradict each other, while *alêtheia* 'truth' stands for a differentiated inner core of exclusive Panhellenic myths that

evidence for the process of gradual convergence when epichoric lyric productions of the Archaic and Classical periods (e.g., Pindar's *epinikia* or paeans) continue to incorporate and articulate, and possibly generate new stories of gods and heroes. The local productions display both an awareness of and a complex interplay with the Homeric and Cyclic canons, while the latter testify to the mechanisms of communication and exchange between epichoric versions, a certain mutual awareness between various local traditions.

If we take the genre of *epinikia* as a gauge of both epichoric visions and of panhellenic pretensions, then we would search in vain for a convergent truth. Inter-state poets (e.g., Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar) worked to promote particular epichoric interests of their clients with a view to an impact to be achieved in the panhellenic arena.[50] The result was not so much a compromise as an unrelenting competition, in which there was always a winning and a losing side. Athenians (cf. Pherekydes of Athens), it seems, continued to oppose the Aiginetan claim to the Aiakids long after everyone else acquiesced. If Athenians never quite agreed that the Aiakids were Aiginetans, most if not all other Greeks did (although one certainly wishes to know what the Thessalians had to say on this subject).

Rather than a process of convergence of pre-existing local epic traditions into panhellenic, we might speculate that the spread of some version of Homer generated imitation, producing multiplication of local variations, leading to a multiplicity of truths, and also creating a complex discursive environment of contemporary competing versions. As Michael Gagarin suggests for Greek law—it should be seen not necessarily, or not only as a tool for conflict resolution, but also as a tool for conflict regulation,—so the medium of poetry can be seen not so much as a tool for resolving conflicting versions, but a medium for regulated competition between them. In fact, the case of a dispute between Athenians and Megarians for the possession of Salamis is linked in our textual tradition to their respective claims based on epichoric versions of epic.[51] Epic poetry was cited

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tend to avoid the conflicts of the local versions" (p. 66). As far as I understand Nagy here, he is referring to such minimal general narrative elements as "Greeks won the Trojan War," "Odysseus was from Ithaka" as constituting the uncontested 'truth' in contrast to contested and contradicting narrative elements (local myths).

[50] Many studies have been dedicated to this subject in recent years: see, e.g., Wickersham 1991; Cairns 2005; Kowalzig 2007.

[51] Wickersham 1991 discusses the use of poetic (epic) evidence in the dispute between Athens and Megara over the possession of Salamis in the time of Solon. Each party quoted a different version of Homer. Athenians: Plutarch *Solon* 10 = *Iliad* 2.557–558, "Ajax led

as evidence and served to convince the arbitrating party (the Spartans) to adjudicate in favor of the Athenians. What clearer proof of the interplay between the simultaneously panhellenic and local nature of poetry as a medium can we ask for: it appears to be a panhellenic premise that, firstly, poetry should be considered valid testimony in dispute, and, secondly, that there should be alternative versions in circulation; at the same time, while there is a common panhellenic attitude with respect to the authority of poetry, there are disagreements in substance between local versions.

In the poetic medium then, common Greek features belonged to linguistic, thematic, formulaic, stylistic, typological, structural, and to some extent substantive levels (the overlap in substance is what, I think, Nagy means by the 'truth'). 'Epichoric poetry,' if such a shorthand term is to be used, was panhellenic in every way, except in some features of dialect that affected diction/metrics, and most significantly in the matter of substance.[52] There was not one truth and many lies, however, but rather many truths and an open access to the epic canon for all Greeks: a new content could always be successfully forged if done in accordance with panhellenic rules and for an audience who was likely to embrace it: such was, for example, the new genealogy of Ionians, Dorians and Achaeans as presented in Euripides' *Ion*.

I will now summarize the conclusions reached in sections 11.1.2–11.1.4. We have examined the interplay between local and panhellenic in the way it maps onto the model of religion as communication. What we have discovered is that divine participants in communication suffer from an inherent semantic ambiguity, or polyvalence. They are neither essentially local nor panhellenic, but can be either in a given context. Semantic polyvalence, which contains the potential for panhellenic unity, is nonetheless consistently exploited with either a positive or a negative charge in the operational principle of 'our gods' versus 'their gods.' As far as agency is concerned, worshippers vacillate between less mediated (individual worship) and more mediated (group worship) cultural determinacy. For individuals acting on their own, a panhellenic religious setting is as good as local. Within group worship, however, the local differs markedly from the panhellenic. Overall, the interplay between the local and the panhellenic

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twelve ships from Salamis/ and stood them where the phalanxes of Athenians stood"), and Megarians: Strabo 9.1.10 C394 ("Ajax led ships from Salamis and from Polikhne/and from Aigeiroussa and Nisaia and Tripodes"). Five Spartans arbitrated and ruled in favor of Athenians.

[52] See, e.g., West 2011b [1988], 35–73 and 2011b [2002b], 392–407.

appears far more complex than a simple opposition between personal and communal, or between *polis* and the 'panhellenic religious dimension.' Finally, means of religious communication, or forms of religious expression, are panhellenic by and large. In narrative traditions, however, form and content are panhellenic and local in different ways: the form is uniformly panhellenic, while the content can be either.

Thus, we see that the panhellenic religious dimension extends far beyond sanctuaries and poetry, and that the common is present in the different axes of Greek religious experience in different measure and in different manner. It is therefore difficult to agree with Pierce that "this religious system was one common to all Greeks" without further qualification, whereby we would be returned to the beginning of the present section (11.4).

11.5 The Ways of Being Greek: Religious Forms in the Semiology of Culture

I have repeatedly argued in this study in favor of appreciating the locally-anchored operational mode of religious life in ancient Greece and at the same time I used the metaphor of language, in its two modes of *la langue* (panhellenic) and *la parole* (local), to describe the role of common panhellenic religious phenomena as both products and enablers of interaction between local mesocosms. Thus the language-like dual nature of religious means of communication allows both particularist (and often conflicting) messages, for example, Athenian versus Aiginetan, to exist side by side, while at the same time enabling an understanding between them. Albert Schachter remarked that "[g]iven its environment of separate, independent, antagonistic states, Greek religious life ought to have been just as particularist, just as locally focused, as other aspects of Greek society, and yet, it was not so," there was "common ground among the Hellenes in their cult."[53] Certainly, we saw that not only in cult (unless Schachter uses it as a stand-in for all of religious experience) but in every aspect of Greek religious life, common ground was to be found. What we have sought to demonstrate, however, is that commonality was present to a different degree in different aspects of Greek religious life.

If we look beyond the most explicitly discursive form of communication with the divine, which is verbal, to other forms of communication, such

[53] Schachter 2000, 9–10.

as visual, glyptic, musical, choreographic, architectural, and gestural forms we would find that they function within the religious sphere as much as outside of it. Content alone (and that includes intention imparted to it by a maker/performer) is what often distinguishes a form of expression as religious as opposed to something else. In form, a statue of a deity and that of a human athlete might be indistinguishable; a cake baked for home consumption or for a ritual offering might look exactly the same and made different only through the intention behind the act of baking; hexameter verse might be used to compose an epitaph to commemorate a nurse, or a hymn to praise a deity; a sacrifice is made distinct from casual slaughter through the meaning ascribed to it by performers and the set of ritual gestures used to carry it out.

Because means of communication with the divine overlap in form with non-religious forms of expression, thus tapping into wider socio-cultural paradigms, they unsurprisingly represent the greatest degree of shared symbolism among the Greeks.

Since the religious dimension was tightly woven into most other dimensions of Greek life, we will be amiss not to consider how the overall cultural environment may have interplayed with the conceptualization and practical application of religious principles. Here, we may consider Greekness in three related ways: 'doing things in a Greek way,' 'doing what other Greeks do,' and 'feeling Greek.'

Although we lack a broad sample of opinions on this matter, Herodotus being our most explicit testimony (and we have reasons to consider him an exception) it is still indicative that in the Herodotean definition of the *hellenikon* (8.144), religious categories of "shared sanctuaries and sacrifices" count among the broader conceptualization of hellenicity that involves the sameness of language, blood, and customs (*ethea*). By the late fifth century BCE, Athens can be seen privileging cultural ideals (*paideusis* and *ethea*), albeit of an Athenian flavor, as the basic definition of Hellenicity. Only earlier in that century, in the post-Persian war decades, we for the first time register a discourse with pretensions to panhellenic relevance. Thus, speaking on behalf of the Greeks (e.g., as we see in Athenian tragedy, and in the Athenian *epitaphios logos*), and putting forward the categories of 'upbringing' and 'ways of living' as determinants of Hellenicity is a reflection of the fifth-century consciousness of what it meant to do 'as Greeks do' and to do 'what Greeks do.'[54] This self-conscious discourse reflects a concern with how the Greeks felt about their Greekness.

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[54] See, e.g., Mitchell 2007; E. Hall 1989, 2007; Flower 2000.

The evidence for common ways in the "what" and "how" of the Greek life is, however, present already in the Archaic period. Surely, Hesiod meant his *Works and Days*, with its wealth of practical advice, to have a wider relevance than just his native Askra, or even Boiotia. In a recent study of Arkadia, Nielsen placed side by side religious and non-religious activities, which by the 6th century BCE, developed into a standard collection of practices and in which all Greeks were involved at about the same time: "building temples, striking coins, making Panhellenic dedications, and sending athletes to Olympia and Delphi."[55] Marriage alliances between Greek tyrants in the 7th–6th centuries BCE presume a common inter-state framework and a shared cultural code for this important aspect of social life. In the economy, the use of coins, and in political life, the use of councils and people's assemblies, are familiar to most communities of the Greek-speaking world already in the Archaic period. Adoption of hoplite armor and phalanx formation, and establishment of overseas *apoikiai* are some of the other widely recognized examples of what Greeks did as other Greeks, and often at the same time.[56] This set of considerations leads to the related question of how what was common was also characteristically Greek, or which of the common features were so.

In the political dimension, Oswyn Murray argues, it was a specific "form of political rationality that the Greeks chose to substitute for other forms of communal life, whether social, religious, military, or economic."[57] John Davies comes to a similar point of view and specifies the elements that comprise the special Greek 'political rationality.' Of these, he identifies 'segmentation' as a chief principle of organization of Greek microstates, and a particular articulation of citizenship as another, while also giving room to religion,[58] in contrast to Murray. Michael Jameson, like

[55] Nielsen 2002, 223.

[56] The subjects are widely researched and the bibliography is extensive. For a recent summary of current views, with key bibliography, see Hall 2012 [2007], 93–118, 155–177.

[57] Murray 2000, 242.

[58] Davies (1997a, 32–33) on segmentation: "what matters is the basic notion of creating or formalizing a set of segments, of roughly comparable size and standing, which can fulfill a range of functions and can thereby articulate a population in ways independent of fluid, short-term, or personally-dependent agglomerations such as households or chiefs' followings;" on religion: "The focus has shifted [since 1979], from antiquarian concern with rituals and beliefs to the exploration of social functions and semiotic systems, while the perception that the formation of such systems was an intrinsic and major component of the process of microstate formation has both stimulated books of importance and laid the foundation for a new, far more religion-orientated generation of scholarship. The challenge now is rather to decide what, if anything, will count as a satisfactory narrative-cum-analysis of the roles of cult, ritual and belief in the Staatskunde of the Archaic period, given that religion does not intrinsically order itself in microstate format"; on citizenship:

Davies, included religion in the formula as indispensable to Greek social organization.[59]

Thus, 'what the Greeks did as other Greeks' is tied by these scholars to a particular Greek way of thinking, and for some of them, religion figures prominently within it. The question of the unity of Greek religion, or of Greek religious experience, parallels similar questions asked about other social institutions of the ancient Greek-speaking world, in particular law.[60] In this area, recent conclusions reached by Michael Gagarin are instructive for our field of study. Gagarin responds at once to Finley and to continental scholars who reject Finley's view and continue to refer to "an abstract spiritual unity (geistige Gemeinsamkeit) formed around certain basic concepts (Grundvorstellungen):"[61]

> My own view is that a useful concept of unity can be found in judicial procedure in a broad sense, including not just the process of litigation, but such matters as organization of justice (legislation, courts, judges/jurors, magistrates), structural features of legislation, and particularly the use of writing (Gagarin 2001). Among the broad similarities in this area are that laws in Greece reveal a large concern with procedural matters, that automatic procedures involving oaths or witnesses are relatively rare as opposed to open forensic debate of the litigants and free and rational decision making by a judge or judges, and that writing is extensively used for legislation but is relatively little used during the legal process. In all these respects, most other premodern legal systems differ from Greek law.[62]

Gagarin denies substantive, but asserts procedural unity of Greek law. It is the unity of approach and manner of dealing with situations of dis-

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"the emergence or formalization of that notion of a man's combined rights and duties vis-à-vis the community" and "the degree to which, in each community at various times, there came to be convergence, complete or partial, between the circles of (1) those who could/should fight, (2) those who had direct access to community rather than household justice, (3) those who could own, buy, inherit land, (4) those who could vote and speak in an assembly, and (5) those who could hold public office or priesthoods."

[59] Jameson 1997b, 172: "This process [refers to the tendency of "groups of people with common interests, but without formal political status . . . [to] constitute themselves as a demos and the indispensable ritual activity that accompanied it seems characteristic of Greek society and not dependent on the existence of a polis."

[60] Gagarin 2008, 7: "The issue here is whether, or in what sense, we can legitimately or usefully speak of Greek Law as in some sense a single institution or system" in the context of Greek political fragmentation.

[61] Gagarin (2008, 7) refers to Finley 1966, "The Problem of the Unity of Greek Law," for whom "general features of 'Greek Law' . . . are so general as to make the concept useless, whereas at any useful degree of specificity, the evidence (which to be sure is limited) contradicts the theory of a unified entity" and to Wolff 1975, 20–2 and Biscardi 1982.

[62] Gagarin 2008, 7–8.

pute, conflict, social tension, and of the general face-to-face functioning of ancient Greek communities. Similarly, in Greek religion, procedural, or formal, unity can well be supported (see above this section), while the greatest particularities would often be found in the substance of epichoric narrative traditions and the solidarity of local religious groups, the latter in particular circumscribed by ancestral law, *ho patrios nomos*. An adherence to particular ancestral practice works to perpetuate a sense of identity within a local religious community, as was already clear to De Coulanges and Durkheim.[63]

To recap then: the sheer volume of activities that the Greeks of one state were engaged in as much as their neighbors is compelling. Most Greeks were doing at the same time what other Greeks were doing, and many of them were doing those things in a like manner. It is certainly not surprising then that the choice of 'what' and 'how' to do in the religious sphere was also widely shared by the Greeks. A peculiar feature of ancient Greek history is that all of this commonality of 'things done' and 'means of doing them' never actually led to an amalgamation into one political community. Different communities and areas of the Greek world developed in parallel and in interaction with one another, but they seem to have used most of their common arsenal of cultural means of expression for the purpose of articulating their particular identities. In Greek inter-state behavior as well, neither in the Archaic, nor in the Classical period could Hellenicity, or panhellenism, be seen as an operating principle: rather, on a day to day basis, Greeks were motivated by their respective states' self-interests.[64] None of these observations are new, of course, but my purpose in rehearsing them here is to provide a broader socio-historical backdrop for the assessment of respective roles of the panhellenic and the local in

[63] De Coulanges 1877; Durkheim 1965 [1912]. See also Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1989, 13.

[64] Cf. Hall 2002, 219: "attachment to one's family, local community and polis, the need to subsist and make a living and the necessity of defending oneself against (Greek) neighbors were concerns that were probably far more important than a putative Hellenicity that frequently had little practical relevance in daily life." Cf. Perlman 1976, 5: "During the classical period, the panhellenic ideal served as a tool of propaganda for the hegemonial or imperial rule of a polis; it served to justify the hegemony and the mastery of one polis over other states by proposing a common aim, war against the barbarians." Similarly, Hall (2002, 205): "It is the culturally-based Athenoconcentric notion of Hellenicity that is central to the doctrine of 'Panhellenism'—a term coined by modern scholars to describe the various appeals made by late fifth- and early fourth-century intellectuals to foster Hellenic unity and to submerge interstate differences in a common crusade against the 'eternal enemy,' Persia."

religion. My own engagement with the evidence led me to see the presence of common, panhellenic elements in every aspect of Greek religious life, but also to see them displaying their panhellenic nature or exerting their panhellenic influence in varied degrees, whose respective weight did matter. An *epinikion* as a genre of choral poetry follows a conventional, we could call it panhellenic, form, and aims at making an impact on the panhellenic audience; at the same time, it incorporates references to epichoric cultic realia and conveys a particularist message for the benefit of the victor, his family and his home community. Due to this interplay of local and panhellenic, an *epinikion* is suitable for public performance at a panhellenic venue, the site of the games, and on an athlete's home turf. The panhellenic setting of the games provides common ground by constituting the attending Greeks as one worshipping group, while the conventional form of *epinikion* transmits the panhellenic poetic and ritual norm even when it communicates epichoric substance and is performed by an epichoric chorus. The more we appreciate such nuances of difference, the better we should be able to perceive the opportunities that were afforded by forms of religious expression in the spheres of both social integration and social differentiation.

With a better awareness of the relative impact of panhellenic and local dimensions, we may finally turn to answering the question of what made the Aiginetan religious world Aiginetan. In as much as the anchoring category of a local religious system appears to have been the community of worshippers, it seems that the answer might lie in the substance of what it meant to be Aiginetan.

11.6 The Ways of Being Aiginetan: Religious Forms as Signifiers and Signified

In the preceding section we saw how religious forms of expression were but one instance of doing things 'which, when and as' other Greeks were doing at the same time. It has, in fact, been suggested in scholarship that we should be viewing Greek religious phenomena not alongside, but indeed as "embedded" in all spheres of Greek life.[65] Just as the different manifestations of 'common Greekness'/panhellenicity in every aspect of Greek religious experience emerge as but one of 'the many ways of being

[65] On embeddedness see Bremmer 1994, 2–4.

Greek,' so we ought to ask whether 'the many ways of being Aiginetan' also find a correlation in Aiginetan religious life, and if so, whether the Aiginetan religious symbols are those that we have identified as local in our exercise of mapping the local and the panhellenic onto the tri-axial model of religion as communication.

We have argued for seeing the affiliation of a worshipping group with a land and a system of cults as the basis for identifying functioning religious systems. We shall now look into the various dimensions of "belonging" that define Aiginetans, in order to observe how the discourse and the practice of religion translate into the discourse of identity. Among other sources, we are fortunate to have Pindar's and Bacchylides' *epinikia* written for Aiginetan athletes to give us an insight into how Aiginetans conceptualized themselves or wished to be portrayed. One presumes that those lyric poets were choosing such ways of representation as would have been agreeable to their clients. While they cannot give us an absolutely full range of local perspectives, they are nonetheless indicative.

Firstly, a cluster of characterizations derives from the physical environment that defines Aigina as a geographic entity: it is an island, and her inhabitants are 'islanders.'[66] The island's commanding position in the Saronic Gulf determined its prominent role in controlling shipping routes both to Attica, and to the Peloponnese. At the same time, the island is quite compact, small enough to be observable in its full circumference from the highest peak of the island, the Oros. The peak in turn is observable from all surrounding coastal areas and hence served as a weather barometer in antiquity (Theoph. Περὶ σημείων 1.24, see further Appendix 2). It was not accidental that the geographically prominent peak should come to be identified as a seat of divine presence—the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios,—and its geodesic function—bound up with Zeus' role as rain-giver (see 9.2.1). Hence, Pindar's description of Aigina (*Pa.* 6.124–125), in one breath, as a ruler of the Dorian Sea, and a shining star of Zeus Hellanios:

ὀνομακλύτα γ' ἔνεσσι Δωριεῖ
μ[ε]δέοισα [πό]ντῳ
νᾶσος, [ὦ] Διὸς Ἑλ-
λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον.

Wherever in the surrounding region one looks from, whether from the Athenian acropolis (see Fig. 29), from cape Sounion, from the Isthmus,

[66] Cf. Paus. 2.29.2: Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας.

from the acropolis of ancient Epidauros, or from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, one sees the peak of the Oros in the distance. In antiquity, the sight would have more likely than not brought to the mind of an onlooker the myth of Zeus Hellanios' supplication by Aiakos on behalf of the Greeks. Thus, one meaning of being Aiginetan was to be from that island in the middle of the Saronic Gulf where on the highest mountain peak there was a sanctuary of Zeus who had sent rain to the surrounding region at the time when the earth would not bear fruit. The visual referent evokes a narrative, and the narrative evokes divinity, and the link with both the place and the god communicates Aiginetan identity.[67] That the link between the signifier (the peak of the Oros) and the signified (the myth of Zeus Hellanios, the father of Aiakos, and the patron of Aiginetans) is arbitrary and culturally and historically circumscribed is illustrated by the possibility of opening the gap between the signifier and the signified, and substituting the signified by means of rhetorical co-optation. The peak of the Oros and the cultic figure of Zeus Hellenios, in the Aiginetan discourse, stand for Aiginetan identity. In the Athenian discourse, voiced by Aristophanes, the 'signified' is changed, a different meaning is ascribed to the peak and the name of Zeus: the semantic polyvalence of the epithet Hellanios (= Aiginetan, but alternatively = Greek) allows Aristophanes to detach Zeus from Aigina and give it to the Athenians to be used for promoting a specifically Athenian version of hellenicity rather than of Aiginetan-ness (see 7.20.5).

Bound up with the Aiginetan identity as 'islanders' in the Saronic Gulf is their identity as 'seafarers.' From Pindar we could draw numerous examples along the same lines, but one will suffice, from a fragment of *Isthmian* 9 that remarks on the Aiginetan fame connected to the use of ships:[68]

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[67] Wickersham 1991 in a similar way shows how the loss/gain of Salamis impacted the Megarian and Athenian senses of identity: "The loss of Salamis had been a severe blow to the Megarians, whose identity needed the possession of that island. Megara was prevented from being Megara . . . There was nothing to be done about the transfer of Salamis to Athens by the sons of Ajax, but repairs were made in another time, and Megarian title to Salamis was established as valid for the age *before* the sons of Ajax, in the time of Ajax himself and earlier . . . In this way Megara lost an island today but recaptured it yesterday . . . We also see the centrality of myth to a polis' self-concept, and how all its myths are interwoven. The historical loss of Salamis changed Megara's and everyone's view of what it meant to be Megara. Megara became not only a city that did not have Salamis, but one that perhaps never really did." (pp. 21–23). "If Megara's sense of itself as a polis was strained by the loss of Salamis after the Spartan judgment, so had the Athenians gotten into a similar crisis of civic spirit before the successes of Solon in the field and in court . . ." (p. 25).

[68] De Ste. Croix (2004) and Hornblower (2007) interpret these lines as a reference to the navy, while Kowalzig 2011 sees them as a reference to the merchant fleet (further in 8.7.3). More on Aiginetan naval identity: Irwin 2011a.

κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυ-
σικλυτὸς Αἴγινα·

Famous too is Aigina, renowned for her navy. (Trans. W. H. Race).

In their own minds, and in the public opinion of the Greeks, at least as late as the 6th century BCE, Aigina was the birthplace of ship-building.[69] So tells us a fragment of Hesiod (MW 205), which revealingly conflates the Thessalian attributes of the Homeric Aiakids with characteristics appropriate to the islanders of the Saronic:

ἣ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκεν Αἰακὸν ἱππιοχάρμην . . . (1)
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἥβης πολυηράτου ἵκετο μέτρον,
μοῦνος ἐὼν ἤσχαλλε· πατὴρ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,
ὅσσοι ἔσαν μύρμηκες ἐπηράτου ἔνδοθι νήσου,
τοὺς ἄνδρας ποίησε βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας. (5)
οἳ δή τοι πρῶτοι ζεῦξαν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας,
<πρῶτοι δ' ἱστί' ἔθεν νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο>

And she conceived and gave birth to Aiakos, who fights from a chariot. Now when he came to the full measure of desired youth, he chafed at being alone. And the father of men and gods made all the ants that were in the lovely isle into men and wide-girdled women. These were the first who fitted with thwarts ships with curved sides, and the first who used sail, the wings of a sea-going ship. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

Here, Aiakos (born on Aigina) is still characterized by his Homeric epithet as ἱππιοχάρμην, 'one who fights from a chariot' (suitable to a Thessalian hero, but not to one from an island that could not possibly breed horses). And the original population of the island is credited with being the first shipbuilders and navigators (lines 6–7). This characterization sits rather oddly next to the preceding claim of Aiginetan origin from ants (lines 4–5). The fragment testifies to the contemporary combination of self-projections that the Aiginetans were putting out there: of being descendants of the Homeric Aiakos, of being Myrmidons, of being autochthons, and of being the primordial shipbuilders and navigators. This cluster of claims sounds like a rather tall order, and yet here it is, in the Archaic textual evidence. I will come back in a moment to Aiginetan self-identifications as Aiakids and Myrmidons. For the present, it is their identity as seafarers that is of interest to us. That Aigina indeed still held the reputation of a

[69] I do not rule out the possibility that this characterization was also an attribute of the Phthian Myrmidons, who being coastal people could have been described as pioneers of navigation. In that case, this attribute of Myrmidons, if borrowed from the Thessalian tradition, would have made a perfect fit with the Aiginetan setting.

dominant sea power in the middle of the 5th century BCE, we find further testimony in Herodotus, who unambiguously and strikingly calls Aiginetans θαλασσοκράτορες (Hdt. 5.83), later echoed by Strabo 8.6.16. This identity is entwined with an aetion for another Aiginetan cult, that of Damia and Auxesia. According to Herodotus, it was their position as "sea-rulers" that enabled Aiginetans to harm (ἐδηλέοντο) Epidaurians by robbing them of the images of their deities, transferring them to Aigina and instituting a local cult for them (see 9.2.3 and 10.2.2). Their ability to rule the seas thus put Aiginetans into position to expand their religious world by bringing new divine forces to their side. Thus, being Aiginetan also meant being able to use their seafaring power to increase their island's divine protection.

One more Aiginetan self-characterization focuses on Aigina as a physical place. It is their re-interpretation of the Thessalian ethnonym Myrmidons. While it is rather unproblematic and conventionally derived from an eponymous ancestor Myrmidon in Thessaly (see above 9.2.5), on Aigina (upon the appropriation of the Homeric Aiakid stemma) this ethnonym becomes opaque and generates a folk etymology that connects the name to a similar-sounding noun *myrmex*.[70] The aetion is already present in Hesiod, as we saw above (MW 205): there, the loneliness of Aiakos, and the absence of any human population for him to rule, inspires the metamorphosis of ants into humans.[71] Subsequently, some rationalizing explanations of the aetion seek to connect the origin of the myth with the agricultural practices of the historical Aiginetans who build underground structures and dig up earth to improve the quality of their soil.[72]

In Pausanias (2.29.2), however, in contrast to all other versions that involve the folk etymology of the name Myrmidons, the origin of the Aiginetan population lies directly in the earth, from which Zeus "sent forth"

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[70] Paraskevaidou (2003) offers some hypotheses on the "totemic" origins of such ethnonyms that refer to animals, but she conflates what may have been the prehistoric origins of the ethnonym in Thessaly with the secondary folk etymology of the name (as deriving from the noun "myrmex") that could have only arisen at a time (e.g., date of the *Catalogue of Women*) or in a place (Aigina) where the name Myrmidons was no longer transparent. Her observations on the dual semantics of "ants" and "fear" (p. 366) are worth noting since this association may well have informed the perception and representation of mythical Myrmidons in ancient literary sources.

[71] On the subject of the Aiginetan origin of Myrmidons, see Carnes 1990.

[72] Theogenes of Aigina, 3rd cent.? BCE (*FHG* IV 511 = Σ Pind. *N.* 3.21) and Strabo 8.6.16 are our main sources (see full text and translation in Appendix 5).

the people (τὸν Δία ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φασὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς). The derivation of the Aiginetan population either from the zoomorphic inhabitants or directly from the soil of Aigina functions in the same way: emphasizing their indigenous origin, intimately bound up with the local land. To what extent the Aiginetan claim of autochthonous origin might be a response to contemporary Athenian claims of autochthony, or whether both are popular discursive strategies of the time, is less significant than the fact that several aspects of the Aiginetan identity are rooted in association with the land of Aigina, its rocky soil, and its physical nature as an island ruling the sea and deriving its power and fame from the practice of seafaring. The claim of autochthonous connection to Aiginetan land, just as the 'islander' and 'seafaring' identities, is also anchored in the religious discourse of the island: in a belief that Aiakos, son of Zeus and the founder of the local cult of Zeus Hellanios, was the ultimate cause of the creation of the Aiginetans. It would seem, from the logic of the myth, that if it were not for Aiakos' loneliness, the Aiginetans would not have been called into being. Another sense of being Aiginetan, therefore, was being descendants of the autochthonous inhabitants of the island, a product of Zeus' handiwork.

Aiginetan identity as Myrmidons doubles up as a claim to autochthony and as a link to the Homeric Thessalian subjects of the Aiakids Peleus and Achilles. It is my contention that the Myrmidons "came" to Aigina in the same genealogical package with the Thessalian Aiakos, Peleus, and Achilles. The conflation of Thessalian and Aiginetan features in the Hesiodic fragment (MW 205), as discussed above, is all too obvious. The interesting feature of the way the Myrmidon identity functions on Aigina, however, is that it bridges the rooting of identity in the local soil and in the genealogy of heroes. This is the second cluster of characterizations that Aiginetans promote in their discourse: their dual origin, on the one hand, as Achaeans, from Homeric Aiakos, Aiakids and their subject population, the Myrmidons, and on the other hand, from the children of Herakles, the Herakleidai. These identities link Aiginetans with mythological people, with heroic ancestors, rather than with their land. The two lines of genealogical identifications, as named above, seriously clash with one another. This clashing suggests that perhaps the two genealogical claims were not originally meant to be deployed simultaneously, or else that they were called into being as a result of related, but less directly contradicting claims, for example, as a result of the Aiginetan consciousness of their Dorian ethnicity, and of a separate claim that their Aiginetan

Aiakos was the same as the father of the Homeric hero Peleus (see my arguments for this reconstruction in 9.2.4).

Whatever their exact origin, by the time we find both claims widely deployed, that is, in the 5th century BCE, the Aiginetans seem little baffled by the obvious clash. In Pindar, the Aiginetans are descendants of Aiakos, and via him, of Zeus: for example, *Nemean* 3.64–65. This particular facet of Aiginetan identity, their identification with the Aiakids of old, was celebrated in the local cults: most certainly of Aiakos and the Aiakids, probably of Zeus, and likely in the cult of Aigina-nymph (see above 7.3.3). Thus, the Aiginetan Aiakid identity was conspicuously displayed and rehearsed within the calendar of religious festivals and in the visual decoration of local sanctuaries (e.g., the Aiakeion, and possibly, the temple of Aphaia), as well as embedded in the city's topography (e.g., the grave of Phokos, the Telamon's mole in the Hidden Harbor—see Appendix 2). Thus, one way of being an Aiginetan was to be an Aiakid, that is, an heir to their fame, glory, and legacy of heroic deeds.

While the linkage with the Homeric Aiakid heroes is both bold and unashamedly contrived, the Aiginetan Dorian identity is better factually documented, in as much as that enthnicity was discursively constructed and deployed by much of the Peloponnesian population, including the Eastern Argolid, and in particular, Epidauria. Aiginetans could cite the same stories of the Dorian migration from the mainland as were part of the wider narrative of the Return of the Herakleidai and the inheriting of the lot of Temenos. Aiginetans of the historical period spoke and wrote in Doric dialect (further in 9.2.1), which was a strong enough claim of being Dorian beyond a mere wish to be counted among the descendants of the Herakleidai.

Not only Pindar (*I.* 9), but Herodotus, and all later historians and geographers, attribute the origin of the Aiginetans to a migration from the Peloponnese, and in particular, from Epidauros, explaining it as a movement of Dorians who formed the army of the Herakleidai. Some sources, perhaps post-Classical (e.g., Σ. *O.* 839a–b, which cites no earlier authority for this version) found it necessary to address the inevitable contradictions of the two alternative genealogies (from the Aiakids and from the Heraklids), putting the rule of Aiakos, and that of Heraklids in a sequential order. The fact that such attempts are registered only in post-classical scholastic efforts, confirms that in earlier times, the two conflicting claims were not necessarily perceived as a problem. After all, Athenians at the same time, that is, in the late 5th century, were not troubled by claiming a

three-pronged identity as autochthons, Ionians, and children of Athena.[73] The Metapontians of South Italy as well were playing with multiple claims of identity at the time: being Achaean (in the Homeric sense), descendants of the Tirynthian (from the Argolid) royal house, and in deriving their cult of Artemis from the Arkadian source: so we read in Bacchylides 11.[74] Multiplying connections to various heroic ancestors might have been a conscious contemporary trend rather than a clumsy failure to see blatant contradictions: there were narrative techniques aplenty to work out the contradictory bits, while to establish one's community's heroic credentials with as many famous heroes as possible was more than worth a go. To be Aiginetans, in the 5th century at least, was also to be Dorian. What exactly that meant and whether it was religiously expressed, we have no sure means to show. Suggestions have been made about the nature of Aphaia's cult in this respect (see 7.4.5), and Apollo's epithet Oikistes (see 7.6.6) brings the possibility of a cultic elaboration of ethnic origins to mind, but both are nothing more than vague speculations, very possibly misguided. The only secure indication of a cultic articulation of Aiginetan Dorian identity is in the aetion of the cult of Damia and Auxesia, where the use of Doric dress (ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα) and of long dress pins (*peronai*) connects Aigina with the other Dorians, her military allies, the Argives, in opposition to the Athenians who change their fashion to Ionian (ἐσθῆτα Ἰάδα): buttoned rather than pinned-up *kithon*, so that they would no longer be able to use pins (ἵνα δὴ περόνῃσι μὴ χρέωνται, Hdt. 5.88).

We may now consider separately two more facets of Aiginetan identity that obliquely suggest themselves in our evidence. I wonder, for instance, whether a sense of being Peloponnesians, in a territorial sense, not just Dorians or Herakleidai in an ethnic sense, may have been a facet of Aiginetan identity. In particular, a vexatious debate on Aiginetan membership in the Peloponnesian League in the pre- and post-Persian war period, points in that direction. There is perhaps more evidence contra rather than pro Aiginetan membership,[75] but the possibility of conceptualizing Aiginetans as Peloponnesians is nonetheless indicated. Although

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[73] Loraux 1993.

[74] Cairns 2005. See also McInerney 1999, ch. 5 "Heroes, Myths, and Ethnicity" (on epichoric traditions explaining the origins of population in particular settlements of Phocis and the foundation and naming of those settlements in different terms (e.g., Panopeus, Hyampolis, Abai); and Larson 2007, ch. 2 "Epic Heroes: Traditions of Boiotian Migration and Habitation."

[75] Figueira 1993, 87–112.

one cannot make too much of this evidence, it is still worth pointing out that in the Delphic accounts of the 330s–320s, an Aiginetan *naopoios* is most of the time listed alongside other representatives from the eastern Peloponnese.[76]

Finally, there is the question of how much the Aiginetans perceived and presented themselves as Hellenes, alias "good Hellenes," as Barbara Kowalzig puts it.[77] Unlike the Athenian sources, which, throughout the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, abound in the self-identification of Athenians as exemplary Hellenes,[78] the Aiginetan sources (at least those that survive) barely touch on this subject. Whether Aiginetans were in fact interested in promoting themselves in this capacity is left for scholars to work out. Barbara Kowalzig argues that much on the basis of Pindar's *Paean* 6, and Elizabeth Irwin uncovers the same motivation behind the Herodotean agenda of books 1–5.[79]

Barbara Kowalzig argued in a recent monograph that Aiginetans used the medium of cultic song, a paean for Apollo at Delphi, namely Pindar's *Paean* 6, to promote their own version of panhellenism and hellenicity to the wider Greek audience. The motivation and context of such usage was a post-Persian War Greece that was characterized by competing ideas of Hellenicity, in which Athenians were prominent in proposing and imposing their own version of hellenicity, while other states, for example, Aigina, offered alternative visions. Kowalzig argues that Aiginetans aimed to refute the accusation of medism and represent themselves as "good panhellenists" via such performances as that of *Paean* 6, at the Delphic festival of Theoxenia.[80]

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[76] E.g., in *CID* 2.74, l. 78; 2.75, l. 51; *FdD* III 5:48, l. 16.

[77] Kowalzig 2007, 207–210.

[78] Thuc. 2.41 ("we are the school of Hellas"), Isocrates *Panegyricus* 50 ("And so far has our city distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name Hellenes suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and that the title Hellenes is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood." Trans. J. A. Freese).

[79] Irwin 2011b.

[80] Kowalzig 2007, 209–210: "While Aiginetans were much maligned in some traditions for their medism, those Aiginetans who commissioned public monuments—including the victory odes—were unreservedly keen to point out their devotion to the Greek cause . . . there is a more complex response, one that involves Aiginetans and Athenians embroiled in a definition of Panhellenism and Panhellenic commitment, a debate which formed a crucial part in the pervading questions of what should be the political and, by association, economic consequences of the Persian Wars."

It is a point well taken that *Paean* 6 "construes a claim of the Aiakid importance [for the Delphic festival of Theoxenia] and its worshipping community" and therefore promotes Aigina and Aiginetans on the panhellenic arena of Delphi, but the significance, to my mind, lies in the cultic presence of the Aiakid Neoptolemos at Delphi, not in a presumed association between the aetion of Zeus Hellanios and the sacrifice for εὐετηρία at the Theoxenia.[81] To entertain the idea that the theme of grain supply as an Aiginetan panhellenic contribution is the main purport of *Paean* 6 would indeed require as much ingenuity and imagination as Kowalzig is willing to invest in it. The lack of evidence for Aiginetans actually supplying any other Greek state,[82] but themselves, with grain, is a paramount obstacle, in my opinion.[83] Not Aiakos, I would argue, but another hero,

[81] Cf. Rutherford 2001, 331–2. The conceptual connection that Kowalzig wishes to build is between the presumed focus of the Delphic Theoxenia on prayers for εὐετηρία (good crop, in Kowalzig's interpretation), Aiakos' alleged role as a lifter of famine, and Aigina's presumed economic role in supplying grain to mainland Greece (2007, 219). The problem with Kowalzig's hypothesis is that she is trying to hit not just two, but about five or six birds with one stone, and the evidence simply cannot take the strain of so many hypothetical claims pulling in different directions. An example of an over-strained associative and symbolic linking is when Kowalzig puts a burden of proof on "the splendid early fifth-century tradition of Aiakos prompting Troy's first destruction." Here she means a single mention in Pindar (*O.* 8.30–36) that Aiakos was summoned by Apollo and Poseidon to help them build the walls of Troy. She continues: "In so far as the Trojan War may have been fought not least over the exit from the Hellespont—such a mercantile "re-interpretation" of Homer is bound to raise some eyebrows—that Aiakos should be the first Greek hero to have ensured access to the Pontus"—this is Kowalzig's reading of Pindar's story: the Trojan wall was breached in the part that had been built by Aiakos, hence he "ensured access to the Pontus"—not only puts Aigina into close rapport with the Black Sea trade, just as Xerxes had observed, but adds to Aiakos' privileged connection to the grain-supply. Aiakos thus emerges as a hero somehow concerned with the routes that the grain took before coming to mainland Greece, and to Athens in particular" (Kowalzig 2007, 213). Thus, in Kowalzig's logic, a Pindaric vignette on Aiakos' role in the building of Troy's walls becomes a stand-in for the Greek gaining of access to the Black Sea grain trade, and Aiakos becomes the hero in charge of the Greek grain supply, allowing Aiginetans to make a claim, through the performance of *Pa.* 6., on the international arena of Delphi, to being the benefactors of all Greece. Hence, the Aiginetan contestation of what should be defined as panhellenic versus the Athenian version of panhellenism.

[82] Kowalzig (2007, 212) provides no real evidence in support of her assertion: the bare fact of the Aiginetan involvement at Naukratis leaves us in the dark both about the nature of Aiginetan imports from Egypt, and about their destination. It is equally uncertain how we are to interpret Hdt. 7.147.2, a reference to corn-bearing ships observed by Xerxes at Abydos, making their way from the Hellespont bound to Aigina and the Peloponnese does not necessarily mean that all ships were Aiginetan and destined for sale in the Peloponnese.

[83] If the Aiginetans ferried grain to the Greek markets, then they certainly had no compunction about selling it at a great profit to themselves. It would be arrogant for the Aiginetans to claim that their profit-making enterprise was also a special favor to the Greek

Aiakos' great-grandson Neoptolemos, whose life and death feature prominently in the first and second triads of the *Paean*, is the main leverage of Aiginetan self-promotion in the song, and in the panhellenic discourse at the Theoxenia. Neoptolemos is portrayed as the Aiakid who enjoys the prominent role of an overseer of divine justice in heroic processions at the Delphic Theoxenia, and he is the Aiginetan claim to their privileged position at Delphi (see detailed discussion in 7.6.13).

There is no doubt that to muster an enviable reputation within the peerage of Hellenic communities would have been one of the Aiginetan ambitions. It does seem to me, however, that they sought to gain this reputation by promoting (directly and vociferously) those other facets of their identity that were outlined above: as islanders, seafarers, autochthons, Myrmidons, Aiakids, Dorians, Heraklids, and perhaps Peloponnesians. Self-promotion as good Hellenes seems not to have been at the top of their agenda, which is not to say it mattered not at all, but that ways of detecting it are not apparent.

Having thus reviewed the numerous ways by means of which the Aiginetans identified themselves through the connections to the local land and to their ancestors (variously constituted), we should note that certain socio-cultural characteristics also feature as hallmarks of Aiginetan identity, at least in the Classical period. These are the characteristics of justice and hospitality to strangers.

> Pindar, *I.* 9.4–6
> τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ στάθμᾳ νέμονται
> οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν
> ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες·
>
> Her citizens live in obedience to their rule,
> transgressing neither divine law nor justice
> due to strangers (Trans. W. H. Race)

These characteristics are rehearsed in nearly every Aiginetan ode (e.g., *N.* 4.11–13), and evoke associations with the reputation for justice of their land's hero Aiakos (further in 7.2.8), once again wrapping into one bundle historical and myth-cultic identities.

In rounding up the survey of various facets of Aiginetan identity, we should note that while every facet of Aiginetan identity was reflected and

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community, and would hardly help an alleged Aiginetan objective of rehabilitating their public reputation tainted by medism. My critique of seeing Aiakos as the lifter of famine is in chapter 7.2.9, and a discussion of the role of Zeus Hellanios in chapter 20.

refracted in the religious discourse, Aiginetans were not all those things at once. One or another identity would come into focus now and again when required. So it was with the social functions of deities as well: in chapter 8 we saw that a variety of Aiginetan deities served as markers of identity depending on the context. Finally, it is important to recognize that the multiple layers of Aiginetan identity did not fall into place in one go. They developed over time, as did Aiginetan cults, and both in conjunction with local social needs.

We have to conclude that being an Aiginetan meant many things: a characteristic amalgam of particular claims to their island and their heroic and ethnic ancestry, as well as to their customary ways of justice and *xenia*, constituting an overall combination of traits that serve as a complex filler, that is, content (the signified) to the name of Aiginetans (the signifier). Herein lies our insight into the nature of Aiginetan-ness, in the social and religious senses: taken one by one, in isolation, any given cult, and any given facet of Aiginetan identity would look either similar, or potentially identical to another cult and another facet of identity found in a different Greek community and in a different Greek location; but taken in their particular combination, both the cults, and the facets of Aiginetan identity, together spell out what it means to be Aiginetan, what it means to have Aiginetan deities, and what it means to constitute one religious group, that is, what it means to inhabit a specifically Aiginetan mesocosm.

11.7 From Aigina to Greece and Back Again

The very existence of local mythological traditions and locally articulated cults in the Greek world, even when they were cults of homonymous deities found elsewhere, sets a scene for competition and contestation among Greek communities over the claims of cultic ownership and divine patronage. We have already discussed the tight connection between the social and territorial associations of deities and mortals in the Greek world (chapters 1.3–1.4 and 9–10), and addressed panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals as spaces for the articulation of local claims to panhellenic significance. Now only a few concluding remarks remain.

Any social phenomenon is a product of collective action, which subsequently dictates the rules of conduct to its creator. The people who use a language are bound to perpetuate its form, the people who create a system of government become the working parts of its mechanism. In the words of Robert Levy:

> as its citizens, at the same time poets and audience, strive to build a coherent civic world out of the opportunities provided by history, tradition, and accident, they become progressively enveloped in and shaped by what they are building.[84]

Religion is such a social phenomenon. People may be the ones placing gods (their sanctuaries, temples, images) in the landscape, but once there, gods turn to placing people. Once inscribed in the spatial dimension, gods participate in shaping and structuring the world of the worshippers. This is poignantly true about polytheistic religions. Polytheism is not simply a multiplicity of divine beings worshipped by a community. It is a symbiotic relationship between gods, people, and the land. People and gods share the same territory. Once given residence in a land, gods transform the residence of the hosts. Therefore there can be no identical physical, social, or sacred landscapes. The spatial world of the local gods impresses a particular perspective on the local community that uses the sanctuaries of the land. In the mutual interdependence of social and sacred landscapes is the psychological and cognitive force of local religious systems in ancient Greece.

Although taken from a shared religious language (panhellenic means of communication), names of gods, their cultic roles, ritual patterns, upon touching the local ground, become an inextricable part of the specific local world that tries to make sense of the macrocosm (Greece) and the megacosm (the global *oikoumene*). This local world develops a unique "mesocosmic" view of its vital surroundings. The spatial, social, and systemic properties of a polytheistic religion feed into the construction of local identities. In this sense, it is impossible to assert that some one cult could express local identity, for local identity would necessarily be a reflection of the socio-religious mesocosm as a whole, not of its isolated parts. One cult may only be a reference, a pointer to the whole image, the character of which is always a product of the interrelationships between all the cults of the place. Thus, the cults of Aiakos, Aphaia, or Apollo Aiginatas, Zeus Hellanios, or Damia and Auxesia, would not singly and separately represent the complex substance of local Aiginetan identity, but named as examples, they could serve as pointers to the larger and infinitely more complex, ultimately intangible, concept—"Aigina."

Polytheism, in the politically fragmented Greek world of the Archaic and Classical periods, developed into a network of local religious systems

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[84] Levy 1990, 599.

that defined the sense of place, the sense of community, and the sense of identity in their respective locations. While the "homogenizing force" of Homer and the broader "panhellenic religious dimension" provided the framework within which Greeks could talk to each other about divinity and on occasion join together in worship, it was the local religious mesocosms that supplied the need, the motivation, the energy, and the structures for the operation of Greek religious existence. When Herodotus mentioned "shared sanctuaries and sacrifices" as one of the defining characteristics of the *hellenikon*, he made no claim to the sameness or commonalty of all Greek cults and sanctuaries. Rather, Herodotus identified the framework, within which Greeks on occasion could act as one religious group. The recognition of how exceptional this form of convergence was highlights the need for further and more deliberate efforts to study a great diversity of Greek religious mesocosms, whose origins, inner workings, developments and co-existence are tales far from fully told. To me, Aigina seemed like a good place to start.

EPILOGUE

A SYNOPSIS OF SEARCHES AND FINDINGS

At the very start of my college studies, I became involved in anthropological fieldwork collecting oral narrative traditions of the Russian countryside. I was very soon struck by the discovery of a powerful centrifugal pull exercised by the place where people lived, the physical location they inhabited, upon the repertoire of their folklore, the meaning of their rituals, and the particularist value they assigned to universal phenomena. It was fascinating to observe the varied and persistent strategies employed by inhabitants of this or that village, aimed at the local anchoring of the cultural macrocosm: the process whereby familiar characters of the wider Russian folk tradition would be identified with the local realities, or figures of the pan-European Christian tradition (Jesus, or saints) would be portrayed as actors in localized historical dramas of obscure Russian villages. That early anthropological encounter with the world of folk traditions sowed the seeds of my future interest in the sociology of religion, and in the interplay between local and universal cultural phenomena.

When my studies and research expanded into Greco-Roman antiquity, similar typological issues engaged my attention. How did 'a Zeus' become 'the Zeus' for any particular Greek? How did the world of local cult sites and local myths shape an individual's view of the place he/she inhabited? How did religion operate at the local level in the ancient Greek world? Accordingly, this book has three main directions of inquiry: gods, people, and the land. Together they constitute a prism through which the workings of ancient Greek polytheism come into focus. In a polytheistic society, local territory is inhabited not only by people, but also by divine residents. Interaction between people, land, and gods in ancient Greece resulted in clusters of cultic sites, belonging to distinct socio-territorial units. These three components (land, people, and gods) and relationships between them (people to land, gods to land, and people to gods) constitute what may be called 'the polytheistic triangle,' the matrix of a polytheistic religious system.

The core of the book is a close-up view of the religious life in one ancient Greek community in one concrete physical setting—the Aegean island of Aigina. The central section of the book (Part II) is dedicated to a detailed

discussion of the data on the deities worshipped by the Aiginetans in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The way the data are presented and analyzed in Part II is driven by the research questions set out in Part I. My main interest is the operating logic of ancient Greek polytheism. I therefore begin with an explanation of the 'local' focus of my case study (*chapters 1 and 2*), which stems from the tension informing both political and religious realities of ancient Greece in the Archaic and Classical periods—the tension between 'Greece as unity' and 'Greece as patchwork.' *Chapter 1* examines a particular instance of that tension—the scholarly construct of 'Greek religion' versus the documented reality of multiple Greek pantheons associated with particular locations and communities. Hither issues the current duality of approaches to the interpretation of the Greek religious data—the panhellenic and the local models. A version of the latter is the *polis*-religion model, articulated by the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. It serves as a reference point from which I begin the exposition of my own approach (*chapter 2*), defined by the concepts of system, location, and mesocosm.

Burkert's definition of religion as "a supra-personal system of communication" supplies an expedient formula for naming the fundamental components, or axes, of a religious system. These axes are participants in communication (deities and worshippers), the setting (time and space) of communication, and the means of communication. In polytheistic religion, the latter are myths, rituals, prayers, songs, dances, and votive gifts. Although sociological in general terms, my approach seeks to address not the universal principles of how a religion operates, but to discover the particular mechanisms at play in a given socio-historical mesocosm, a world inhabited by a group of people anchored in a concrete historical time and place, a world between the microcosm of an individual and the cultural macrocosm. The systemic side of my approach (the five axes of a polytheistic religious system understood as communication), the interpretive issues presented by the nature of the evidence, and a sketch of the major paradigms of interpretation that either have been, or currently are, prevalent in the field of Greek religion, are all elaborated in *chapter 3*. The issue of the prevailing interpretive paradigms, their often unhelpful or misleading influence, is further addressed throughout the book.

The following three *chapters (4, 5, 6)* zoom in on one particular axis of local religious systems—deities. The focus on deities is explained in 4.1, and the rest of *chapter 4* addresses the conception of the divine in ancient Greek polytheism, looking in particular at indigenous Greek ways of classifying the divine. I ask here whether the indigenous classes known from

literature help us to understand the structure of local systems of cults. This question leads (in *chapter 5*) to the consideration of further conceptual issues related to the study of Greek deities and their interrelations within polytheism: the numerical parameters of polytheism ('meaningful god sets'), the nature of interrelationships between deities (chaotic or systemic), and how to identify, describe, and analyze the structures that underlie the co-existence and co-functioning of multiple deities within a given local mesocosm.

Based on the premise of my social-systemic approach to religion (*chapter 2*), I view the presence of specific cults in a given community as evidence that they address vital concerns of the local population, and *chapter 6* is accordingly dedicated to the subject of how to determine the social roles of deities in local cults, using the information provided by their names, epithets, visual representations, topography and attributes of sanctuaries, votives, and rituals, as well as the social status of cult participants. Having thus set out the research questions, conceptual framework, and my methodology in *chapters 1–6*, I turn to the core of my study—the data for the religious life on the island-polity of Aigina in the Archaic and Classical periods.

In accordance with my goal to focus on the functioning of polytheism, that is, on the roles of individual deities within a polytheistic group, in Part II I deliberately discuss only those aspects of the data that illuminate the social roles of deities in local cults. Such approach produces a synchronic, simultaneous view, of the social roles of deities as they address the concerns of the local population. Diachronic and contextual perspectives are in turn exercised in Parts III and IV. The study of the Aiginetan mesocosm thus falls into three sections: a synchronic analysis of the co-functioning of the Aiginetan cults in the second half of the 5th century BCE (*chapters 7–8*), the historical development of the Aiginetan religious mesocosm from the EIA (10th–8th centuries) down to 400 BCE (*chapter 9*), and the geopolitical contextualization of Aiginetan religious life (*chapters 10–11*).

Chapter 7 is the longest in the book, and is divided into subchapters each dedicated to a specific deity and cult. About twenty deities and cults are closely examined, of which sixteen are ascertained as active in the period of our interest. Notably, some so-called Olympian deities are not represented in the Aiginetan religious data for the Archaic and Classical periods, among them Hera and Hermes, while Athena and Artemis are uncertain cases. At the same time, a collection of heroes (Aiakids and Herakles) and nymphs (Aigina, and possibly Endeis) are prominent in the local mythological and cultic traditions and are indisputably central

to Aiginetan civic identity. The data for individual deities and cults are uneven: in some cases they are only textual, in others only archaeological, and sometimes, when we are lucky, they are a mix of both. What adds to the lengthiness of the discussion at times is a need to disentangle a web of mistaken attributions or of outdated interpretive paradigms previously applied to the evidence.

Synchronic analysis of Aiginetan cults is presented as a two-step process, whereby each cult is first addressed individually, in virtual isolation from other local cults, and then all the identified social roles of local deities and cults are viewed in interaction. This second step of the synchronic analysis is presented in *chapter 8*.

Here I ask whether the Aiginetan deities taken together constitute a chaotic, haphazard assemblage or a coordinated whole. Chaos or system? My premise is that the presence or absence of interconnections between local deities should suggest an answer. I look at the indicia of connections in two dimensions: in myths, via literary evidence; and in cultic practice, for example, in joint sacrifices, shared sanctuaries, similar votives. Such indicia spell out only explicit connections between deities. Another level of analysis involves comparing the underlying purpose of each deity's presence on Aigina, that is, their respective spheres of activity, with the structures and dynamics of the worshippers' social world, thus modeling a 3D environment where deities and worshippers interact. For example, Apollo might not appear connected to Zeus directly (if we register only explicit connections), but as each can be shown to serve as a marker of Aiginetan identity in international contexts, the two would be interlinked via this third component, a common social function. Thus, while a comparative analysis of roles exercised by all deities cumulatively would reveal a spectrum of all social concerns relevant to local worshippers, it would be the points (or nodes) of intersection between the roles of individual deities as they relate to the areas of local social interests that would determine whether we see interconnected religious structures as such, and whether a distinctive image of the local Aiginetan mesocosm would emerge.

Aiginetan myths employ several cultural models of human interrelations attested in ancient Greece, to represent, by analogy, connections between local divine figures. These cultural models (*syngeneia, xenia, philia* and *synergeia*) are neither exclusively Greek, nor exclusively Aiginetan, nonetheless articulating a distinctly Aiginetan vision of the religious mesocosm: an Aiginocentric perspective on the roles and relationships of deities. In that perspective what mattered, for instance, was that Zeus was the father of Aiakos, not the father of Athena.

The latent connections in the Aiginetan system of cults become apparent at the juncture of the political and socio-economic, individual and communal concerns of the local population. The Aiginetan data show that a synopsis of functions for each deity in no instance presents a contradictory picture, in spite of the fact that local lore and poetic media present Aiginetan deities as distinct personalities. At the same time, some Aiginetan deities emerge as multi-functional entities, whereas others appear one-dimensional. Considering the scope of social functions performed by the Aiginetan deities, we see that they are not lumped together as a responsibility of a single deity or of a small group of deities. On the contrary, they are broadly distributed among them. In addition, spheres of social concerns addressed by individual deities intersect, so that more than one deity is associated with a particular social function. The range of divine functions attested on Aigina, quite unsurprisingly, closely resembles what we find in other ancient Greek communities: a focus on fertility, sustenance, survival. What is less predictable, from the poetic/panhellenic template, and certainly not predictable from cross-cultural comparanda, are the local correlations of roles and deities, that is, which deities would fulfill which functions in the local context, in other words, how the functions would be distributed among the deities, and what deities would be found acting together.

While the range of social functions associated with the local deities appears largely standard, the overlaps in functions are more specific and informative. Contrary to some opinions (see 7.2.5), in the area of civic patronage, two gods (Apollo, Zeus) are joined by a hero (Aiakos). The same deities are also found as markers of Aiginetan identity, but Zeus and Aiakos, in a much greater degree than Apollo, are acting out these roles close to home, in the Saronic Gulf region, while Apollo is noticeable in this role only in the western Mediterranean—Etruria. The choice of Zeus for the Aiginetan representation at Naukratis suggests that different factors may have been at work in the two overseas, trading contexts (Etruria and Egypt).

Thus, different reasons are behind the use of different deities as representatives of Aiginetan interests abroad: Apollo safeguards sailors, while Zeus represents Aigina as an ancestral deity. Closer to home, ancestral representation is reinforced with other divine characters, such as Aiakos, the Aiakids, and Aigina-nymph, but another divine pair (Damia and Auxesia) comes to the fore as well: marking the Aiginetans as independent, as Dorian, and as safe in the patronage of agricultural deities who ensure the fertility of their land. Thus, we note that ancestry, occupational concerns, such as

seafaring, and communal concerns, such as agricultural and human fertility, can all come to the fore as markers of local identity, depending on the particular geographic and historical context. The overlap between Zeus, Apollo, Aiakos and the Aiakids, and Damia and Auxesia, in the sphere of identity-marking, does not indicate either simple multiplication or interchangeability of deities in this role. Rather each deity reveals a particular suitability to identity representation in particular contexts. Local polytheism emerges as a facet of the local social world in all its complexity.

Functional analysis of deities' roles within the Aiginetan mesocosm found little use for the etic categories of 'major' and 'minor deities.' Rather than being 'major' or 'minor' in absolute terms, each deity was found to be especially relevant in a particular context. Similarly, the concept of 'poliad' deities par excellence turned out to be inadequate in the Aiginetan case. In addition, instead of a single cult, a group of deities was shown to be acting in the capacity of identity markers, depending on the context. The presence of specific deities on Aigina, and the absence of others, as well as the particular distribution and overlap of functions between the local deities are the elements that give the Aiginetan religious mesocosm its unique imprint. Another dimension that illustrates the particular internal make-up of the Aiginetan assemblage of cults is its history: a story of how they came together.

In *chapter 9*, I turn to the historical/diachronic analysis of the local set of cults to trace how it gradually developed over time. Analysis of the Aiginetan data is set against the background of broader trends observable within the Greek world in the period between 900–800 BCE and the Classical period, framing the issue of concomitant changes in socio-territorial and polytheistic structures. For example, where we find early cult sites, first with dining (10th-9th centuries) and later (from the 8th century onwards) with votive activity, we have little sense of spatial or social connections between them. In the period between 950 and 700 BCE, sanctuaries are few and far between, and each seems to highlight a particular deity rather than a polytheistic group. With a view to this scattered picture of cultic sites, the more surprising appears to be the fact that the earliest known literary creation of the historical period, the Homeric epics, presents a picture of a fully developed religious pantheon in a fully developed literary form.

If we associate cult sites with territorial and political communities, we see, in the Classical period, large numbers of sanctuaries within recognizable socio-territorial units (demes, *poleis*, or regions of *ethnos*-states). In the 10th–8th centuries BCE, each territory that would later become a

clearly defined state appears to host only one to three archaeologically visible cult sites. This is significantly fewer than the corresponding numbers in later periods. It may be objected that due to archaeological invisibility, many Dark Age cult sites are simply not known to us, but the argument about the increase of cults is corroborated by explicit evidence for cult introductions. It can be asserted that in broad terms the relationship of polytheism to Greek territoriality changed from the 8th to 4th centuries BCE. If we observe the process of change in terms of territorial units, we can describe them as the growth and expansion of local groupings of cults from the Late Dark Age to the Hellenistic period.

On Aigina, four cult sites are known before 700 BCE: Kolonna, Aphaia, the Oros, and Mt. Dragonera. By the late 5th century there are some twenty cults associated with at least fifteen sites on the island: in some cases, more than one deity was worshipped at the same site. The earliest cultic sites on Aigina are indicated by the archaeological evidence. There are four cult sites known today where material dating to the Geometric period is attested, characterized by several remarkably similar traits, allowing us to view them as a group: Bronze Age predecessors; topographic position; intervisibility. The relative geographic spread of Geometric cult sites raises the question of whether Aigina was a mono-nucleus or poly-nucleus socio-territorial unit in that period.

Equally important is the question of ethnic origin and the self-identification of worshippers in Aiginetan Geometric cults. Narrative traditions on this subject are quite uniform, attributing the movement of Peloponnesian Dorians to Aigina via Epidauros. At the same time, we see that in the EIA (10th–9th centuries BCE) Aigina shows little sign of being a cultural dependency of Epidauros, or a colony of the Argives, or a distinctly Dorian ethnic group. Instead, characteristic traits of the Aiginetan social world, and hence of the Aiginetan worshippers, underscore their in-between geographic position vis-à-vis the mainland, their island localization, and seaborne framework of interaction with outsiders. However we envision the social and demographic development on the island in the EIA, that is, whether we envision a continuity of population and religious tradition from the LBA into the historical period, or an admixture of newcomers, we cannot expect that either group would have possessed a standard set of cults, or that their hypothetical mingling would have produced a standard mixture. Only the following centuries show that a certain standardization of gods' names and functions would be taking place throughout the Greek world, influenced by the spread of the panhellenic poetry of Homer and Hesiod.

Herodotus' testimony (implying that prior to Homer and Hesiod, the world of the Greek gods was much more diverse), as well as the regional variation in the prevalence and distribution of certain cults (e.g., Enodia in Thessaly, Hera in the northeast Peloponnese and the Argolid, Pan in Arkadia) confirm that something more complex underlay the territorial dimension of Greek polytheism than a principle of worshipping a standard set of deities throughout Greece from the start of the historical period, ca. 1050 BCE.

The cults whose inception we can reasonably assign to the Archaic period are the cults of Damia and Auxesia, of Aiakos and the Aiakids, and the cult of Herakles. In contrast to the earlier group of cults (Aphaia, Zeus Hellanios, and possibly Apollo), precise locations of the Aiakeion, the Herakleion and the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia have not been identified so far, although there are ancient sources providing detailed topographic coordinates. As a consequence, the absence of archaeological evidence in situ makes the dating of the beginnings of these cults more difficult. Secondly, in contrast to the first group of cults, we have enough literary sources that can help us to determine both the reasons for the appearance of these cults on Aigina and their importance for Aiginetans in the Archaic and Classical periods. Two processes can be observed in the Archaic period: the introduction of new cults; and the interlinking of the old and new cults through the coordination of social roles. Three types of cult introductions emerge from the evidence for Damia and Auxesia, Aiakos and the Aiakids, and Herakles.

The cult of Damia and Auxesia represents a case where a local system of cults expands as a result of one cult in the region splitting into two, one for each neighboring, politically independent territory. In the Herodotean narrative (5.83), the introduction of this cult to Aigina is an expression of the Aiginetan *apostasis* from Epidauros (ἀπεστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων), and is accomplished by means of theft (κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων) that causes harm to the Epidaurians (ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς). The equation of causing harm with the theft of divine images has to do with the recognition of mechanisms by means of which gods could be compelled to favor one human community over another. The Aiginetans would steal those divine images not only because they could (having ships and arrogance at their disposal), but also because they would want to disarm their opponents, in this case, the Epidaurians, and need to have the gods on their side for future successes.

The cult of Aiakos and the Aiakids represents a different type of cult introduction in the Archaic period. It probably developed as a two-step

process, whereby the stemma of the indigenous hero (Aiakos) was remodeled through the appropriation of the epic past (by adding the lines of Homeric heroes, Peleus and Telamon) in order to claim a prominent position among the competing ideologies of the archaic Greek states. The appearance of the cult of Herakles on Aigina can be seen as another example of how an early state shapes its pantheon by establishing mythological connections between a cultic figure of panhellenic importance and their territory.

The case of Damia and Auxesia showed how a local cult could originate as a result of the physical movement of sacred objects from one civic territory to another. The cult of Aiakos displayed an indigenous, "autochthonous" engendering of divine protectors, enhanced by mythological affiliation with Homeric pedigree (Peleus and Telamon). The cult of Herakles was neither indigenous, nor stolen. It represented Aiginetan participation in the panhellenic appropriation of Herakles, whereby every local community that introduced his worship also developed a series of myths that justified his unique and special connection to their place. In addition, the narrative traditions attached to a particular figure did not function suspended in a performative or cultic vacuum: it was a natural result of being the property of the same worshipping community that links should be built between narrative traditions belonging to different divinities, so that Aiakos and Zeus would become father and son, and the former would be cast as a founder of cult for the latter; or Herakles would be cast as a *xenos* of Aiakos and the Aiakids, and so on (see 7.2.9, 7.20.2, 8.2).

Introduction of new cults was not the only religious development of the Archaic period. Another development was an architectural elaboration and monumental construction at older, that is, Geometric, cult sites: Kolonna, Aphaia, and the Oros. A number of facts indicate that the architectural elaboration of sanctuaries and the construction of monumental temples starts no later than 600 BCE on Aigina. By the late 6th century BCE, monumental construction at Kolonna, Aphaia, and the Oros appears not as a series of isolated events, but as a deliberate island-wide building program. We witness nearly simultaneous construction phases at these three sacred sites of the island in the third and then in the last decades of the 6th century BCE, possibly followed by post-Persian war reconstruction. In other words, the island must have had the public will and the financial resources needed to fund monumental construction at public sanctuaries. What we are missing is information on how these resources were pulled together for public benefit. Coming as they do in the Archaic period, the construction projects at Aphaia, Kolonna, and the Oros mark

the 6th century as a definitive period in the history of the Aiginetan religious mesocosm, when both the mythological discourse at public celebrations and the material expression at cult sites appear to be working together in exhibiting and promoting the particulars of Aiginetan identity.

The process of self-definition through religion continued in the Classical period on Aigina, but it would seem to have had a different character. Paradoxically, we can say much less about the cults that become detectable in the Aiginetan system in the Classical period than we could about the earlier ones because we lack both the identification of sites and of archaeological remains for most Classical cults, and we lack extensive narrative traditions. At the same time, we may note that a couple of characteristics appear to be shared by the members of this group, supporting, perhaps obliquely, a view that they should belong to one and the same phase in the development of local cults. Firstly, the lack of any narrative tradition, associated with these cults, suggests that they were of lesser ideological significance than the Archaic cults. This lack is particularly noticeable considering the fact that the ideological significance of the Archaic, and even Geometric cults on Aigina is known to us through their articulation in the Classical, rather than earlier sources. Secondly, the deities in this group represent a much narrower specialization of social roles than an often broad range of functions notable in the earlier cults. One more curious characteristic shared by some deities in this group is their topographic association, and one has to presume, cultic affiliation with the deities of the earlier (Archaic and Geometric) cults: Pan at Aphaia; Koliadai at the Oros, Dionysos at Damia and Auxesia; possibly Athena and Artemis at Kolonna. With some caution, we may suggest that the additional cults of the Classical period expand the scope of social functions (e.g., personal wellbeing, health and afterlife) already addressed by the earlier cults and enhance the representation of some others, presumably of the highest local concern, such as seafaring, rainfall, fertility. Overall, the diachronic survey of Aiginetan religious developments showed a multifaceted interdependence between the land, the people, and the gods, progressing in a coordinated rhythm that corresponds both to the internal social dynamics and to wider historical processes.

In *chapter 10*, we look deeper into the spatial dimension of polytheism, beginning with the question of boundaries. In contrast to sometimes assumed isolinearity between political borders of ancient Greek states and the confines of their respective religious worlds, I found the concepts of 'cult communities' coined by Morgan, and 'territories of grace,' as well as 'nesting allegiances to the world around' used by Horden and Purcell,

more productive in accounting for the spatial circumscription of local religious worlds. Three Aiginetan cults help to explore this matter.

As Herodotus' story indicates, the transfer of cult statues of Damia and Auxesia imparted new meaning onto the topographic features and social bodies of those involved: it created a political boundary (between Epidauros and Aigina) and a distinct political community (Aiginetan) where there was none before. In the case of the lending of the local heroes, the Aiakids, to non-Aiginetans in the capacity of allies, the heroes did not act 'away' from Aigina and on behalf of a 'non-Aiginetan' political community, but rather 'within' their sphere of power (the Saronic Gulf) in the capacity of *enkhôrioi*, and on behalf of the Aiginetan kin, the Thebans, and so in the virtual capacity of *matrôoi*. Here the cognitive map of the religious world supersedes the geopolitical map: the former has a virtual capacity for expandability, so that in that mental dimension, Aiakos and the Aiakids do not break away from their Aiginetan domain, rather the Aiginetan world expands along conceptual ancestral lines to include geographic locations further afield.

While in the case of Aiakos and the Aiakids, the worshipped, that is the Aiginetan heroes, travel in and out of Aigina, at the same time as their domicile is permanently fixed on Aigina, in the case of Kalaureain Poseidon, the worshippers (Aiginetans) travel in and out of Aigina in order to reach the seat of the deity. Thus, in some cases, the Aiginetan deities (Aiakos and the Aiakids) find themselves temporarily, and in other cases (Poseidon Kalaureios), permanently, located across and beyond the political border of Aigina, yet no less connected to and in service of the Aiginetans. In these cases, the unimpeded, although not unregulated, traffic of both cultic figures (Aiakos and the Aiakids outside of Aigina) and worshippers (Aiginetans to Kalaureian Poseidon) across the recognized geopolitical border washes away the geographical clarity of a religious boundary.

Beyond the issue of boundaries, regional interaction between neighboring religious communities reveals the complex dynamics of both regional dialogue and regional contestation. On the one hand, neighboring communities host religious festivals and athletic games where they welcome outsiders. On the other hand, neighbors contest the divine patronage and the rightful domicile for homonymous cults, which is clear from the deployment of contrasting designations "our gods" versus "their gods" in the inter-*polis* discourse. Such contestation concerns Damia and Auxesia, known in four communities of the Saronic Gulf, including Athens; Aiakos, firmly rooted on Aigina, and yet contested by Athens; Ajax the

Salaminian, claimed as an Aiakid by the Aiginetans, and as an ancestor of one of the Athenian tribes by the Athenians. The contestation extends to an ideological viewing of the Aphaia pediments that could suggest itself strongly in times of political conflict, and recede to the background in other times.

In general, the multifaceted religious interaction between the states of the Saronic Gulf in the Archaic and Classical periods, especially between Athens and Aigina, appears to lend support to the notion of a common Greek religion. In the concluding *chapter 11*, however, we look into how the 'common' and the 'panhellenic' co-exist with distinct and numerous local religious mesocosms, and how local religious mesocosms depend upon the panhellenic religious dimension. *Chapter 11* brings the study of the Aiginetan mesocosm full circle to the question of its relative significance vis-à-vis the panhellenic context, leading to the conclusion that the Greeks operated in several cognitive and ritual dimensions, in some of which they on occasion were part of one common religious system, and in others of which they belonged to different religious systems.

It is widely acknowledged that local and panhellenic dimensions were not polar opposites, but formed a continuum of an individual's religious experience, in which there was also room for regional, ethnic, amphictyonic, and other forms of involvement, but the interplay between the local and the panhellenic demands that we probe the comparability of various forms of religious expression and experience along the spectrum of panhellenicity. Expressing my unease with the scholarly use of such a shorthand term as 'common Greek religion,' I contend that the operating structures of agency and the means of religious expression in Greek polytheism were 'common,' that is, shared by the Greeks, in qualitatively different ways and to different degrees.

My probe into the comparability of panhellenicity as it applies to various forms of religious expression and experience in ancient Greece addresses the names/identity of the gods; the interests, motivations, and benefits of worshippers; and the forms of religious communication. Examining the interplay between the local and the panhellenic in the way it maps onto the model of religion as communication, I note that divine participants in communication suffer from an inherent semantic ambiguity, or polyvalence. They are neither essentially local nor panhellenic, but can be either in a given context. The semantic polyvalence, which contains the potential for panhellenic unity, is nonetheless consistently exploited with either a positive or a negative charge in the operational

principle of 'our gods' versus 'their gods.' As far as agency is concerned, worshippers vacillate between less mediated (individual worship) and more mediated (group worship) cultural determinacy. For individuals acting on their own, a panhellenic religious setting is as good as local. Within group worship, however, the local differs markedly from the panhellenic. Overall, the interplay between the local and the panhellenic appears far more complex than a simple opposition between 'personal' and 'communal,' or between 'polis' and the 'panhellenic religious dimension.' Finally, I find that the means of religious communication, or forms of religious expression, are panhellenic by and large. In narrative traditions, however, form and content are panhellenic and local in different ways: the form is uniformly panhellenic, while the content can be either. In sum, in *chapter 11*, I conclude that the panhellenic religious dimension extended far beyond sanctuaries and poetry, and that 'the common' was present in the different axes of Greek religious experience in a different measure and in a different manner.

Chapter 11 further seeks to contextualize not only the 'local' vis-à-vis the 'panhellenic,' buy also religious vis-à-vis other social structures. The mutual tension and complementarity between the local and panhellenic religious dimensions, can only be properly understood if viewed in the context of other social dimensions. They form part of the broader historical framework within which most Greeks were engaged in similar undertakings as the other Greeks, at the same time and in a like manner, for example, setting up *apoikiai* and *emporia*, adopting hoplite warfare, or experimenting with various types of constitutional arrangements. A peculiar feature of ancient Greek history is that all of this commonality of 'things done' and 'means of doing them' never actually led to an amalgamation into one political community. Different communities and areas of the Greek world developed in parallel and in interaction with one another, but they seem to have used most of their common arsenal of cultural means of expression for the purpose of articulating their particular identities. In Greek inter-state behavior as well, neither in the Archaic, nor in the Classical period could Hellenicity, or panhellenism, be seen as an operating principle: rather, on a day to day basis, Greeks were motivated by their respective states' self-interests. My engagement with the Aiginetan evidence led me to see the presence of common, panhellenic elements in every aspect of local religious life, but also to see them displaying their panhellenic nature or exerting their panhellenic influence in varied degrees, whose respective weight did matter.

The very existence of local mythological traditions and locally articulated cults in the Greek world, even when they were cults of homonymous deities found elsewhere, set a scene for competition and contestation among Greek communities over the claims of cultic ownership and divine patronage. But the roots of contestation ran even deeper, because Greek polytheism was not simply a multiplicity of divine beings worshipped by a community. It was a symbiotic relationship between gods, people, and the land. The world of local deities was therefore an inextricable part of local civic identity, and local identity would necessarily be a reflection of the socio-religious mesocosm as a whole, not of its isolated parts. One cult could only be a reference, a pointer to the whole image, the character of which would always be a product of interrelationships between all the cults of a place. Thus, the cults of Aiakos, Aphaia, or Apollo Aiginatas, of Zeus Hellanios, or Damia and Auxesia, would not singly and separately represent the complex substance of local Aiginetan identity, but named as examples, they would serve as pointers to the larger and infinitely more complex, perhaps ultimately intangible, concept—"Aigina."

Just as different manifestations of 'common Greekness'/panhellenicity in every aspect of Greek religious experience emerge as but one of 'the many ways of being Greek,' so 'the many ways of being Aiginetan' also find a correlation in Aiginetan religious life. In one sense, being Aiginetan meant to be from that island in the middle of the Saronic Gulf whose highest peak was the seat of a mighty Zeus Hellanios who had listened to the prayer of his son, the Aiginetan king Aiakos, and sent rain to the surrounding region at the time when the earth would not bear fruit. In another sense, being Aiginetan was to claim the autochthonous connection to the Aiginetan land as Myrmidons, people sprung from ants, a product of Zeus' handiwork. But being Myrmidons also meant to be the first shipbuilders, rulers of the sea. And yet again, being Aiginetan was to be the heirs of the greatest Homeric heroes, the Aiakids, and paradoxically, at the same time, the descendants of the Herakleidai, Dorians and Peloponnesians.

We see that for the Aiginetans 'being Aiginetan' meant many things: a characteristic amalgam of particular claims to their island and their heroic and ethnic ancestry, as well as to their customary ways of justice and *xenia*, constituting an overall combination of traits that served as a complex filler, that is, content (the signified) to the name 'Aiginetans' (the signifier). Herein therefore lies our insight into the nature of Aiginetanness, in social and religious senses: taken one by one, in isolation, any given cult, and any given facet of Aiginetan identity would look either

similar, or potentially identical to another cult and another facet of identity found in a different Greek community and in a different Greek location; but taken in their particular combination, both the cults, and the facets of Aiginetan identity, together spell out what it means to be Aiginetan, what it means to have Aiginetan deities, and what it means to constitute one religious group, that is, what it means to inhabit a specifically Aiginetan mesocosm. To capture that particular—Aiginetan—refraction of the Greek polytheistic macrocosm was the ambition and the hope of the present study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

ROSTER OF AIGINETAN DEITIES WITH EVIDENCE FOR CULT PRACTICE

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a quick chronological overview of the main evidence for the Aiginetan cult practice, highlighting the 5th century BCE. A detailed discussion of all evidence can be found in chapters 7–10.

Aiakos

ante 5 BCE	?
5	**Pindar *N.* 5:53–4**
	Hdt. 5.80–81 and 8.64, 83, 84
4	?
3–2	Σ Pind. *O.*7.86: the Aiakeia, the Oi[nonaia], *amphoritis agôn*
	Apol. Rhod. 1770, Σ Callimachus *Dieg. in Iambos* 8.21–32
BCE 1–1 CE	?
CE 2	Paus. 2.29.6–7

Nymph Aigina

5 cent. BCE	**Pindar *P.* 8.97–100; Bacchylides 13**
4	?

Aphaia

10th–9th cent BCE	votives
8	votives
7	votives
6	temple
	inscriptions
	votives
5	**temple**
	inscriptions
	votives
	Pindar *Hymn to Aphaia (Paus. 2.30.3)
4	pottery
3 BCE and later	pottery, lamps
CE 2	Paus 2.30.3
CE 4	Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphosis* 40

Unknown Deity on Mt. Dragonera (see Appendix 3)

Unknown date	Stone circle
Unknown date	terrace/platform (?)
7–6 BCE	pottery
5–4	**pottery**
post 4 BCE	pottery

Aphrodite

ante 5	?graffito, London 88.6–1.456, Naukratis: dedication of Sostratos
5	***IG* IV² 1005, 18, c. 475 BCE, votive or *horos***
4–1 BCE	?
CE 1	Plutarch *Greek Questions* (301 E–F)
CE 2	Paus. 2.29.6

Apollo(s)

10–9	?
8	?
7	altar? votives?
6	temple
	***SEG* XXVI 1137** (dedication at Gravisca)
5	**Pindar *N.* 3.70**
	? ritual equipment (altars, perirrhanteria, etc.)
4	?
3–1 BCE	Σ Pind. *N.* 5.81(44), Σ Pind. *N.* 3.122(70); Pind. *O.* 13.109(155) + Σ Pind. *O.* 13.155; Pind. *P.* 8.61–67 (88–96) + Σ *P.* 8. 88–96
1 CE	?
2 CE	Paus. 2.30

Artemis

3 BCE or later	*IG* IV² 767
2 BCE–1 CE	?
2 CE	Paus. 2.30.1; Ant. Lib. *Metam.* 40

Asklepios

5 BCE	**Arist. *Wasps* 122**
4 BCE–1 CE	?
2 CE	Paus. 2.30.1

Athena

5 BCE	**?Hdt. 3. 59; *IG* IV² 755;** [*IG* IV² 792–797 (*horoi*)]
3–1 BCE?	*IG* IV² 767 (votive)

Damia and Auxesia

ante 5	?
5	**Hdt. 5.82–89 (ca. 450s BCE)**
	***IG* IV² 787: inventory of the sanctuary**
4 BCE–1 CE	?
2 CE	Paus. 2.30.4

Demeter Thesmophoros

5 BCE	**Hdt. 6.91**

Dionysos

5 BCE	***IG* IV² 787 line 10** (statue in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia)
4 BCE–1 CE	?
CE 2	Paus. 2.30.1 (temple)
CE 2–3	*IG* IV² 760, 763 (inscribed dedications)

Hekate

ante 5 BCE	?
5	***Myron's statue of Hekate (Paus. 2.30.2)**
4	**Athens, NM 1950 (if Hekate)
	**Athens, NM 1475 (if Hekate); = *IG* IV² 746
3 BCE–CE 1	?
CE 2	Paus 2.30.2; Lucian *Navigium* 15; coins of Severus' time (three-bodied Goddess with torches: Milbank 1925, pls. IV.14 and V.8)
CE 3	Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.22
CE 4	Libanius, *pro Arist.* 426B

Herakles

7–6 BCE	*IG* IV² 1068: ? *horos* of a sanctuary[1]

[1] Jeffrey 1969, 110, plate 16, no. 3 dates to the 7th cent. BCE; Welter 1938b, 122: "Horosstein (um 550 BC) von der Ostseite der Insel."

5	**Pindar *N.* 7.80–101.**
4	Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.10 (388 BC)
post 4 BCE	?

Koliadai

6–5 BCE	***IG* IV² 1057 (votive table)**
post 5	?

Kybele

6–4 BCE	**Athens, EM. Inv.1873= Svoronos, EM, 623; Svoronos EM 525, 526, 527**

Pan

6–5 BCE	***IG* IV² 1036: horos or votive**
post 5	?

Poseidon

8–7 BCE?	at Kalaureia
5 BCE	[*IG* IV² 798–801 (*horoi* with Apollo)—Athenian]
CE 1	Plutarch, *QG* 44 (301E–F) feast of *monophagoi*
CE 2–3	Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* XIII 588e

Thebasimakhos

6 BCE	Votive inscription (*IG* IV² 754)

Zeus Hellanios

ante 6 BCE	pottery at the top of Oros[2]
6 BCE	festival grounds: ramp, pottery;[3] top of Oros: pottery, altar fragments
	inscribed votive statue base: *IG* IV² 1055
5	**Pindar Pa. 6 (ante 485 BC), *N.* 5.10–12 (483 BCE)**
	bronze hydria dedication: *IG* IV² 1056 (c. 470 BCE)
4	Isocrates 9.191–2 (436–388 BCE)

[2] Welter 1938a, 12: "von geometrischer bis in römische Zeit."

[3] In the course of his excavation on the Oros, Hans Goette (1998, 19) came to the conclusion that "there was some building already at the end of 6th cent. BC."

3	Theophrastus *περὶ σημείων* 1.24 (380–288 BCE)
2	stoa[4] ?, [*IG* IV^2 791]
1 BCE–CE 1	?
CE 2	Paus. 2.29.7–8 aetion

ZEUS PASIOS

6–5 BCE	***IG* IV^2 1061**

ZEUS

2–1 BCE	***IG* IV^2 791 (horos)**

[4] Welter 1938a, 8–14.

APPENDIX TWO

NATURAL AND SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY OF AIGINA

A Note: The following list and accompanying comments do not presume to present an exhaustive account of the natural and social topography of ancient Aigina: further relevant information can be gathered from the reports of rescue excavations that have been taking place on the island since the 19th century (see reports published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*), as well as from the dissertation of Nicholas Faraklas (1980), which includes the data collected during his field walks of the island. The sites chosen for discussion here are directly relevant to the subject of the book and help to provide a context for Aiginetan cultic topography (Appendix 3).

Attested in Textual Sources

Pausanias 2.29.2–2.30.4 (Topographic Excerpts)

2.29.(2.) Αἰγινῆται δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ἔχοντες τὴν νῆσον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας. [. . .]

Aigina's most inaccessible approach by sea due to underwater rocks.

(6.) προσπλεῦσαι δὲ Αἴγινά ἐστι νήσων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων *ἀπορωτάτη· πέτραι τε γὰρ ὕφαλοι περὶ πᾶσαν καὶ χοιράδες* ἀνεστήκασι. μηχανήσασθαι δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ταῦτα Αἰακόν φασι λῃστειῶν τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης φόβῳ, καὶ πολεμίους ἀνδράσι μὴ ἄνευ κινδύνου εἶναι.

'Harbor where most ships anchor.' Temple of Aphrodite.

Πλησίον δὲ *τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται* ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης,

'The most prominent place of the city.' The Aiakeion.

ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου. (7.) ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες· αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν. [. . .]

Inside the Aiakeion.

τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαῖαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμὸς εἴη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν (9.) ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

Grave of Phokos.

παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον *Φώκου τάφος* χῶμά ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπῖδι, ἐπίκειται δέ οἱ λίθος τραχύς·

Kryptos Limên—The Hidden Harbor.	(10.) . . . οὕτως ἐς *τὸν Κρυπτὸν καλούμενον λιμένα* ἐσπλεύσας νύκτωρ ἐποίει χῶμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξεργασθὲν καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι μένει·
Theatre.	(11.) τοῦ λιμένος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Κρυπτοῦ *θέατρόν* ἐστι θέας ἄξιον, κατὰ τὸ Ἐπιδαυρίων μάλιστα μέγεθος καὶ ἐργασίαν τὴν λοιπήν.
Stadium.	τούτου δὲ ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται *σταδίου* πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη.
Temples next to each other: Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos.	2.30.(1.) *ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες* ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδί ἐστιν ἐσθής, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ· καὶ γένεια Διόνυσος ἔχων πεποίηται.
Asklepieion.	*τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν* ἔστι μὲν ἐτέρωθι (2.) καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ, λίθου δὲ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον.
Sanctuary of Hekate.	θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινῆται τιμῶσιν Ἑκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἑκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θρᾷκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. *τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ναός ἐστι,* ξόανον δὲ ἔργον M ύ ρ ω ν ο ς , ὁμοίως ἓν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. [. . .]
Sanctuary of Aphaia.	(3.) ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, *ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν*, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήτ αις ἐποίησε. [. . .] ἐπίκλησις δέ οἱ παρά τε Αἰγινήταις (4.) ἐστὶν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ.
The Mountain of Panhellenios Zeus.	*τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερόν, ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος* ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν Αἰακὸν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διί·
Sanctuary and images of Damia and Auxesia.	τὰ δὲ *ἐς τὴν Αὐξησίαν καὶ Δαμίαν*, [. . .] ταῦτα εἰπόντος Ἡροδότου καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὔ μοι γράφειν κατὰ γνώμην ἦν εὖ προειρημένα, πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε ὅτι εἶδόν τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἔθυσά σφισι κατὰ <τὰ> αὐτὰ καθὰ δὴ καὶ Ἐλευσῖνι θύειν νομίζουσιν.

"Harbor Where Most Ships Anchor"

In Aigina-town.

Opinions:

(a) 'South Harbor B' (see below and Map 2), identified as commercial, or merchant harbor.[1]

Kryptos Limên—"Hidden Harbor"

In Aigina-town.

Opinions:

(a) 'South Harbor A' (see below, and Map 2 and Fig. 3), according to most modern archaeologists.[2]

(b) North and west of the Cape Krasospilia (formerly Koursospilia), northeast tip of the island, according to Logiotatidou.[3]

"The most prominent place of the city"—*epiphaneistatos* [*topos*] *tês poleôs*

In Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.

In addition to Pausanias (see above), *IG* IV² 750 uses the same expression, but it is possible that the two sources are not referring to the same place.

Opinions:

(a) Kolonna. This opinion has long been based on the fact that cape Kolonna is the best excavated site on Aigina, and is the only part of the ancient city available for exploration. There can be no doubt that it was a very important cultic and perhaps civic center, however, it cannot be the site identified as *epiphaneistatos tês poleôs* by Pausanias.

(b) The site identified as such by Pausanias (2nd century CE) lies next to/opposite of the Kryptos Limên and is occupied by the Aiakeion.

(c) The site described as the *epiphanestatos tês poleôs* by *IG* IV² 750 (1st century BCE, that is, some 200 years prior to Pausanias), is occupied by some cultic or civic structure where honorary decrees could be displayed.

Theatre and stadium

In Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.

According to Pausanias (see above), the theatre and the stadium shared a wall, which possibly means that the back of the cavea rested against the raised bank of

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[1] Welter 1938, 39, fig. 36 (Handelshafen); Walter 1974, 6; 1993, 55, fig. 48 (no. 11—Handelshafen); Goette 2001, 335.

[2] Welter 1938, 39 (fig. 36: Kriegshafen Κρυπτὸς Λιμήν), and 50; Walter 1974, 6; 1993, 54, fig. 48 (no. 12—Verborgener Hafen); Goette 2001, 335.

[3] Logiotatidou 1902, 9–14. Logiotatidou identifies as the *khôma* of Telamon the islet of Nisis (Nisida), off the northeastern coast of Aigina. As Kryptos Limên he identifies a small cave-like bay by the cape Krasospilia (Koursospilia (the Pirates' Cave) on the maps of the early 20th century). He estimates the size of the bay at 50m², and speculates that this small, "hidden," bay would have given the name *Kryptos* to a big artificial harbor that spread westward from cape Krasospilia towards cape Mavromutsono. At a distance of ca. 300m out into the open sea from Krasospilia, Logiotatidou identifies a man-made breakwater, which can only be seen faintly and in very calm weather.

the stadium. In that case, rather than using natural topography, that is, a natural slope, the cavea might have been partially, or entirely man-made, and so should not be necessarily sought in the natural folds of the landscape, but could be expected on level ground.
Opinions:
(a) On Kolonna.[4]
(b) Southeast of Apollo temple.[5]
(c) East of Kolonna.[6]

Agora(s)

Precise location unknown.
Pausanias does not mention it, but it should be expected inside the city walls and probably fairly close to the coast and city harbors.
PINDAR *Nemean* 3.14–15: παλαίφατον εἴραν, "the agora of ancient fame," of the Myrmidons.[7] *Palaiphatos agora* might be a poetic paraphrase for Aigina or a reference to an actual place.
IG IV² 791 (2nd–1st BCE):
Διός, ἀ[γ]-
ορᾶς τᾶ[ς]
μέσζονος.
This inscription appears to be a *horos* marking a boundary between the "Greater Agora" and the property, or precinct, of Zeus. Although projections back in time should be made with caution, there is a good chance that the Hellenistic and the Classical agora would have been in the same place. The term "greater" raises the possibility that there was also a "lesser" agora, hence we might have to envision two agoras on Aigina, at least in the Hellenistic period.[8]

City walls (see Map 2)

Encircled the ancient city from north, south, and east, running down to the coast north of Kolonna and south of South Harbor B.
THUCYDIDES 1.108.4–5: ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον.

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[4] Welter 1938c, 54, fig. 36; Welter 1962, 32, fig. 1.
[5] Madritsch 1993, 157; Felten 2001, 128.
[6] Walter 1974, 6 (a terraced hill planted with gardens, east of Kolonna, to the east of the Kazantzaki Rd, going north); 1993, 56–7. Walter points out that the topographic contours here could well accommodate the cavea of a theatre. Goette 2001, 337 (and fig. 100) adds that this theatre would have been built of marble: "this is indicated by rounded seats, which could still be seen in the last century."
[7] εἴρη, ἡ, according to *LSJ*, is old Ionic for ἀγορά, place of assembly. Pindar mss. BDP read ἀγοράν instead of εἴραν (Snell and Maehler 1987–1989).
[8] On Thasos, there were two harbors, a commercial and a military, the latter equipped with shipsheds, and similarly to Aigina called *kleistos limên*, "closed harbor" (Ps. Skylax *Periplous* 67), and the agora lay immediately to the southeast of the military harbor (see Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 53–57).

The city wall would have seen multiple stages of construction and reconstruction, from the Archaic to the Roman periods. Welter provided the first archaeological and chronological discussion of the remains, pointing out that the full circuit of walls that Cockerell and Leake had seen in the 19th century would have been Roman in date. None of those walls survive today above ground level.[9]

The original date of construction is not certain.[10] More certain is the demolition date of 458/7 BCE following the Aiginetan defeat by the Athenians (see Thuc. 1.108 above). The port, and so perhaps some of its fortifications, may have been restored through the financial support of Lampis, a metic resident of Aigina in the mid-4th century BCE, if we are to understand τὸ ἐμπόριον as "commercial harbor."[11]

In the north, the city wall came up from the coast (at about mid-point in the bay north of Kolonna) and continued east to include the Hill of the Windmills. Excavations traced the remains of the city wall in several places. One is at the corner of Achileos and Aphaias streets, where two courses of rectangular blocks, 2.5m thick, have been discovered, while Achileos St in fact follows the course of the city wall all the way to the coast and marks its southern most extent.[12] A stretch of the 5th-century wall was discovered on Telamonos street (property of V. Eudaimonos), which follows the eastward curve of Achileos st. The wall's orientation north-south, however, suggests that at this point the wall had already turned northwards and so the area east of it would have been outside the city walls.[13] On the seaside, the wall used the moles of South Harbor A and South Harbor B as its foundation.[14]

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[9] Welter 1938a, 480–485. Cockerell 1860 and Leake 1830, 437.

[10] Welter (1938b, 484) dates the fortifications of South Harbor A and South Harbor B, as well as the city walls "immediately prior to the Persian wars." This dating should be viewed in the context of the "heraldless war" between Athens and Aigina in the same period, which is also designated as the time of the Aiginetan *thalassokratia,* according to Eusebius. The second building period Welter places in late Roman times (ca. 250 CE) as suggested by coins of Julia Domna (Milbanks 1925, pl. IV, 6 and 7).

[11] Demosthenes 23 (*In Aristocratem*). 211: πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Αἰγινήτας μὲν τουτουσί, νῆσον οἰκοῦντας οὕτω μικρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντας ἐφ' ᾧ μέγα χρὴ φρονεῖν αὐτούς, Λάμπιν, ὃς μέγιστα ναυκλήρια κέκτηται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ κατεσκεύακεν τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον, μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον πολίτην πεποιῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόλις τῆς ἀτελείας αὐτὸν ἠξιωκέναι τῆς τοῦ μετοικίου. ("Is it not discreditable that, whereas the Aeginetans yonder, who inhabit that insignificant island, and have nothing whatever to be proud of, have never to this day given their citizenship to Lampis, the largest ship-owner in Hellas, who fitted out their city and their seaport, but have reluctantly rewarded him merely with exemption from the alien-tax." Trans. A. T. Murray). See discussion in Knoblauch 1972, 84.

[12] Welter 1938b, 481.

[13] ΑΔ 40 (1985) Β′ Χρονικα 51–52 (= *AR* 39:13): a section of the wall, 13m in length and 6.65 in width, is built on the bedrock that slopes west to east. Due to the slope, the eastern, external, face, of the wall is preserved to the height of six courses (2.76m), and the western face to the height of three courses (1.6m). The stone was quarried on site, and the wall is dated by the fill, which contained Late Archaic and Early Classical sherds. Also, of note is the fact that the base of the wall is at a depth of 3.45m below the surface of the modern street (Telamonos).

[14] Welter 1938b.

"The so-called old city" (see further discussion in 7.11.2)

Location unknown.

HERODOTUS 6.88–9, παλαιὴ καλεομένη πόλις.

Opinions:

(a) Outside Aigina-town, at Ag. Marina, on the East coast of Aigina.[15]

(b) Kolonna, where Felten also puts the Thesmophorion, but it might be a mistake to read Herodotus so as to conjoin the two (see 7.11.3).[16]

(c) Part of Aigina-town that included the North Harbor, Kolonna, South Harbor A and the inland part of the town east of these two, and excluded the South Harbor B and its vicinity.[17]

"Oiê" in the hinterland (*mesogaia*)

20 stades inland from Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.

HERODOTUS 5.83: καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μὲν ἐστὶ οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κῃ ἀπὸ πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει.

The site of the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia. The distance provided by Herodotus should not be taken as an absolute measurement, but as an approximation of distance: it is probably equivalent to 3.6–3.8km (if we take a stadion = 180–190m).

Opinions:

(a) Palaiochora.[18]

(b) Judging by the distance, it should be in the plain west of or just in the foothills of Dragonera. The inventory of the sanctuary (*IG* IV^2 787) was found built into the wall of the aqueduct (see below), which according to Gräber and Thiersch, ran in an almost straight line in an easterly direction from Aigina town towards Dragonera (see Map 1). It seems likely that the sanctuary would be somewhere in the plain west of the Dragonera range.

(c) Faraklas identifies his catalog site 24 (Profitis Elias) as Oiê.[19] The site is associated with a chapel of Profitis Ilias located on a small height, which on its west side drops down to the rema of Agios Giorgios (called by Faraklas *rema tou Moulou*). His identification of the site as Oiê is based on the calculation of distance (20 × 180m = 3.6km), and the discovery on the ground of pottery dating, in his estimation, from prehistoric to Roman.

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[15] Welter 1949, 145–148.

[16] Felten 2007b, 28: "Thesmophorion, mentioned by Herodotus as situated in the "so-called old town"—a name that perhaps again indicates the consciousness of the Aiginetans of the old history of the Kolonna hill."

[17] Faraklas (1980, 78, fig. 58) argues that to determine which part of Aigina-town would have been called "old city" in Herodotus' time, we need to know the date of the city's fortification walls; those he surmises were a response to the Themistoklean walls of Athens. Before then, the area of South Harbor B would have been an 'emporion,' a trading center outside of the town, while the town proper would have been to the north and surrounded by a fortification wall, which after 478 was extended south to include South Harbor B and its vicinity.

[18] Goette (2001, 338) identifies Palaiochora with Oiê.

[19] Faraklas 1980, 49.

"Tripyrgia" ("The Place of Three towers")

16 stades inland from the Herakleion. Precise location unknown.

XENOPHON 5.1.10, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται.

Opinions:

(a) The area of Nisida, on the northeast coast of Aigina (see Map 1), between cape Mavromoutsouno (or Mavromutsono) in the west and cape Tourlo in the east.[20] This is the identification of Logiotatidou who reports the presence of three towers in that area. Tower 1 (pyrgos) is located above the bay of Krasospilea; it is rectangular in plan and rises up to 2m in height. At the foot of the hill topped by Tower 1 there was a row of worked rectangular blocks that formed a wall. Opposite this wall there was a small mound surrounded by a rectangular perizoma, ca. 7m (west side) × 14m (north side), with other sides incomplete. Tower 2 was directly opposite cape Mavromutsono. It is circular, consisting of several courses of worked stones. Northwest of Mavromutsono was Tower 3, rectangular on its north side and circular on its south side. The three towers, all ancient in Logiotatidou's view, gave rise to the name Tripyrgia. The same three towers are also marked as ancient structures on the maps of Lampadarios and Thiersch.

(b) Between Aigina-town and the Herakleion; and at a distance of about sixteen stadia (ca. 3km) away from the Herakleion:[21] more specifically, three adjacent locations west of the rema of Vagia, close to the coast: Tsidrari A, Vigla, and Tsidrari B.[22]

Asopis Krênê—Asopis Fountain (see discussion in 7.3.2)

Location unknown.

ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM s.v. Ἀμφιφορίτης (. . . περὶ τὴν Ἀσωπίδα κρήνην).

Opinions:

(a) In the city centre, in the agora.[23]

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[20] Logiotatidou 1902, 10–13. Logiotatidou calls himself a Ταγματαρχης του Ιππικου (retired Colonel of the Cavalry). His essay was published as a rebuttal of doubts expressed by Mr. Kavvadias, Director of the Archaeological department of the Ministry of Education, with respect to the identification of Tripyrgia on Aigina.

[21] Faraklas 1980, 80.

[22] Faraklas 1980, 48, catalogue site no. 19 (Τσιδράρι Α), catalogue site no. 20 (Vigla, another small hill, 104m, at a distance of ca. 600m southwest from Τσιδράρι Α), and p. 59, catalogue site no. 46 (Τσιδράρι Β—a northeast extension of the Tsindari hill—site no. 19). All three sites are marked on the map of Thiersch, showing ancient architectural remains. Faraklas describes them as defensive, or watchtowers, as well as residential.

[23] Fearn (2007, 115) on the basis of placing the Asopian water in the same location as the "agora of ancient fame" (παλαίφατον εἴραν) of the Myrmidons (Pindar N. 3.14–15).

Asopian Water

Location unknown.

PINDAR (*N.* 3.4–5) ὕδατι γάρ . . . |ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ.

Opinions:

(a) Same as the Asopis Krênê.[24]

(b) A hypothetical river Asopos on Aigina (so the scholiast on Pindar, Didymus, in reference to this passage). An identification with modern Skoteini rema on the west coast of Aigina was proposed by local topographists in the early 20th century on the basis of etymological speculation.[25]

Identified on the Basis of Archaeological Data

[Acropolis]

We have no ancient source that refers to an acropolis on Aigina, however, many scholars, and in particular the excavators of the Kolonna site, designate cape Kolonna as the Acropolis.[26] It is debatable how justified or necessary such identification is: the cape rises to about 16m above sea level (if we adjust to sea level rise, its top may have been 20m above sea level in Classical antiquity—see below). The fact that the word 'acropolis' is not used in ancient sources, and in particular not used by Pausanias, whose eyewitness account is the only ancient one surviving for Aigina, should not be taken lightly.

Kolonna Wall Circuit

Extensive remains of the Archaic, Hellenistic, and Roman walls encircling Kolonna hill, have survived on the north and east sides of the hill. Sometimes these walls are described as 'temenos wall,' 'acropolis wall,' retaining wall, or *diateichisma* in archaeological publications (see Map 2).[27]

City Harbors

– **North Harbor** (north of Kolonna)

The natural crescent-shaped bay north of Kolonna was divided in half by an ancient breakwater, positioned roughly in a west-east direction with respect to the coast. A city wall seems to have come down to the coast at the same point where it would have connected with the breakwater had it continued into the sea. Whether the two features are contemporary is unclear (see below).

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[24] So the scholiast Kallistratos in response to Didymus.

[25] Mpetros and Lykoudes (1927, 462) derive Asopos from ἄσσον and compare it with the meaning of the modern river name—Skoteini ("dark"). The map of Lampadrios (1904) also indicates in parentheses "αρχ. Ἀσωπός ποταμός" next to π. Σκοτεινῆς. So does the modern morphological map produced by the Greek Γεωγραφική Υπηρεσία Στράτου.

[26] Felten 2007b and 2005; Knoblauch 1972, 52; Faraklas 1980, 79, fig. 58.

[27] Felten 2007b, 28 (retaining wall); Felten 2007b, 29 (*temenos* wall); Pollhammer 2003; *AR* 47:18; *AR* 52:15.

According to Knoblauch, two lines of walls can be discerned on the coast of the North Bay: one runs just along the modern coastline, made without much care from stones of different shapes and sizes, whose date is unknown; the other is uphill from the coastline: an impressive double-sided wall 3.5m wide that can be traced for about 200m to the middle of the bay. From the end of that wall further northwards, wall remains are of a different character, which seem to belong to a complex of cellars,[28] perhaps warehouses.

Breakwater (see Map 2)[29]
The description of its physical dimensions is based on Knoblauch.[30] The east end of the breakwater lines up with the midpoint of the coastline of the North Bay. It stretches into the sea at a slight angle (southwest) to the coastline. Beginning about 67m away from the coast, its far end reaches out ca. 300m into the bay. The east end of the breakwater touches the bottom of the sea at a depth of 1.7 to 2.0m. The upper surface of the breakwater is not horizontal but falls from 2m to 4.15m below modern sea level in the direction of the sea. It was made of large, unworked blocks, ca. 0.5m × 0.35m, in some places fused with potsherds.

– **South Harbor A** (just south of Kolonna)
The northern harbor of the South Bay (see Map 2 and Fig. 3). Identified as naval harbor on the basis of shipsheds:[31] fifty-six altogether according to the calculations of Kalliope Baika.[32] Detailed discussion is provided by Knoblauch.[33] Leake visited the island in 1806 and noted two harbors with remains of moles, both south of Kolonna, adding that between these two south harbors there was a row of small reservoirs, connected between themselves and separated from the sea by a wall.[34]

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[28] Knoblauch 1972, 59.

[29] Bursian (1868, 81) noted a dam in the North Harbor. Logiotatidou (1902, 10) reported another breakwater on the island: at a distance of ca. 300m into the open sea from the coast of the bay of Krasospilea/Koursospilea, northeast tip of Aigina, visible only in calm weather. A jetty is reported at cape Livadia, the Bay of Ag. Thomas, on the north coast of Aigina (Faraklas 1908, 43, catalogue site no. 5).

[30] Knoblauch (1972, 59–60) notes the similarity in the construction of this breakwater with the examples from Eretria and Hestiaia described by Georgiades (1907, pls. 3 and 6).

[31] Welter 1962, 29.

[32] Hansen 2006, 15, n. 17: "The complexes could be reconstructed to a maximum of 16 shipsheds on the north side and 14 on the south. In addition the harbor could have held 26 more shipsheds, i.e., a total of 56, if a third complex existed in the east side of the basin, though no archaeological remains have been found yet"). Welter (1938b, 482) reported 24 shipsheds.

[33] Knoblauch 1972, 76–79, fig. 19, pl. 27a.

[34] Leake 1830, 434.

– **South Harbor B** (south of South Harbor A)
The second harbor of the South Bay. Identified as a commercial harbor by most scholars,[35] possibly the harbor restored by Lampis (see above sub "city walls"), and further renovated by Julia Domna, as indicated by coins.[36]

The question of sea level rise and the dating of harbors
The social and economic history of the city would be much clarified if we could determine the chronology of use for the three harbors listed above: were they in use all at once, or in some sequence? Pausanias (see above) mentions only two harbors. The relative position of all other topographic features mentioned by Pausanias depends on how we identify the "Harbor where most ships anchor." Since the identification of Kryptos Limên seems to be secured by the presence of shipsheds in South Harbor A, it follows that the "Harbor where most ships anchor" would have to be either the North Harbor or South Harbor B.

Knoblauch calculates that due to sea level rise, the breakwater that was protecting the North Harbor would have been rendered useless (either sunk or projecting to an insufficient height above water) already by the Classical period, and would have thus prompted the construction of the other two harbors. Thus, in his opinion, South Harbor B becomes the only candidate for the "Harbor where most ships anchor" in the Roman period.[37] He also explains that the city wall would have come down through the middle of the North Harbor only after that Harbor would have gone out of use.[38]

The question of the relative sea level rise in the Aegean and in the wider Mediterranean is far from settled and scholars periodically return to it. In the early 20th century, Negris (1904) estimated the sea level rise for Aigina since ca. 100 BCE at 2m. Philippson argued that the island had risen evenly on all sides due to tectonic movements, and the sinking of the coast since the Classical period was ca. 3m.[39] On that basis, Knoblauch compared the relative depths at different points along the coast, showing that the sea level was 2.5m lower than now in the South Harbor, 3.5m lower on the sea side of the mole in the South Harbor A, and 2.7m in the South Harbor B. Such an increase in the sea level would mean that both harbors were dry in antiquity.[40]

Results of more recent research for the Aegean basin are closer to Negris' calculations, if not lower: "The main phase of rapid sea level rise in the Central Aegean region ended prior to 5500 BP with the sea level being 4–5 m below its

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[35] Faraklas 1980, 79, fig. 58 (Εμπορικό λιμανι).
[36] Knoblauch (1972, 57–8) with reference to Milbanks (1925, pl. IV 6,7, V 6,6) and Welter 1938, 484.
[37] Knoblauch (1972, 60–61) argues as following: the assumed erosion (carry-away) of the crowning of the breaker due to wave action is ~ 1m. To be effective, the breaker must have stood at least ~0.5m above the sea level. At the time of construction, the sea level was 4m lower than now, and at present the breaker is 0.45m under water, therefore the structure must have towered ca. 3.8m above water at the time of construction.
[38] Knoblauch 1972, 63.
[39] Philippson 1959, 26, 48, 49, 53 ff.
[40] Knoblauch 1972, 55.

present stand. Subsequently, the sea level continued to rise slowly at a rate of 0.9 mm/a towards its present level, but without ever exceeding it. Due to the tectonic stability of the Attico–Cycladic Massif (central Aegean Sea), the rise of sea level within historical times is attributed to eustatic factors, with thermal expansion being the dominant one, followed by residual melting of glaciers and ice-caps."[41] According to this calculation, the sea level rises ca. 0.45m over 500 years, and if the sea level ca. 3500 BCE was 4.5–5m lower than now, then by 500 BCE it would have been 1.8–2.3m lower than now. Another study, for the Western Mediterannean, using a different scientific method, suggests an even lower sea level rise of 1.5m since the Bronze Age.[42]

At the end of his study, Knoblauch acknowledges that his calculations based on the linear sea level rise would give an unrealistic date of 1880 BCE to the breakwater of the North Harbor. He therefore reverts to historical considerations of probability and opts for a date in the 7th/6th century BCE as the date for the breakwater.[43] Other historians, as well, rely on the evaluation of historical context and probability. Welter dated both south harbors prior to the outbreak of the Persian wars. Lehmann-Hartleben, on the contrary, dated the protective constructions in the North Harbor to the Archaic period, and thought that that harbor, along with South Harbor A were the only operational harbors in the time of Demosthenes, while South Harbor B was built in the time of Julia Domna.[44]

One other historical consideration should be added to the picture, namely that, if not in the time of Lampis, then by the time of Attalos I, Aigina should have restored its naval facilities (harbors, shipsheds) once again, as it was apparently able to accommodate the wintering of Roman (under the command of P. Sulpicius) and Pergamene fleets in 208/7 BCE, their combined forces numbering sixty vessels, as reported by Livy (27.33, 28.5, 28.7). South Harbor A alone could not have accommodated the whole contingent, which requires us to speculate that either South Harbor B, the North Harbor, or else some other harbor on Aigina, were also capable of sheltering military vessels.

A final observation is due with respect to the historical context for the use of the North Harbor. In 7.6.11, I have argued that the use of the external northern wall of the Archaic Building located below the north side of Kolonna hill, for the display of inscriptions from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods, depends entirely on the public visibility of the structure and on the assumption of frequent traffic along its northern wall. Since that building was built outside, that is, north of the wall surrounding the ritual complex atop of Kolonna, but was nonetheless still able to afford high visibility in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it must be assumed that it stood by a busy road, which on this side of Kolonna could only

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[41] Poulos et al. 2009, 10.

[42] Morhange et al. 2001, 319: "In the ancient harbor of Marseilles, marine fauna fixed upon archaeological structures as well as bio-sedimentary units document a 1.5 m steady rise in relative sea level during the past 5000 years, followed by a near stable level at present datum from about 1500 years AD to the last century."

[43] Knoblauch 1972, 83–85.

[44] Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 52, 65, 92, 165.

have been the road to and from the North Harbor. A reasonable hypothesis would be that the North Harbor was still in use in that period.

Harbors, Anchorages, and Bays Outside of Aigina-Town

On the east coast of Aigina (see Map 1), the Bay of Ag. Marina and the Bay of Portes would have been used in antiquity, certainly as commercial, if not naval harbors. Extensive ancient remains on the coast off the Bay of Ag. Marina are indicated on the maps of Lampadarios and Thiersch, and reported by Faraklas.[45]

Significant remains of a prehistoric settlement (17th–12th century BCE) on a steep hillside at the site of Lazarides,[46] surrounded by rugged mountainous terrain on all sides, indicate that the Bay of Portes, which lies just below to the southeast, would have been that community's main communication route and can be presumed to have been a viable harbor, at least for fishing and cargo vessels, as far back as the MH period.

The coastal area of Nisida and Vagia, in the northeast of Aigina, and the bay of Souvala in the center of the north coast, and much of the west end of the north coast abound in evidence of habitation, as well as of quarrying activities. The products of the latter in particular would have been shipped by sea to their final destinations, be they on or off the island. Thus, we should expect that small cargo vessels and fishing boats would have had no problem anchoring in these locations.

On the west coast, besides Aigina-town, the Bay of Profitis Elias, in the southwest, could have offered suitable anchorage. Some mountain tracks leading in a straight line from the bay up the slope to the hill of Raikou, and a production site of andesite millstones (see Fig. 34), suggest that it may have been a route by means of which large heavy millstones were rolled or dragged down to the nearest coast for shipment to the Peloponnese and elsewhere. The quarrying of andesite and the production of millstones on this site, as well as their shipment from the Profitis Elias bay might well go back to antiquity.

The Bay of Perdika on the southwest tip of Aigina would have been suitable for fishing boats, and the same can be suggested for the Bay of Klima and the Bay of Kipi on the south coast.[47] Not particularly deep, they nonetheless offer protection from winds and high waves, and the evidence of ancient habitation in the immediate vicinity supports the notion of the bays' usability in all three locations.[48]

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45 Faraklas 1980, 69 (catalogue sites 65, 66, 67).

46 *AR* 54:11–12.

47 Contra: Knoblauch 1972, 51–52 (keine Schutzmöglichkeiten).

48 Perdika: Faraklas 1980, 57 (catalogue sites 40 and 41); Ag. Triada above Klima (Polinskaya 2009, 247–248); cape Pyrgos east of the Klima bay (maps of Thiersch, Lampadarios; Faraklas 1980, 58, catalogue site 44); Pano Vodi (Faraklas 1980, 75, catalogue site 78).

Fresh Water Supply in Ancient Aigina

A Note: A comprehensive study of ancient water supply on Aigina is well overdue: the archaeological data are extensive and await a dedicated person to conduct the needed research.

The interpretation of several Aiginetan cults involves the issues of fresh water supply, threat of drought and (ir)regularity of rainfall. It therefore seems useful to offer here a sketch of ancient fresh water supply on Aigina in order to provide a context for the understanding of that religious data.

Today, and probably in classical antiquity, Aigina is one of the driest islands in the Aegean. The main sources of fresh water in antiquity would have been ground water and rainwater. Aiginetans used a variety of natural and artificial water-collecting installations to make optimal use of rainfall and ground water.

Aqueduct I (of unknown date)[49] (see Map 1)
In the study of Faraklas, we find a detailed topographic description of its course: starting in the basin of Kondos going northwest through the Vouno Dendrou and Dragonera arriving at the area of Ag. Kyriaki where it turns due west and follows in a straight line through the area of Ag. Ioannis and then through the middle of the Hill of Windmills (Anemomyloi) and Vigla into the city. Its overall length probably exceeds 5.5km.[50] The aqueduct is indicated on the maps of Lampadarios and Thiersch.

This aqueduct was first identified and described by Gräber:[51]

> an underground tunnel was directed inland until it reached a river-bed—almost always dry and filled only by a strong winter rain—which it followed 8m below the surface, into the mountains, where, in the centre of the island,

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[49] Faraklas (1980, 53) gives the date of ca. 500 BCE.

[50] Faraklas 1980, 53. It is not clear whether his description is based on autopsy or relies on earlier maps.

[51] Gräber 1905a, 557: "Nach demselben Grundsatz wie in Megara war auf der Insel Ägina eine unterirdische Wasserleitung gebaut worden, um die Hauptstadt Ägina, die in alter Zeit und sogar noch zur Zeit der Perser kriege bedeutender als Athen war, mit Wasser zu versorgen. Mehrere Kilometer weit wurde ein unterirdischer Stollen ins Land hineingeführt, bis er ein Flußbett erreichte, folgte diesem—das fast immer trocken ist und nur bei starkem Winterregen Wasser führt—8 m tief unter der Solde, bis hinauf ins Gebirge, wo sich inmitten der Insel ein großer von Bergen umgebener Gebirgskessel befindet. Das in diesem Gebirgskessel sich ansammelnde Wasser sucht der Stollen auf; er ist aber so tief unter die Oberfläche geführt (etwa 15 bis 20 m), daß er imstande ist, ein Quelltal anzustechen, welches Wasser nach der anderen Seite der Insel ableitet und die Quellen dieses Tales noch mit in die Leitung aufzunehmen." Gräber (1905b, 60) also gives a short summary of the same information in another publication for the same year: "Ähnlich wie in Megara liegen die Verhältnisse auch in Aegina, dessen antike unterirdische Wasserleitung vor kurzem ausgeräumt und *von mir untersucht worden ist*. Der Hauptstollen läuft von der Stadt nach Osten unter dem langsam ansteigenden Plateau entlang und zieht sich dann eine lange Strecke unter einem Flusslaufe hin, etwa 8m unter dessen Sohle. Er sammelt das Wasser des zerklüfteten Kalksteines, der über ihm liegt, und nimmt wahrscheinlich auch noch das Wasser einiger Querstollen auf, deren Ursprung noch unbekannt ist."

> there is a large basin surrounded by mountains. The water that collects in this mountain basin then looks for [drainage] outlets; but, the aqueduct is so deep under the surface (15 to 20m) that it pierces the water basin from below, draining the water to the other side of the island, and drawing the water sources of the valley into the aqueduct.

Gräber does not inform us about the methods he used in investigating the aqueduct, nor do we learn from him about any related over-ground structures. Faraklas speculates that the over-ground remains of walls in the area of Ag. Ioannis (catalogue site 22) belong to this aqueduct.[52] In the city, Knoblauch suggests, the aqueduct would have followed natural topography (an erosion channel stretching down to the South Harbors A and B).[53]

Aqueduct II (Classical?)
Identified on the basis of archaeological remains in the area of Ag. Asomatoi by Faraklas (catalogue site 25), who traced it for a length of ca. 600m.[54] A section of this, or of Aqueduct I, has been identified within Aigina-town at the intersection of Mitropoleos and Solomou streets (property of P. Chelioti).[55]

Seasonal rainwater ponds (ομβροδέκτες)
These are known from several places on the island, significantly in the areas with attested ancient occupation, although it is impossible to tell whether they would have been definitely in use at any given time in the past.

The whole area of Bourdechti (the site of an ancient tower and cisterns, probably a farmstead), a small upland plateau surrounded by mountains, located roughly in the center of the island between Pakhia Rakhi and Lazarides, is marked on the map of Lampadarios as ομβροδέκτης, and the name Bourdechti is a corruption of that noun.

Apostolos Kapsalis lists *omvrodektes* at Lazarides (where it may have been in use since prehistoric times), Psachni (in the mountainous center of the island, southeast of Kondos), and Kamara (near cape Peninda in the middle of the east coast).[56] It should be noted that such rainwater ponds occur in the mountainous central and east-central parts of the island geologically made of volcanic rock.

Overground cisterns (what in modern Greek would be called δεξαμενές)
Ancient cisterns are essentially small rainwater ponds (their formation is perhaps similar to the *omvrodektes*) that are architecturally enhanced by courses of masonry and/or additions of wellheads for more effective water collection and

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[52] Faraklas 1980, 49.
[53] Knoblauch 1972, 54, pl. 14.
[54] Faraklas 1980, 50 (catalogue site 25) and 33 (here he says that the overall length of this aqueduct would have been 2.5km, and it would have approached from the south and supplied water to that part of the city).
[55] ΑΔ 40 Β′ Χρονικα 52.
[56] Kapsalis 2006, 27.

retrieval. Modern dexamenes, by contrast, are built from stone or cement and usually roofed, while all ancient ones mentioned below are not.

Several have been identified on the Oros: two at the festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios, on the north slope of the Oros (see Figs. 17, 18);[57] one large one at Sphendouri (east of the church of Ag. Ioannis above the village) on the south slope of the Oros, next to a prehistoric settlement; three small ones at the site of Ag. Triada, in a mountain saddle south of Sphendouri and east of the Klima Bay. This site may have been a late Classical (if not earlier) farmstead. Two overground cisterns are located at the site of an ancient farmstead at Bourdechti.[58]

Ancient underground cisterns and water channels

Underground chambers carved in bedrock and plastered to be watertight were common in the northern part of Aigina, where the natural geology is limestone. Remains of numerous examples have been identified inside ancient city walls,[59] but also outside,[60] in areas associated with workshops or dwellings.[61] An underground cistern is attested at the sanctuary of Aphaia: it collected rainwater from

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[57] Goette 2001, 348.

[58] Goette 2001, 340.

[59] *AR* 51:11; e.g., a Classical cistern 9.5m deep with two channels leading into it was found at the intersection of Kyvernou and Thomaides street, and "a large system of water mains associated with 5th and 4th century pottery," at the intersection of Pheidiou and Peppa streets (*AR* (1986), 18 and ΑΔ 33 Β' Χρονικα 53. A complex of cisterns in Neoptolemos street, with pottery dating from the Geometric to Early Christian times (ΑΔ 27 Β′ Χρονικα 180–1). A domestic complex in long-term use (at the intersection of Ellaniou Dios and I. Katsa streets) has a well, 5m deep (with Geometric pottery) and a Roman circular cistern supplied by a conduit that could be traced for at least 9.7m (ΑΔ 56–59 Β′ Χρονικα 487–8). Another complex of a cistern, wells, and underground channels is located nearby, at the property of Peppa and M. Klonou (ΑΔ 56–59 Β′ Χρονικα 489–490). Yet another complex, consisting of a bell-shaped cistern with four channels leading out/into it, and dating to the 4th century BCE, was found at the eastern end of the city (possibly inside city walls) at the intersection of Nosokomeiou and Ag. Dionisiou streets: ΑΔ 37 Β′ Χρονικα 44–45. In fact, although all the finds listed above (in this footnote) were made as a result of rescue excavations conducted in conjunction with modern building activities, and therefore only partially represent the overall archaeological record of the area, they nonetheless paint a picture of very dense habitation and well developed water supply, whereby (I would venture a guess) every household would have aimed to have its own access to fresh water. Almost every domestic structure that had been discovered and explored within the ancient city walls had been accompanied either by a cistern, underground water conduits, wells, or a combination of the above.

[60] At Trigona, the area that may have been just outside or on the border of the ancient city northeast of Kolonna, north of the intersection of the Leousis Rd and Strategou Petriti: a Classical cistern with three compartments (*AR* (1985), 12). On the Leousis Rd., property of Katsouli: wells and cistern (ΑΔ 36 Β′ Χρονικα 68).

[61] A well with a conduit that may have been a drain, was found in association with a probable metal workshop southeast of Aigina town, on the property of Var. Matsouka, Phaneromeni Rd (ΑΔ 56–59 Β′ Χρονικα 490). A conduit, well, and cistern: at the property of Spari, Agiou Nectariou Rd. (ΑΔ 55 Β′ Χρονικα 136).

the temple's roof by means of a drain.[62] Cisterns were often multi-chambered, accompanied by tunnels that served as water conduits. For example, a multi-chamber cistern of pre-Hellenistic date, 5.3m high, sealed on the inside with hydraulic plaster, has been excavated on Kolonna.[63] To the east of North Habour A, at the junction of Strategou Petriti and Patriarchou Gregoriou streets, a Classical cistern carved in the bedrock had a mouth articulated with worked stones. A nearby well carved in the bedrock was filled with seventh-century pottery.[64]

Underground water channels even if sometimes found unconnected to cisterns in most cases are to be understood as elements of water supply systems, some of which may have been highly localized and others much more extensive.[65] Although most water conduits on Aigina in ancient times seem to have been cut directly in limestone bedrock, ceramic pipes are also attested.[66]

Natural Springs (πηγές)

Kapsalis reports, in his study of sustainable development for Aigina, that several springs with running water still exist on Aigina today, but their water is not considered safe to drink.[67] Springs as geological features can last a very long time, and the geomorphology of Aigina has not changed in any significant way since the prehistoric times. The modern morphological map of the island indicates natural springs in the areas of Pachea Rachi and in the rema of Ag. Georgios (at the west foot of Mt. Madarovouno, and just north of the motorway from Aigina-town to Palaiokhora). This is the same rema along which ran the ancient aqueduct (see above).

Fountains (κρήνες)

Apart from natural springs and various types of water collectors (ground-level seasonal rainwater ponds and open-air cisterns), wells and fountains were the main means of accessing water supply. These could tap either into the natural ground water tables or into underground man-made cisterns. One fountain/well has been identified by archaeologists on the north side of Kolonna (see Fig. 4),[68] but other fountains will no doubt have been present throughout the city, or at least in its public areas.

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[62] Furtwängler 1906, 87. Here, in the case of the Aphaia cistern, we are also fortunate to have a well preserved drain, carved into the bedrock and plastered, running along the north wall of the temple and down into the cistern, thus illustrating how rainwater would have been channeled and collected. Goette 2001, 341.

[63] *AR* 49 (2003), 14.

[64] ΑΔ 53 Β′ Χρονικα 92.

[65] ΑΔ 36 Β′ Χρονικα 65–71 and *AR* 36, 10. ΑΔ 56–59 Β′ Χρονικα 487: a well (0.8m in diameter), cut into the limestone bedrock 3.3m deep, had an opening in its east wall at a depth of 1.4m leading into a tunnel (1.85m high, 10.2m long, and 0.75–1.36m wide) that ended in three semicircular chambers.

[66] ΑΔ 40 Β′ Χρονικα 53 (Mitropoleos st., property of G. Tzitzi). The date of the structure is not known, but its small diameter (0.48m) and position between two walls perhaps indicates a latrine, rather than a cistern.

[67] Kapsalis 2006, 26.

[68] Hoffelner 1999, 179, drawing of stones—pl. 76; reconstruction drawing—pl. 77.

Wells (φρέατα, πηγάδια)

Numerous ancient wells have been identified inside ancient city walls,[69] and outside,[70] in the countryside, which is only to be expected. This is still the case in modern Aigina. Many ancient wells are found inside domestic structures.[71]

Other Features of Social Topography

Such other features of human landscape as villages, cemeteries, watchtowers, farmsteads, workshops, roads, quarries and clay beds, the latter two as sources of raw material for local manufacture, were necessarily part and parcel of everyday life on Aigina in antiquity. To know their locations and chronological use would be of great value for the reconstruction of the Aiginetan socio-religious mesocosm. Unfortunately, there is no up-to-date published resource that could provide this kind of data, and so such a contextualizing exercise will have to be reserved for the future, when an extensive archaeological survey of Aigina could be conducted.

Fragmentary information on all of the above (villages, cemeteries, watchtowers, farmsteads, etc.) does exist and can be assembled, but in its incomplete state it could not provide a decisively illuminating context for the current study, and is for this reason not included in this Appendix. It may well be that after a proper survey of the island yields adequate documentation of relevant features, an updated edition of this monograph (or at least of chapters 7, 8, and 9) would be made possible and indeed called for.

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[69] By late 1980s, excavators had identified more than 20 Archaic wells in the area of Kolonna: *AR* (1988), 15.

[70] In the area of Kambos Mylon (property of K. Tzoni): ΑΔ 49 Β′ Χρονικα 84; 45 Β′ Χρονικα 80.

[71] *AR* 51 (2005), 11; ΑΔ 56–59 Β′ Χρονικα 486 (Strategou Petriti road, property of M. Zografos).

APPENDIX THREE

CULTIC TOPOGRAPHY OF AIGINA

A Note: The following list, organized in alphabetical order, aims to provide a quick reference guide to what we know about the topographic location of Aiginetan cult sites.

Cult Sites Attested in Textual Sources

Aiakeion (see detailed discussion in 7.2.2)

In ancient Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.

According to Pausanias 2.29.6–7, the Aiakeion was located in "the most prominent part of the town" (ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον), in the vicinity of the Kryptos Limên (see Appendix 2).

Opinions:

(a) On Kolonna hill.[1]
(b) East of South Harbor A, on a rocky outcropping.[2]
(c) In the Aiginetan agora.[3]

Aphaia, sanctuary of (see detailed discussion in 7.4.3)

In the northeast of the island.

Precise location: on a mountain saddle called Kolones, framed by the two peaks (205m and 207m) of the Kokkinovrakhos massif to the east, and overlooking the Bay of Ag. Marina to the south and the Bay of Vagia to the north.

Aphrodision (see detailed discussion in 7.5.2)

In ancient Aigina-town, next to the "harbor where most ships anchor." Precise location unknown.

Pausanias 2.29.6: πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ὁρμίζονται ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης.

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[1] Welter 1938c, 52 (southeast of the Apollo temple); Felten 2007b, 27 and 29.

[2] Walter 1974, 6; 1993, 54, fig. 48 (no. 12—Verborgener Hafen and no. 7—the Aiakeion); Walter-Karydi 1994, 132. Nothing can be seen on this small outcropping today, which is used as a carpark by local residents. I rather doubt that this was the site of the Aiakeion. Walter was thinking of a "most visible" spot, and hence was led to look for an elevated place, however small. *Epiphaneistatos* should be taken as "the most important," and hence can be on level ground.

[3] Fearn 2007, 104 (see my critique in 7.2.2).

Opinions:
(a) On Kolonna hill—findspot of *IG* IV² 1005.[4]
(b) Next to South Harbor B.[5]

Apollo, temple of (see detailed discussion in 7.6.3)
In ancient Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.
Pausanias 2.30.1: Ναοὶ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότες ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος, Διονύσῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τρίτος. This topographic reference in Pausanias follows right after the description of the theatre and the stadium, which were not far from the Kryptos Limên (see Appendix 2).
Opinions:
(a) The Archaic temple at the top of Kolonna hill, whose one column is still standing.[6] There are no direct, in situ data for the identification of the Kolonna temple, however, and it is best to reserve judgment.
(b) On the northeast tip of Aigina, in the area of Nisida, identified by Logiotatidou as ancient Tripyrgia (see Appendix 2).[7]

Artemision (see detailed discussion in 7.7.2)
In ancient Aigina-town, next to the temples of Apollo and Dionysos. Precise location unknown.
Not attested before Pausanias 2.30.1 (see sub Apollo above).
Opinions:
(a) On Kolonna hill, associated with foundations southeast of 'Apollo temple,'[8] recently disputed.[9]
(b) On the northeast tip of Aigina, in the area of Nisida, identified by Logiotatidou as ancient Tripyrgia (see Appendix 2).[10]

Asklepieion (see detailed discussion in 7.8.2)
Outside ancient Aigina-town and probably not in its vicinity. Precise location unknown.
Pausanias 2.30.1 (right after the description of the three temples standing together: Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos): τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔστι μὲν ἑτέρωθι καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ. Since Pausanias makes this comment while apparently in Agina-town, we should expect the Asklepieion to be outside.
Opinions:

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[4] Hirschfeld 1894, 964; Wolters 1924a, 71–2; 1924b, 460; 1925b.
[5] Welter 1938c, 50; Walter 1974, 6.
[6] Welter 1938b, 50; Walter 1974, 6; Walter 1993, 54; Hoffelner 1999, 101; Felten 2003b, 41, etc.
[7] Logiotatidou 1902, 15.
[8] Madritsch 1993, 157–171; Hoffelner 1999, 101–116.
[9] Mattern 2001, 605; Pollhammer 2003, 166.
[10] Logiotatidou 1902, 15.

(a) In the southern part of Aigina-town,[11] "which lies nearest to the cult's point of origin, Epidauros."[12]
(b) West building B, Aphaia sanctuary (see Map 6).[13]

Asopis Krênê (see detailed discussion in 7.3.2 and Appendix 2)
Location unknown.
Site of the *amphiphoritis agôn* (see 7.2.6)
Possibly associated with the cult of nymph Aigina (see 7.3.2).

Damia and Auxesia, sanctuary of (see 7.10 and Appendix 2 sub 'Oiê')
In the place called Oiê, 20 stades from the ancient city. Precise location unknown.

Demeter Thesmophoros, sanctuary of **(**see also 7.11.2–7.11.3)
Location unknown.
Herodotus 6.91–92: Ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἴς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο·
Opinions:
(a) In "the so-called old city."[14]
(b) In "the so-called old city," that is, on Kolonna hill.[15]
(c) Not necessarily in "the so-called old city" (see 7.11.2).

Dionysion (see Apollo above)
In ancient Aigina-town, next to the temples of Apollo and Artemis. Precise location unknown.
Probably post-classical. Not attested before Pausanias 2.30.1.
Opinions:
(a) Near the theater and the Kryptos Limên.[16]
(b) In the area of Nisida, on the northeast coast of Aigina.[17]

Dionysos, statue of (see 7.12.1)
In the opisthodomos of the temple of Mnia, at Oiê.
(See Damia and Auxesia above; Appendix 2 sub Oiê, and Appendix 4).

Hekateion (see also 7.13.1)
Location unknown.
Pausanias 2.30.2 provides no topographic information.

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[11] Welter 1938a, 7 and 1938b, 485–486, figs. 5–10.
[12] Thiersch 1928, 151.
[13] Welter 1938a, 7.
[14] Felten 2007b, 28.
[15] Felten 2007b, 28; Felten 2003b (on the basis of archaeological evidence).
[16] Welter 1938c, 50.
[17] Logiotatidou 1902, 15.

Opinions:

(a) Outside of Aigina-town.[18]
(b) South of Aigina-town, on the coast at cape Paliopyrgos.[19]
(c) On the north slope of the Oros, otherwise identified as festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios.[20]
(d) At Nisida, northeast coast of Aigina.[21]

Herakleion (see detailed discussion in 7.14.2)

Outside ancient Aigina-town, near the coast. Precise location unknown.

Xenophon *Hellenica* 5.1.10: αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς.

The temenê of Herakles surround an estate, belonging to the family of Thearion and Sogenes, of the Euxenid clan.

Pindar *Nemean* 7.93–94: ἐπεὶ τετρᾰόροισιν ὤθ' ἁρμάτων ζυγοῖς ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει τεοῖς, ἀμφοτέρας ἰὼν χειρός.

Opinions:

(a) In the vicinity of Ag. Marina, that is, of the "the so-called old city" (see Appendix 2), more specifically in immediate proximity of the Aphaia temple.[22]
(b) At Souvala, in the middle of the north coast of Aigina, near the thermal springs.[23]

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[18] Welter 1949, 147.

[19] Thiersch 1928, 152.

[20] Faraklas (1980, 84–86, his catalogue no. 76) arrives at this idea by reinterpreting the punctuation of Pausanias's narrative (see Appendix 2), putting a period in 2.30.3 after ἰοῦσιν: ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν. ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε). Syntactically, it does not really work, but it gives Faraklas a chance to propose that the Hekateion was somewhere on the way to the Oros. His motivation in "fixing" the text of Pausanias is fueled by an understandable desire to repair a glaring topographic impossibility in Pausanias' narrative, namely, a statement that the sanctuary of Aphaia lies on the way to the Oros. This could only be true if Pausanias had landed on the northeast coast of Aigina, but as he apparently did not, rather landing at Aigina-town on the west coast, his topographic description makes no sense. That is, unless the Hekateion was on the northeast coast and Pausanias had visited it, e.g., by sailing there, but then did not pursue the overground travel to Aphaia and the Oros, satisfying himself with the remarks of his local guides about those two sites, and instead proceeding to the site of Damia and Auxesia, back in the northwest part of the island. Faraklas' logic in associating the site of the festival grounds of Zeus with Hekate is faulty: once he decides to look for it on the way to the Oros, he considers those sites where his surface survey had indicated a possibility of cultic activity (sometimes based on rather impressionistic observations) and then by process of elimination arrives at the only one which is undeniably a cult site.

[21] Logiotatidou (1902, 15) considers that location the site of Tripyrgia and the place of Pausanias' landing on Aigina (see also sub 'Kryptos Limên').

[22] Welter 1949, 147.

[23] Thiersch 1928, 155.

(c) In the northwest of Aigina, between the villages of Moulos, modern Kavouropetra, and Khalasmeni, modern Kypseli.[24]
(d) At Leondi, a small rema running north to the sea between Moulos on the west and the hill of Vigla on the east, further east of which the rema of Kourendi runs to the Bay of Souvala.[25]
(e) An elevated area (oropedion), either Mandrara or Solomou on the map of Thiersch, west of Pyrgaki (location of Tower 1—see Appendix 2, sub Tripyrgia, opinion (a)), which drops into a rema (Mounti) leading to the coast and to a small bay on the north coast, in the area now called Nisida, which Logiotatidou thinks may have been the landing spot of Khabrias.[26]
(f) Nisida, which meets the criteria of a viable landing and of the correct distance to the city, and the possibility of landing unnoticed by the city's residents.[27]
(g) Kêpoi (Kipi), a small bay on the southeast coast of Aigina—findspot of *IG* IV² 1068, probably a *horos* of some property of Herakles.
(h) At cape Kavos, northeast of the Bay of Agia Marina (see Appendix 2), if we were to take Welter's point of view about the suitability of Ag. Marina as a landing spot for Khabrias, and Faraklas' report of a cultic building in the area (see below).[28]

Kolonna, cape

Otherwise, or previously, known as cape Skendiriotti (so named on the map of Thiersch), at the northwest end of modern Aigina-town.

The site has seen habitation since the Early Helladic period, if not earlier, and served primarily as a gathering place, a ritual centre, as well as a burial site in the historical period, returning to its function as settlement in the post-antique period.

Multiple cultic installations have been identified on Kolonna hill, including the Archaic temple on the top, altars, votive columns, sacrificial pits, dining rooms, etc. (see a more detailed discussion in 7.6.4, but also in 7.6.3, 7.6.7, 7.6.9, 7.6.12, as well as 7.7.2, and 7.11.3).

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[24] So marked on the map of E. N. Lampadarios (see 7.14.2).

[25] Welter 1962.

[26] Logiotatidou 1902, 12–13.

[27] Faraklas (1980, 80–83) dedicates much space to the discussion of the possible localization of the Herakleion and Tripyrgia, considering several sites identified by him in the course of his field work, but concluding that the area of Nisida would suit all the required criteria best. He does not cite Logiotatidou and is apparently not aware of a similar line of thinking the latter had pursued some eighty years earlier.

[28] Faraklas (1980, 82) briefly proposes Kavos as the location of the Herakleion and immediately rejects it apparently due to a momentary confusion saying that the sanctuary had to be between the city and the coast. He must have had in mind not the sanctuary, but the site of Tripyrgia, as located between the city and the landing place of Khabrias, as he himself had concluded earlier (on p. 80).

[**Nymphs**] (see also 7.1.1)
Both the presence of a sanctuary and of a cult in the pre-Classical period is doubtful.
Opinions:

(a) *Tripiti rema* (north of Aphaia, and southeast of Vagia): location of a Hellenistic structure identified by Furtwängler as sanctuary.[29] Apart from location, no evidence is cited why it should be identified as a sanctuary or that of the Nymphs. Welter also doubts the identification and speculates instead an ornamental garden structure in a residence of a Pergamene governor.[30]

(b) *Pagoni* (southeast of Aigina-town, in the foothills of Mt. Gonia Dendrou, north of Skoteini rema): findspot of *IG* IV² 1069 (now lost). The date of 6th or 5th century BCE was suggested by Thiersch, who reported the find. Not seen by anyone else. The inscription might have been a dedication or boundary marker.

[**Pan**, sanctuary of]
At the site of Aphaia.
Opinions:

(a) In the cave, below the northeast end of the terrace that supports the temple of Aphaia (see Map 5 and Fig. 6).[31]
(b) South of the south terrace/temenos wall,[32] near the propylaia[33]—the findspot of *IG* IV² 1036, which is possibly a *horos* of the precinct of Pan.

Pentapolis, hiera—'a sacred union of five poleis' (see 7.6.10)
On Aigina.
Kolonna: findspot of *IG* IV² 835, 836, 837, 839, 841, 843.
Opinions:

(a) Union of five poleis (Aigina, Kalauria, Troizen, Hermione, and Epidauros) with the center on Aigina.[34]
(b) Five Aiginetan communities joined in the worship of the Argive Apollo Pythaieus.[35]
(c) Not a reference to geographic communities, but to an institution, a body of officials on Aigina, active in the Roman period (see my discussion in 7.6.10).

Phokos, tomb of
In ancient Aigina-town, next to the Aiakeion. Precise location unknown.

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[29] Furtwängler 1906, the plates volume: pls. 12.1, 16.4, 24.2, 24.3.
[30] Welter 1938b, 529, figs. 40–43: "Ein Nymphenheiligtum anzunehmen, besteht kein hinreichender Grund. Möglich wäre eine Zieranlage in einem Paradeisos der Sommerresidenz der pergamenischen Gouverneure."
[31] Goette 2001, 342.
[32] Williams 1987, 634, 644.
[33] Personal communication of the late professor Frederic Cooper, University of Minnesota (see 7.17.1 for details).
[34] Felten 1975, 51; Rutherford 2011, 116.
[35] Figueira 1981, 320–21, followed by Burnett (2005, 14–15 and n. 9) and Walter-Karydi (2006, 82); Walter-Karydi 1994, 134–135.

Pausanias: παρὰ δὲ τὸ Αἰάκειον Φώκου τάφος ἐστι περιεχόμενον κύκλῳ κρηπῖδι, ἐπίκειται δέ οἱ λίθος τραχύς
Opinions:
(a) On Kolonna hill.[36]
(b) Next to the Aiakeion, opposite South Harbor A.[37]
(c) "In the center of town."[38]

Thearion of Pythios (see detailed discussion in 7.6.9)
In ancient Aigina-town. Precise location unknown.
Pindar *Nemean* 3.70 provides no topographic reference, but scholia to the passage offer the following explanations:
(a1) a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Apollo Pythios; (a2) a house (*oikos*) called Thearion in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios; (b) a public place (*topos demosios*) on Aigina.
Opinions:
(a) Archaic building whose foundations run parallel to the Late Roman wall on the north side of Kolonna, and whose architectural members were used for its construction.[39]

Zeus Hellanios, sanctuary of (see also 7.20.3)
At the peak and the north foothold of the Oros: a two-level ritual complex.
Find spot of *IG* IV² 1056 and rooftiles stamped with the name of Zeus.[40] (See Maps 1 and 7).

Zeus, property of
In ancient Aigina-town, bordering on the Greater Agora (see Appendix 2).
Kolonna: findspot of the boundary marker *IG* IV² 791.

Zeus Pasios, property of
Vardia: the findspot of *IG* IV² 1061.
The area called Vardia is marked on the map of Thiersch northeast of Aigina-town: it is an elevated plateau, located south of Moulos and west of the rema of Ag Giorgios, overlooking the north coast of the island (see Map 1). There is, however, another location called Vardia, indicated on the map of Lampadarios, just at the north-northeast edge of Aigina-town, south of Myloi and west of Meristos. In which of the two Vardias *IG* IV² 1061 was found is unclear.

Cult Sites Suggested by the Archaeological Data

Peak of Dragonera (299m) (see Figs. 32–33 and further discussion in 9.2.1)

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[36] Welter 1938c, 52; Goette 2001, 335.
[37] Walter 1993, 54, fig. 48.
[38] Kowalzig 2007, 203.
[39] Hoffelner 1999, 160–171.
[40] Harland 1925b, 83.

The middle of three peaks (in addition to Madarovouno, 225m and Tsoukaleia, 311m) forming the Dragonera massif, situated northwest of Palaiokhora and commanding a panoramic view of the arable lowlands stretching down to the coast from Souvala in the north to Perivola in the west (see Fig. 32).

A stone circle or more precisely, an oval (ca. 5 × 3.5m) outlined with roughly worked stones, carved from the bedrock. The date of the structure is unknown, but potshards dating to the 7th–6th centuries, as well as the Classical[41] and post-Classical[42] periods have been found on the surface. Identified as sanctuary on the map of Thiersch.

A few meters below the peak, on the south side: a stone terrace, its south side 8m in length, built with rectangular blocks, survives to a height of two courses.

Cape Kavos

Southeast of Aphaia and northeast of Ag. Marina. A level plateau that drops sharply into the sea on the east and south.

Faraklas describes remains of a large structure built with rectangular poros blocks, many of which have been moved a short distance and lined up in rows outlining nearby plots of land. Many have grooves for clamps and dowels.[43] During my own visit to the site I also noticed masons' marks on some of these blocks.[44] Faraklas also noted numerous roof tiles of the Classical period and pottery that ranges from prehistoric to Roman. He rejected the idea that the structure could have been a tower, and proposed a sanctuary instead, reporting anecdotal evidence (communications by the locals) about the find of a marble head of a bearded male in this area, which led the locals to think of the structure as a sanctuary of Poseidon. Faraklas's overall conclusion is that the area accommodated a habitation center and a sanctuary.[45]

Another unpublished find (fragment of a terracotta sculpture (Aphaia T 6)), which might originate from this area, was discussed by Aliki Moustaka as comparanda for terracotta sculptures at Olympia,[46] and by Elena Walter-Karydi as an exam-

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41 Welter 1962, 93.

42 Faraklas 1980, 54.

43 Faraklas 1980, 68.

44 My fieldwalks on the island in 1999 were conducted with the permission of the 26th (formerly 2nd) ephorate of prehistoric and classical antiquities.

45 Faraklas 1980, 69.

46 Moustaka 1993, 32–33 (and pl. 120c and d): "In diesen Zusammenghang gehört auch ein etwas jüngerer Fund aus Ägina. (Note 133: Das Stück (Inv. T 6m L 12 cm), das dank des freundlichen Engegenkommens von M. Ohly und U. Sinn hier abgebildet warden darf, ist Teil einer Gruppe und zeigt einen meschlichen Fuss und eine Löwenpranke. Es wurde in dem kleinen, in Nordosten des Aphaiatempels von Ägina liegenden Areal gefunden, das noch weitgehend unerforscht ist. Das Fragment besteht aus demselben Tonmaterial wie die Korinther Amazonomachie (s.o. Anm. 100) und die olympische Kriegergruppe … Der Vorschlag, dass das dargestellte Thema vielleicht als ein von Todesdämonen fortgetragener Krieger zu deuten ist, hat manches für sich, der ein in der Terrakottaplastik bislang

ple of local sculptural style.[47] The fragment is of a human foot, its sole pressed against a feline claw (see Fig. 35). If reported sculptural fragments (marble and terracotta) were indeed connected with the architectural remains described by Faraklas, then the case for a sanctuary is made stronger.

"A sunken sanctuary" (?)
In the North Harbor of the ancient city.

Identified as a sanctuary by Welter who provided the following details:[48] at present, completely submerged under water, a rectangular structure located just outside the city wall (as it continues on land the line of the ancient breakwater); its east wall running along the coast is completely preserved (14.5m in length), while the north and south walls are partially preserved, and the presumed west wall destroyed. It was made of poros rectangular blocks. At the east end of the structure (some unspecified distance from the east wall) and equidistant from the north and south walls, Welter located a smaller rectangular circuit (4.8m × 4.5m) of poros blocks, and inside that one yet a smaller one (3m × 1.8m) which he identified as a base of an altar.

Welter provides no explanations for identifying the structure as a sanctuary. Presumably his opinion is based on nothing more than the speculation of the structure's ground plan. Visual inspection of some of these remains is still possible, but a proper underwater excavation would be required to determine their nature. In fact, many ancient architectural remains are still visible on the beach of the North Harbor, waiting to be scientifically investigated and preserved.

A temple (?)
At cape Paliopyrgos, south of Aigina-town (see above, sub Hekate).

Thiersch described a massive rectangular foundation next to the coastline. He was not put off by the name of the cape Paliopyrgos ("Old Tower") in his identification of the structure as a temple, and specifically that of Hekate.[49]

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unbekanntes Motiv wiedergibt und eine gut vergleichbare Plastizität sowie dieselben technischen Characteristik, vor allem die elfenbeinähnliche, hochglänzende Oberfläche aufweist. Trotzdem bleibt die 'korinthische Schule,' die immer wieder ins Blickfeld gerat, für das beginnende 5. Jahrhundert einstweilen schwer definierbar."

[47] Walter-Karydi 1987, 84 (catalogue no. 59: "Bruchstück einer Terrakotta-Gruppe. Erhalten ist eine Löwenpfote und ein menschlicher Fuss. L 12cm. Das Bruchstück gehört m. E. so gestellt, dass die Pfote such unter dem Fuss befindet. Aphaia-Magazin, aus der Nähe von Hagia Marina), 102 ("Die beiden Gemmenbilder helfen, dass Thema der korinthischen Terakotta-Gruppe Nr. 59 zu erraten, von der nur rein Bruchstück erhalten ist: eine Löwenpfote und ein menschlicher Fuss. Die Art, wie der Fuss auf der Pfote liegt, schliesst einen Kampf, etwa zwischen Herakles und dem Löwen, aus. Vielmehr was das Thema ein toter (oder sterbender) Krieger und zwei raffende Todesdämonen. Die Löwenpfote wird eher von einer Sphinx als vor allem die Gestalt, die auf altgriechischen Bildern als Todesdämon erscheint"). Walter-Karydi dates the fragment to the early 5th century BCE.

[48] Welter 1954, 44–45 (chapter XXXIV "Ein versunkenes Heiligtum") and fig. 6 (ground plan of the structure); an earlier brief note in Welter 1938b, 481.

[49] Thiersch 1928, 151–152.

A ritual deposit or cult structure (?)
South of Aigina-town, on the road of 'Αγ. Εἰρήνης, εἰς Λίμπονες.'

Papachristodoulou reported a find of a small rectangular structure during rescue excavations. The structure (1.05 × 1.65m) was built from field stones, with walls of about 0.3–0.4m thickness, surviving to a height of 1.1m above bedrock. It was filled with fragments of animal bones, seashells, small objects made of bone and bronze, pieces of colored glass vessels, lamps of early type, and a large quantity of pottery fragments, one of which was a small black-figure hydria with a Dionysiac scene. The finds date to ca. 500 BCE. He also reported some unspecified piles of stones in the vicinity.[50]

[50] ΑΔ 28 (1973) Β′ Χρονικα, 49–50.

APPENDIX FOUR

INVENTORIES OF AIGINETAN SANCTUARIES

The inventories of two Aiginetan sanctuaries were compiled during Athenian occupation of Aigina in the course of the Peloponnesian war. The inventories were most likely conducted by the Athenians, or at least commissioned by them.

Inventory of the Sanctuary of Mnia and Auzesia, 431–404 bce

IG IV^2 787

θεοί·
ἐν τôι τês Μνίας· θυμιατέρ—
ια χαλκâ· λυχνεîον χαλκôν *h*έν,
κρατρὲρ χαλκôς *h*ε̣î<ς>, βάσις
τô κρατêρος σιδερâ, κ̣ανôν
χαλκôν ι̣-έν, ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τês
τραπέζες κυφαρίσινον *h*έν,
μικρὸν ἄγαλμα τês Μνίας·
ἐν τôι ι̣-υπισθοδόμοι· ἄγα[λ]—
μα τô Διονύσο *h*έν, περόν—
αι σιδεραî <ε>ἴκοσι καὶ *h*<ε>κατ—
όν· παρὰ τὸς πέπλος· περ[ό]—
ναι σιδεραî πέντε, κλάμ̣α—
τα περονôν σιδερôν *h*έξ,
βάθρο ξυλίνο δύο μ̣α̣κρό,
κανâ σχοίνινα *h*εννέα, λο—
ετ<ρ>ὸν χαλκôν τετρεμένο—
ν *h*έν, παναγρὶς χαλκê τετρε—
μένε μία, ἀσπὶς ἐπίχαλκο—
ς μία, ἀσπὶς λευκὲ μία, θό—
ραξ χαλκôς *h*ε̣î<ς>, ἀσπιδί<σ>κε
χαλκê μία, φιάλαι χ[α]λκαî
τρîς, πίναξ χαλκôς *h*ε̣î<ς>, ῥόα
[χ]αλκâ δύο, κηρύκεον σιδερô—
ν *h*έν, πελεκînος χαλκ̣ôς *h*εî<ς>·
ε̣ἰσιόντι *h*υπὲρ τês εἰσόδο·
περόναι <ε>ἴκοσι δύο σιδερα[î]·
[ἐ]ν τ̣ôι τês Αὐζεσίας· λυχ[νε]—
îον χαλκôν *h*έν, θυμιατ[ερί]—
ο χαλκὸ δύο, τούτο ΙΟ.. [...]
ἐστιν τὰ ἄν<ο, θ>ρόνοι δ̣ἑ̣[κα]

ξύλινοι, βάθρον θρόνο *h*έ̣[ν],
κανῶν χαλκῶν μικρόν, ἄγαλ—
μα Αὐζεσίας *h*έν, ἀγαλμ—
άτιον μικρόν, περόναι
σιδεραῖ *h*εκατὸν ὀγδο—
έκοντα, καρκέσιον χαλκῶ—
ν μικρὸν *h*έν, θόραξ χαλ̣κῶς
*h*εῖ<ς>, ἀσπὶς λευκὲ μία, φιάλαι
χαλκαῖ τρισκαίδεκα, περό—
ναι πρὸ<ς> τῶι πέπλοι σιδεραῖ
*h*οκτό, κλάματα περονῶν
πέντε σιδερᾶ, κιβοτὸς ξυλί—
νε μία, βάθρον μακρὸν
*h*ὲν ξύλινον.

Translation

Gods.
In that of Mnia: Incense—
burners,[1] bronze. Lampstand,[2] bronze, one.[3]
Krater, bronze, one. Base[4]
for a krater, iron. Basket,[5]
bronze, one. Image,[6] [made] of cypress wood,
on a table,[7] one,
small image of Mnia.[8]

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[1] Θυμιατήρια are common in inventory lists. In the Athenian treasuries: e.g., *IG* II² 1399.7–8. A full list is in Harris 1995, 301. For the Delian treasuries: Hamilton 2000, 467 (sub "censer").

[2] Λυχνεῖον. Attested in Attica (*IG* II² 1425.368, 369, 370; see also Harris 1995, 66–67).

[3] In this inventory, all quantities are spelled out. No numerals are used.

[4] Βάσις. The term rarely occurs in inventories of sanctuaries. One clear instance is from Oropos, in the Inventory of Silver Dedications in the Sanctuary of Amphiaraos, 2nd cent. BCE (*Epigraphes tou Oropou* 235.20 = *IG* VII 3498).

[5] Κανοῦν. Very common in inventories: see Harris (1995, 301) for references to the treasuries of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, Hamilton (2000, 466) for the Delian treasuries.

[6] Ἄγαλμα. The term is used five times in the inscription (lines 6, 8, 9–10, 33–34, and 34–35), and in three cases (6, 8, 34–35) written as ἄγλαμα: a case of adjacent metathesis.

[7] Τραπέζα. In the sense "table" occurs several times in Athenian (Harris 1995, 302) and many times in Delian (Hamilton 2000, 477) inventories. As a support for divine image, it might mean "a plinth of a statue" (*LSJ* cites *CIG* 4702.7 (Egypt, 4th cent. BCE)) rather than "table." *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) translates as Altarplatte "altar table."

[8] *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) provides the following translation: "ein Götterbild auf der Altarplatte, aus Zypressenholz; das kleine Götterbild der Mnia." The punctuation, as it is used throughout the German translation of this inscription, suggests that semicolon signifies separate entries. The translator therefore sees here two images: one image of cypress wood on a table, and another image—small statue of Mnia. I read lines 6–8 as one entry (see discussion in 10.2.2).

In the back chamber:[9] image
of Dionysos, one. Pins,[10]
iron, hundred and twenty.
Next to the dresses:[11] Pins,
iron, five. Fragments[12]
of pins, iron, six.
Pedestals,[13] wooden, two, large.
Baskets, [made] of reed, nine. Bath
tub,[14] bronze, perforated,[15]
one. Cauldron,[16] bronze, perforated,
one. Shield, brazen,[17] one.
Shield, shining,[18] one. Breast—
plate,[19] bronze, one. Small shield,[20]

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[9] *h*υπισθόδομος. According to *LSJ*, ὔπισθα is Aeolic for ὄπισθε. Hallof (sub *IG* IV² 787) cites Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* I 182, who attributes this feature to Lesbian dialect. The mason of our inscription added aspiration.

[10] Περόναι. Although not a terribly frequent item in inventories, pins do occur: e.g., in the treasury of the Parthenon (*IG* II² 1424a line 13: περόναι δύο), etc. The alternative meaning, although not in our case, is "rivet" (Hamilton 2000, 354 and notes 24 and 26).

[11] ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΣ ΠΕΠΛΟΣ: in Athenian inscriptions, *O* can represent omicron, omega, or diphthong *OY*, so in this case we should read παρὰ τοὺς πέπλους, which tantalizingly leaves us in the dark as to the exact number of *peploi*.

[12] Κλάματα. Objects that had broken into pieces typically continued to be preserved and inventoried. There are numerous parallels in Athenian and Delian lists: see Harris 1995, Appendix X ("Broken and Damaged Items in the Hekatompedon and Opisthodomos").

[13] Βάθρον (from βαίνω)—that on which anything steps or stands, hence (1) base, pedestal, (5) bench, seat (*LSJ*).

[14] Λοετρόν = λουτρόν, τό,—a bath, bathing-place (*LSJ*).

[15] τετρεμένον = τετρημένον, from τετραίνω—to bore through, pierce, perforate.

[16] Παναγρίς, ίδος, ἡ, according to *LSJ* = λεβητάριον, diminutive of λέβης—kettle, cauldron.

[17] ἐπίχαλκος, ον—covered with copper or brass, brazen (*LSJ*).

[18] Ἀσπίς λευκή is literally "white shield." Since the coloring of objects is nowhere indicated in the inventory, whereas the material from which they are made is, it is most likely that the adjective λευκή is used here in the sense of "bright," perhaps "polished" or "shining," rather than "white." *LSJ* lists such usage as referring to "metallic surfaces, λεβης (*Il.* 23.268)." In the inventory of the Athenian Khalkotheke for 371/0 BC (*IG* II² 1424a, add. Pp. 800–805, col. 1, l. 138), we find an entry: ἀσπίδες λευκαὶ XHHH. These objects also appear in *IG* II² 1438 (349/8 BC); *IG* II² 1469 (after 320/19 BC); *IG* II² 1464.11 (after 316/5 BC), although in either unspecified, or small quantities. The quantity recorded *IG* II² 1424a, is 1300, which is rather large, but there are also bronze helmets in similar quantities (line 133): 1433. *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) translates as "white shield:" "ein weißer Schild."

[19] θώραξ, ᾱκος, ὁ—a corselet, or coat of mail. Harris (1995, 84, 117, 301) prefers "breastplate."

[20] ἀσπῐδίσκη. Dim. of ἀσπίς, a boss; or, small shield (*LSJ* cites Ascl. Tact. 1.2, Hero Dioptr. 5). Hamilton (2000, 358) translates "disk," Harris (1995, 302, Index of Objects) translates "miniature shield," with references to the treasures of the Parthenon, Hekatompedon, and the Erechtheion. I concur with Harris in general and in this particular instance with *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) that "small shield" ("ein kleiner Schild aus Bronze") is preferable.

bronze, one. Phialai, bronze,
three. Tablet,[21] bronze, one. Pome—
granates,[22] bronze, two. Herald's wand,[23]
iron, one. Dovetail,[24] bronze, one.
Going in,[25] above the entrance [of Auzesia]:
Pins, twenty two, iron.
In that of Auzesia: Lampstand,
bronze, one. Incense-burners,
bronze, two. [Text
damaged]. Thrones,[26] ten,
wooden. Pedestal of a throne, one.
Basket, bronze, small. Image
of Auzesia, one, statuette,[27]
small.[28] Pins, iron,
one hundred eighty.
Drinking cup,[29] bronze,
small, one. Breast-plate,
bronze, one. Shield, shining, one.
Phialai, bronze, thirteen.
Pins, **in front of the *peplos***,[30] iron,
Eight. Fragments of pins, five, iron.
Chest,[31] wooden, one.
Pedestal, large,
one, wooden.

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[21] πίναξ [ῐ], ᾰκος, ὁ.

[22] ῥόα, ἡ.

[23] κηρύκειον, τό.

[24] πελεκῖνος, ὁ, *LSJ*: pelican, or a special term in masonry and carpentry—dovetail, *IG* 7.3073.171 (Lebad.). *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) translates "swallowtail"—"ein 'Schwalbenschwanz' aus Bronze."

[25] *IG* IV² Index verborum (p. 188) provides an incorrect lemma for ἐισιόντι: εἶσίημι instead of εἴσειμι.

[26] θρόνος, ὁ.

[27] ἀγαλμάτιον, τό.

[28] Here as well as in line 6–8, *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) prefers to distinguish two entries: "ein Götterbild der Auzesia; ein kleines Götterbild."

[29] καρκήσιον = καρχήσιον (so Hallof ad loc. *IG* IV² 787) Dor. καρχάσιον [χᾰ̄], τό, drinking-cup narrower in the middle than at the top and bottom. Καρχήσια are attested in the Acropolis treasures in Athens: e.g., *IG* I³ 292 line 13, 434/3 BCE (and the same item in the inventories for the next two years: see Harris 1995, 65, her catalogue III.1), *IG* I³ 350 lines 83–4, 427/6 and in subsequent years (see Harris 1995, 100, her catalogue IV.51), etc. Harris 1995 translates "goblet."

[30] *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) adds in parenthesis a clarification that the *peplos* is that of the goddess: "acht Spangen an dem Peplos (der Göttin), aus Eisen." See my discussion in 7.10.6.

[31] κῑβωτός, ἡ. Attested in the inventory of the Parthenon (*IG* II² 1424a lines 121–2, 371/0 BCE (Harris 1995, 58, her catalogue II.75)).

Letterforms

Mixed Attic and Ionic: *alpha* with straight (l. 1) and slanting (l. 13 and 14) crossbar; *gamma* is Γ; *epsilon* with parallel bars; dotted *theta*; aspirate in open and closed form; *lambda* is Λ; *omicron* both circular [and diamond-shaped?]; four-bar *sigma* with splayed bars; V-shaped *ypsilon*; *chi* is Χ, *zeta* consists of a vertical connecting the midpoints of two parallel horizontals, *ksi* is Ξ, not ΧΣ. Ο = Ο, Ω, ΟΥ Ε = Ε, Η.

Barron found the mix of letterforms in this inscription perplexing: "the aspirate is found in closed as well as open form, and the former disappeared from Athens well before the end of the sixth century; nor is it easily to be found there in company with dotted *theta*, as here. This inscription clearly demands further study: for the moment, one must doubt whether it is Athenian work at all. Certainly its closed aspirates, slanting and tailed *epsilons*, wide open *upsilons* and slant-barred *alphas* have no parallel with any official Athenian work of the last third of the fifth century."[32] The mix of forms is not as wild, however, as Barron saw it, since he apparently relied on a facsimile drawing of the inscription published in *IG* IV 39, which in several instances conveys the shapes of letters incorrectly: this affects the alleged slanting epsilons, tailed epsilons, some alphas, and diamond omicrons. Identification of letters in *IG* I^3 1455 is also made on the basis of the *IG* IV 39 facsimile and of photographs, not from autopsy. In both editions, an epsilon without middle crossbar is indicated, and an epsilon without both the lower and middle horizontal is listed in *IG* I^3 1455. *IG* IV^2 787 does not comment on these letter shapes. According to my visual inspection of the stone and photographs taken on that day, there are no epsilons with genuinely slanting bars, although letters are in many cases carved untidily, without perfect vertical and horizontal alignment. Where there is a hint of slanting (unless it is to be seen as a result of uneven base lines) it is upward not downward. I could not ascertain tailed epsilons either: if there is a slight protrusion or depression in the stone at the top or bottom of some vertical strokes in epsilons (very few where this can even be suspected), it should be also safely attributed to the general untidiness of the carving style, not to stylistic choice or intention. I have checked all the readings where *IG* IV 39 indicates diamond-shaped omicrons and epsilons without a middle horizontal, and have once again found these not to be the case. The carver meant his omicrons to be round, and his epsilons to have three horizontals, but did not always do a perfectly neat job with them, so that sometimes the ends of verticals and horizontals of epsilon do not meet perfectly in one dot, the depth of the strokes is uneven, and omicrons are not completely round. Crossbars in alphas do indeed alternate between straight and slanting, but not in the places as per *IG* IV 39 drawing.

Numerals are not used in this inventory, all numbers are written out. Also perhaps due to the absence of precious metals, no weights are given for any object.

[32] Barron 1983, 3.

Dialect

As Barron observes, "[b]asically the dialect is Attic, but with some strange variations, as *hυπισθοδομοι*, line 9—a hybrid of Aeolism and aspiration. The composer frequently omits sibilants (*hει* for *h*εις lines 4, 21, 23, 25, 39; ασπιδι(σ)κε, 21; κλα(σ)ματα, 42, cf. 13), and adds aspirates (*hοκτο*, 42; *hεννεα*, 16; *hικοσι*, 11, 27; κυφαρισινον, 7)."[33] The missing final sigma in πρός (line 41) might be due to the same pattern of dropping sibilants.

Style of Writing

non-stoichedon

Organization of the List

Items are listed according to location within adjacent structures as indicated by the headings: first, those in the temple of Mnia, then those in the back chamber of that building, and lastly those in the temple of Auzesia. All three headings begin at the start of the lines (2, 10, 29 respectively). Other spatial referents with respect to which items are described are *peploi* in both temples (παρὰ τὸς πέπλος, line 13, προ<ς> τôι πέπλοι, line 41) and entrance to the temple of Auzesia (ἐισιόντι *h*υπὲρ τês εἰσόδο). The latter referent serves almost as another heading, also placed at the start of the line (27). Yet another spatial reference might be in lines 31–32, but the text is damaged: τούτο IO. . [. . .] | ἐστιν τὰ ἄν<ο>. Because *peploi* are used as spatial referents we may presume that either their presence in general, or their position or manner of display were such that they provided a strong visual anchoring.

Apart from cult statues, the listed items are only of three types: those of metal, those of wood, and those made of reeds. Often in inventory lists, items made of the same material would be grouped together. Here as well items of the same material seem to cluster together, but in the temple of Mnia metal items start and conclude spatial groupings, while wooden and reed items appear in the middle of the metal sequence. By contrast, in the temple of Auzesia, wooden items appear at the beginning and end of the list. Among metal items, absence of gold and silver objects is of note.

Forty-three entries are listed in the inventory. Out of 43, in only three instances items are not provided with a count: multiple incense burners (lines 1–2), an iron base for a krater (lines 4–5), and a small bronze basket (line 33). In my opinion, cult images, one each in the temples of Mnia and Auzesia, are provided both with descriptions of their size, note of their identity, and count (for a more detailed discussion see 10.2.2), although interpretations here are likely to differ (see note 29 above).

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[33] Barron 1983, 2.

Clusters within Spatial Groups

(1) Incense-burners and lamp-stands head off the lists in both temples (lines 3–4 and 29–31). They may have been placed at the entrance to each because the spatial reference "going in, above the entrance: pins, twenty-two, iron" (lines 28–29) is followed immediately by "in the temple of Auzesia: lampstand, bronze, one. Incense-burners, bronze, two" (lines 30–31), suggesting that the order of items in the list corresponds to the movement of the person making the list from the outside inside, then from the doorway further in to the back of the cella, and in the case of Mnia further into the back chamber (*hypisthodomos*)—this section of items comes at the end of the list.

(2) Armour is grouped together in each temple: one brazen shield, one polished shield, one bronze corselet, and one bronze small shield in the *hypisthodomos* of the temple of Mnia (lines 19–22); one bronze corselet and one polished shield in the temple of Auzesia (lines 39–40). A subset of armour, consisting of a polished shield and a bronze corselet, appears twice: once each in the temple of Mnia, and in the temple of Auzesia: ἀσπὶς λευκὲ μία, θό|ραξ χαλκ̣ôς ḥe̯̣î<ς> (lines 22–23), θόραξ χαλκ̣ôς|*h*εῖ<ς>, ἀσπὶς λευκὲ μία (lines 39–40). This must be significant: either reflecting a particular dedicatory occasion, or possibly a parallel ritual for each deity.

(3) Iron pins are also clustered in groups of various sizes: from as few as 5 to as many as 180, including broken ones. The fact that instead of giving a total count of all iron pins in each enclosure the inventory lists clusters of pins in-between other items confirms the impression that the items are listed in the spatial order in which they are observed on display.

(4) In both cases where *peploi* are listed, there are iron pins listed right before, and/or right after them. Some clusters of pins are in fact spatially anchored vis-à-vis the *peploi*. This ordering of items further corroborates that objects are described according to their spatial position rather than material or function.

On the basis of the observations outlined above we can suggest several possible scenarios to explain the order in which items were entered in the inventory: (a) the objects may have been catalogued by the inventory-takers in exactly the same order as they had been found by them in situ. In that case, the arrangement would correspond to what was left behind by the Aiginetan care-takers, and should date to the early days of Athenian occupation, and also reflect the Aiginetan phase in the ritual use of the sanctuary; so that what we might say about the cult on the basis of this evidence would be reflecting Aiginetan, not Athenian practice; (b) the Athenians may have moved the objects about and grouped them in ways that made sense to them, so that the catalogues reflect this new arrangement; (c) the Athenians may have left the objects themselves in their places, but listed them in the inventory according to some logic of their own, not necessarily reflecting the spatial arrangement of objects in the enclosures. Although theoretically possible, scenarios (b) and (c) are not able to explain as well as scenario (a) why pins are listed in multiple clusters, why *peploi* are preceded or followed in the list by pins, and why wooden objects are not all listed together in the temple of Auzesia. It would be my contention, therefore, to suggest that the arrangement of the inventory list taken by the Athenians reflects

the status quo of the last days before the Aiginetan exile from the island. At the same time, since we can safely assume that the local population had been exiled by the time the inventories were being conducted, it is not likely that a local treasurer would have been on hand to name the objects, and the identification of materials used also must have depended on the expertise of those conducting the inventory. The choice of terminology is therefore probably non-Aiginetan, and the descriptions drawn are by those unfamiliar with the specific ritual practice of the cult.

Inventory of the Sanctuary of Aphaia, 431–404 BCE

IG IV^2 1037

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
[. ἐ]πὶ τ̣ῶ̣ι .[. . .] ϙι [:]I : ἁλύ—
σε : II : σιδήρια ἐξ ὀπῆς : IIII :
καρκίνω : II : ξύλινα τά—
δε· ἐξάλειπτρον : I : κιβ—
ωτοὶ : III : ἴκρια περὶ τὸ ἕ—
δος ἐντελῆ, θρόνος : I :
δίφρος : I : βάθρα : IIII : θρόν—
ος μικρὸς : I : κλίνη : σμι—
κρὰ : I : βάθρον ἀνάκλισ—
ιν ἔχον : I : κιβώτια μικ—
{α}ρὰ : III : βάθρον ὑποκρατ—
ήριον : I : κιβώτιον πλα—
τὺ : I :, ἐν τῶι ἀμφιπολεί—
ωι τάδε· χαλκίον θερμ—
αντήριον : I : χερόνιπτ—
ρον : I : φιάλα : II : πέλεκυς : I :
μοχλὸς : I vv: μαχαίρια : III :
κλίνα : II : vv χαλκίον ἐγ—
λοτήριον : I : ἀρύστιχο—
ς : I : ἠθμὸς : I :

Translation

--- [. . . .] :1: chains
2;[34] iron grills from windows :4:[35]

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[34] ἅλῦσις, εως, ἡ, chain. ἅλῦσει is the Attic dual form of the noun (Hallof with reference to Threatte II 216).

[35] σῖδήριον, τό, an implement or tool of iron, *IG* 12.313.128 (V BC). Perhaps a lattice or grate covering the ὀπή, ἡ, opening, hole. These openings were probably the intercolumnia of the pronaos and opisthodomos: if both areas were used for storage (as is likely), they would have required grills to prevent animals or thieves from getting inside (see reconstruction drawing by E. Fiechter, illustrating such grills, in Ohly 1981, 51, fig. 15). *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV^2 2, 787) translates "Fensterbeschläge."

a pair of pincers :2:[36] **Of wood—**
the following: unguent-box :1:[37]
boxes :3: platform[38] encircling
the seat,[39] whole; throne :1:
stool :1:[40] pedestals :4:
small throne :1: small
couch :1: pedestal with
support :1: small
boxes :3: pedestal that is
a krater stand :1:[41] small
flat box :1:[42] **In the amphipoleion[43]—**
the following: small copper cauldron
for boiling water :1:[44] basin for washing

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[36] καρκίνος, ὁ, in this context, is probably a pair of pincers: as in *IG* 11(2).165.11 (Delos, iii BC), according to *LSJ*. Known from Attic inventories: e.g., καρκίνοι ἰατρικοί (*IG* II² 47 lines 16–17, 19); *IG* II² 1424a col. II.255, line 272: καρ[κ]ίνος λιθάρτης; *IG* I³ 386 (accounts of the epistatai of the Eleusinion for 308/7 BCE) line 130: καρκίνος : I.

[37] ἐξἄλειπτρον, τό, unguent-box. Known in other inventories: *IG* II 751 Biid4, XI(2) 161B125, (Delos, iii BC).

[38] ὕκρια, τά—*LSJ*: half-deck at the stern of a ship; II. generally, platform, stage; 2. scaffolding, *IG* 12.94.28 (prob. in 374.151), 4.39 (Aegina, v BC), *BCH* 6.27 (Delos, ii BC). *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) takes the entry as a unit, without a count and translate as "wooden barriers around the cult statue, complete:" "Holzschranken um des Kultbild, vollständig." The impact of the remark that this structure, whatever it was, was complete or intact is not clear.

[39] ἕδος, εος, τό, *LSJ* supplies the general meaning as "sitting-place," and two specific usages to designate "seat or stool," and "a seated statue of a god," with the following examples in support: *IG* II 754 (= II² 659) (287/6 BCE): παρασκευάζειν εἰς κάθαρσι[ν]| τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιστερὰν καὶ περιαλε[ῖ]|[ψα]ι τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ πιττῶσαι τὰς [ὀ]|[ροφὰς] καὶ λοῦσαι τὰ ἕδη· In this third-century BCE example, the likelihood is high that τὰ ἕδη stands for cult statues. The possible literary usages of this sense ("cult statue") are fourth-century at the earliest, as listed by *LSJ*: "τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕδη καὶ τοὺς νεώς (Isocr. 4.155); τοὺς νεὼς καὶ τὰ ἕδη καὶ τὰ τεμένη (Lycurg. 143); θεῶν ἕδη (v.l. ἄλση) καὶ ἱερά (Pl. Phd. 111b). Tim. Lex. ἕδος· τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, but this latter use is doubtful in early Prose." Thus, the use in the sense of "cult statue" in this 5th-century text is not unquestionable. *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) translates as "Kultbild," cult statue.

[40] δίφρος, ὁ. Attested in Athenian treasuries: e.g., *IG* I³ 343 line 14, 434/3 BCE (and in subsequent inventories: see Harris 1995, 92, her catalogue IV.27).

[41] ὑποκρᾰτήριον, τό,—stand of a κρατήρ (*LSJ*).

[42] πλᾰτύς, εῖα, ύ generally meaning "wide," in reference to a small box (*kibôtion*) must mean "flat."

[43] Some auxiliary structure that served at least in part as a storage place for ritual implements. ἀμφιπολεῖον, τό derives from ἀμφίπολος, ον, which generally means "attendant," and in the context of sanctuary could certainly mean "cult personnel," so *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) translates: "Haus des Kultpersonals."

[44] θερμαντήριον is likely a diminutive of θερμαντήρ, ῆρος, ὁ, *LSJ*: kettle or pot for boiling water. *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV² 2, 787) seems to have in mind something more like a coal oven, or a censer: Feuerbecken.

hands :1:[45] phialai :2: axe :1:[46]
crowbar :1:[47] knives :3:
couches :2: copper cauldron eg—
lotêrion :1:[48] ladle :1:[49]
20 strainer :1:[50]

Letterforms

Ionic (*IG* I^3 1455, D. Lewis and L. Jeffery); "a single lapse into older Attic in lines 1–2 αλυ|σε for αλυ|ση."[51] The consistently Ionic script makes the plausibility that we could read *gamma* as the last letter of line 18 relatively strong.

Numbers

Numerals are used and punctuated in the same way (three vertical dots on either side of the numeral) as on the Athenian accounts of the Eleusinian epistatai for the year 408/7 BCE (*IG* I^3 386). No numbers higher than four are attested in this inscription, and single digits from one to four are expressed as simple verticals placed in a row.

Punctuation

Three dots placed vertically in columns on each side of the numeral.

Dialect

Attic.

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[45] χειρόνιπτρον, τό, *LSJ*: basin for washing hands, prob. in *IG* II^2 1416 line 7.

[46] πέλεκῠς, ὁ—although it can mean 'a tool for felling trees,' or 'battle axe,' in this context the axe is probably sacrificial.

[47] μοχλός, ὁ, bar, lever, crowbar. *LSJ*: any bar or stake, III. wooden or iron bar or bolt placed across gates on the inside; *IG* I^2 313 line 126.

[48] ἐγλοτήριον is not attested anywhere else in this spelling. The print edition of *IG* IV^2 787 sub titlum provides no comment on this term, but lists it under ἐκλουτήριον in the Index verborum of *IG* IV^2. *Inscriptiones Graecae Online* (http://telota.bbaw.de/ig/ig IV^2 2, 787) translate as Waschbecken, "a sink." Threatte (556) does not list such examples for kappa becoming a gamma before a liquid (lambda) in the relevant section—46.011 (Clusters of stop and liquid). Aside from our case the word ἐκλουτήριος, ον is not attested in substantive or adjectival forms, but is easily derived from ἐκλούω, "wash out," which, according to *LSJ*, is once attested in the form ἐγλοηθείς (*PPetr*. 2 pp. 72, 73 (3rd cent. BCE)), thus providing support for the possibility of a smooth palatal (kappa) becoming a middle palatal (gamma) before a liquid (lambda). The problem is that it does not seem to be attested widely, and not otherwise known in Attic. In fact Smyth §82 N.2 points out that the prefix ἐκ- tends not be affected by the following dental stop, and one would presume it should be even less affected by liquid consonants. ἐγλοτήριον is used in combination with χαλκίον, which is a copper vessel, cauldron, or kettle. The same word appears in line 14 in combination with *thermantêrion*.

[49] ἀρύστῐχος [ᾰ], ὁ, Dim. of ἀρυτήρ, ὁ, (ἀρύω)—ladle or cup.

[50] ἠθμός, ὁ, LSJ: *SIG* 2 (Sigeum, vi BC) strainer, colander, *SIG* l.c., *IG* II^2.1416.11.

[51] Barron 1983, 2.

Style of Writing

Stoichedon (also like on the Athenian accounts of the Eleusinian epistatai for the year 408/7 BCE–*IG* I^3 386). Letters are carefully and crisply carved.

Organization of the List

Only the bottom of the stele survives, so that we have to guess what headings may have been in the top fragment. The two headings that survive: ξύλινα τάδε· (lines 5–6) and ἐν τῶι ἀμφιπολείωι τάδε· (lines 15–16) indicate the principles of organization according to specific buildings or rooms, and according to the material from which the objects were made. These principles are familiar from other Attic inventories. This is in contrast to the other Aiginetan inventory (*IG* IV^2 787) presented above where subheadings according to material are not used.

Although it is hazardous to make definitive assertions, as such items may have appeared at the head of the inventory, there are no items made of precious metals in the surviving part of the inventory. This matches the absence of such items (gold and silver) in the inventory of Damia and Auxesia. The items mentioned are exclusively of metal and wood. Four possible explanations present themselves: (1) that it was not customary either in the cults of these deities, or in Aiginetan cults in general, to use (as ritual equipment) items made of precious metals; (2) that Aiginetans driven from the island by force by the Athenians, somehow managed to rescue and carry away items of gold and silver; (3) that the Athenians confiscated and melted down such precious items for the purposes of funding their war efforts (as was the fate of certain items in the Athenian treasuries on the Acropolis),[52] and only then conducted an inventory of the remaining objects; (4) finally, it is possible that only personal dedications in these sanctuaries were made of precious metals, while the inventories had the remit to include only ritual equipment,[53] and so the precious objects were thus omitted from the record, but not necessarily confiscated.

Apart from organization by spatial location and material, there does not appear to be another perceptible principle that determines the order in which items are listed. The inventory is thorough, including items from a small flat box to presumably large iron grills for intercolumnia. Thrones, stools, and pedestals seem to be clustered together (lines 5–10), but whether this reflects their spatial position is not clear. The items stored in *amphipoleion* seem to be utensils of ritual nature, among which is an axe, probably sacrificial. In contrast to the inventory of Damia and Auxesia, cult statue(s) do not appear as items of the inventory, at least not in the surviving fragment. It might be explained by the fact that it (they) would have been listed under a different category of material (stone or ivory?). We know from *IG* IV^2 1038 that before 550 BCE the cult image was called χόλέφας, referring

[52] See Harris (1995, 28–29) on the melting down and reuse of precious metals from the Acropolis treasures, the earliest occurring some time between 410/9 and 403/2 BCE.

[53] Harris (1995, 28) points out that "[the inventories] did not include private dedications, at least in the fifth century BC."

to the use of ivory in its manufacture.[54] At the same time, some wooden construction (ἴκρια ἐντελῆ) appears to surround what is termed τὸ ἔδος, which has been interpreted to mean "cult image."[55]

[54] Williams 1982, 65.

[55] See Ohly 1977, 16 and fig. 7, showing a photo of the model of the temple of Aphaia (in the Glyptotech, Munich): cella with a cult statue, the latter surrounded by a low wooden lattice fence: "Sie [Athena's statue] stand auf einem Sockel, der von einer niedrigen Schranke eingefasst war, wohl einem schützenden Gitter, das die Tempelbesucher hinderte, allsu nah an das Standbild heranzutreten."

APPENDIX FIVE

SELECTED TEXTUAL SOURCES WITH TRANSLATIONS

Note: unless stated otherwise, translations are my own.

Aiakids

Scholia to Euripides Andromache *687*

ἄλλως: Ζεὺς συνελθὼν Αἰγίνῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀσωποῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεννᾷ Αἰακόν· Αἰακὸς δὲ λαβὼν γυναῖκα Ἐνδηίδα τὴν Σκίρωνος τεκνοῖ Τελαμῶνα καὶ Πηλέα. εἶτα πάλιν μίγνυται Αἰακὸς Ψαμάθῃ τῇ Νηρέως εἰς φώκην ἠλλαγμένῃ διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ (10) τεκνοῖ ἐκ ταύτης παῖδα τὸν Φῶκον ὃν ὁ Πηλεὺς ἀνεῖλεν ἐπιβουλεύσας διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι διαφέροντα αὐτὸν εἶναι Πηλέως καὶ Τελαμῶνος.

Another opinion: Zeus has intercourse with Aigina, the daughter of river Asopos, and engenders Aiakos. Aiakos takes Endeis, the daughter of Skiron as a wife, and she gives birth to Telamon and Peleus. Then, once more, Aiakos has intercourse with Psamathe, the daughter of Nereus, who changes herself into a seal because she does not wish to have intercourse with him [Aiakos], and she gives birth to a child, Phokos, whom Peleus conspires to kill on account of him [Phokos] surpassing Peleus and Telamon in a contest.

Scholia to Pindar Nemean *5.12*·

(12a.) *ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας:* συλλήψει κέχρηται ἀπὸ Κρόνου καὶ Διὸς καὶ Νηρεΐδων λέγων εἶναι τοὺς Αἰακίδας. Αἰακὸς γὰρ Διός, Αἰακοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἐνδηΐδος τῆς Χείρωνος Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεύς, ὁ δὲ Χείρων Κρόνου. πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν Νηρεΐδων Φῶκος καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς· Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν γὰρ παῖς Θέτιδος ἔκγονος ὢν Αἰακοῦ, Φῶκος δὲ Ψαμάθης Νηρεΐδος καὶ αὐτοῦ Αἰακοῦ. (12b.) *ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνός*: Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεύς· Κρόνου μὲν γὰρ Χείρων καὶ Φιλύρας, Χείρωνος δὲ Ἐνδηΐς, Ἐνδηΐδος δὲ Τελαμὼν καὶ Πηλεὺς ἐξ Αἰακοῦ.

(12a). *Heroes stemming from Kronos and Zeus*: [Pindar] used syllepsis [here] in order to say that the Aiakids had originated from Kronos and Zeus and the Nereïds. For Aiakos is [the son] of Zeus, while Telamon and Peleus are [sons] of Aiakos and Endeis, and Kheiron is [the son] of Kronos. In turn, Achilles and Phokos are from the Nereïds: for Achilles is a child of Thetis, thus being a descendant of Aiakos, while Phokos is [a child] of Psamathe, a Nereïd, and of the same Aiakos. (12b). *From Kronos and Zeus*: Telamon and Peleus. For Kheiron is [a child] of Kronos and Philyra, while Endeis is [a daughter] of Kheiron, and Telamon and Peleus are [the sons] of Endeis by Aiakos.

Aphaia

Pausanias 2.30.3

ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν, ἔστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν, ἐς ἣν καὶ Πίνδαρος ᾄσμα Αἰγινήταις ἐποίησε. φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες—τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια—Καρμάνορος τοῦ καθήραντος Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ φόνῳ τῷ Πύθωνος παῖδα Εὔβουλον εἶναι, Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κάρμης τῆς Εὐβούλου Βριτόμαρτιν γενέσθαι· χαίρειν δὲ αὐτὴν δρόμοις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι μάλιστα φίλην εἶναι· Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ᾽ ἰχθύων θήρᾳ. ταύτην μὲν θεὸν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμις, σέβουσι δὲ οὐ Κρῆτες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰγινῆται, λέγοντες φαίνεσθαί σφισιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν Βριτόμαρτιν. ἐπίκλησις δέ οἱ παρά τε Αἰγινήταις ἐστὶν Ἀφαία καὶ Δίκτυννα ἐν Κρήτῃ.

On Aigina, as you go to the mountain of Zeus Panhellenios, there is a sanctuary of Aphaia, for whom Pindar wrote a hymn for the Aiginetans. The Cretans say—for they have local stories about her—that the son of Karmanor, who had purified Apollo from the murder of Pythôn, was Euboulos, and that Britomartis was the daughter of Zeus and Karmê, the daughter of Euboulos. Britomartis enjoyed running and hunting, and was very dear to Artemis. Fleeing from love-stricken Minôs she threw herself into the nets that were spread for catching fish. Artemis made her a goddess, and not only Cretans, but also Aiginetans worship her saying that Britomartis appears to them on the island. Her *epiklêsis* among the Aiginetans is Aphaia, and Diktynna—on Crete.

Antoninus Liberalis Metamorphosis *40*

Βριτόμαρτις. Κασσιεπείας τῆς Ἀραβίου καὶ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἐγένετο Κάρμη· ταύτῃ μιγεὶς Ζεὺς ἐγέννησε Βριτόμαρτιν. αὕτη φυγοῦσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγάπησεν ἀεὶ παρθένος εἶναι. καὶ παρεγένετο πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ᾽ Ἄργος ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ τὰς Ἐρασίνου θυγατέρας Βύζην καὶ Μελίτην καὶ Μαῖραν καὶ Ἀγχιρόην, ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν ἀνέβη καὶ αὐτὴν ὠνόμασαν οἱ Κεφαλλῆνες Λαφρίαν καὶ ἱρ᾽ ἀνήγαγον ὡς θεῷ. ἔπειτα ἔρχεται εἰς Κρήτην καὶ αὐτὴν ἰδὼν Μίνως καὶ ἐρασθεὶς ἐδίωκεν· ἡ δὲ κατέφυγε παρ᾽ ἄνδρας ἁλιέας· οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν κατέδυσαν εἰς τὰ δίκτυα καὶ ὠνόμασαν ἐκ τούτου Κρῆτες Δίκτυνναν καὶ ἱερὰ προσήνεγκαν. ἐκφυγοῦσα δὲ Μίνωα ἐξίκετο ἡ Βριτόμαρτις εἰς Αἴγιναν ἐν πλοίῳ σὺν ἀνδρὶ ἁλιεῖ Ἀνδρομήδει. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῇ ἐνεχείρησεν ὀρεγόμενος μιχθῆναι, ἡ δὲ Βριτόμαρτις ἀποβᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου κατέφυγεν εἰς ἄλσος, ὅθιπέρ ἐστι νῦν αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερόν, κἀνταῦθα ἐγένετο ἀφανής, καὶ ὠνόμασαν αὐτὴν Ἀφαίαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τόνδε τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο ἡ Βριτόμαρτις, ἀφιέρωσαν Αἰγινῆται· καὶ ὠνόμασαν Ἀφαίην καὶ ἱρὰ ἐπετέλεσαν ὡς θεῷ.

Britomartis. Kassiepeia, daughter of Arabios, and Phoinkos, son of Agênor, gave birth to Karmê. Zeus made love to her, and she bore Britomartis. This girl, shying the company of men, preferred to remain a virgin. And she first went from Phoenicia to live in Argos with the daughters of Erasinos: Byzê, Melitê, Maira, and Agkhiroê. Then she went up from Argos to Kephallenia, and the Kephallenians named her Laphria and instituted sacred rites for her as for a goddess. After that she came to Crete, where Minôs seeing her, desired her and pursued her. She

sought refuge with some men of the sea who hid her in their nets, and for this reason Cretans gave her the name Diktynna and established sacred rites for her. Having escaped Minos, Britomartis came in a ship to Aigina with a man of the sea Andromêdes. He as well, reached out and attempted to rape her, but Britomartis getting off the ship ran into a grove, where her sanctuary is nowadays, and there she was lost to sight, and so they called her Aphaia. That very spot in the sanctuary of Artemis, where Aphaia was lost to sight, the Aiginetans consecrated, and they named her Aphaia and established sacred rites for her as for a goddess.

Demeter Thesmophoros

Herodotus 6.91–92

Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος σφι τοῦ δήμου ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτέ σφεας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ἵλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν. Ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστῆρσι.

The rich men of Aegina gained mastery over the people, who had risen against them with Nicodromus, then made them captive and led them out to be killed. Because of this a curse fell upon them, which despite all their efforts they could not get rid of by sacrifice, and they were driven out of their island before the goddess would be merciful to them. They had taken seven hundred of the people alive; as they led these out for slaughter one of them escaped from his bonds and fled to the temple gate of Demeter the Lawgiver, where he laid hold of the door-handles and clung to them. They could not tear him away by force, so they cut off his hands and carried him off, and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles. (Translated by *A. D. Godley*)

Hekate

Libanius (Orat. *14.5*)

Τούτῳ Μένανδρος μὲν ἦν πατήρ, τὰ πρῶτα Κορινθίων, φίλος Ἑκάτῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, πλέων μὲν εἰς Αἴγιναν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀργίων, ἐλαύνων δὲ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦδε μυστηρίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νήσῳ κορυφαῖος ὢν τοῦ θιάσου, ἐν δὲ τῇ χερρονήσῳ συντελῶν ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων, τελῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ μέγα συνέδριον.

His father was Menander, a leading citizen of Corinth, dear to Hekate and Poseidon, who sailed to Aigina to take part in her ritual and rode to the Isthmus to participate in his mysteries. In the island, he was the leader of the band of initiates, but on the mainland he was a lesser contributor, being enrolled as a member of the supreme senate. (Trans. A. F. Norman)

Origen, Contra Celsum *6.22*

τί δὴ οὖν μᾶλλον ταῦτ' ἐξέθετο ἤ τι τῶν λοιπῶν μυστηρίων μετὰ τῆς διηγήσεως αὐτῶν; Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ παρ' Ἕλλησιν εἶναι ἐξαίρετα τὰ τοῦ Μίθρου παρὰ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἢ τὰ παραδιδόμενα τοῖς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μυουμένοις τὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης . . .

[W]hy did he [Celsus] select these for quotation, rather than some of the other mysteries, with the explanation of them? For the mysteries of Mithras do not appear to be more famous among the Greeks than those of Eleusis, or than those taught to the initiates in the rites of Hekate on Aigina.

Zeus Hellanios

Isocrates 9 (Evagoras)*, 14–15*

Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰακὸς ὁ Διὸς μὲν ἔκγονος, τοῦ δὲ γένους τοῦ Τευκριδῶν πρόγονος, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ὥστε γενομένων αὐχμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφθαρέντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἦλθον οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων ἱκετεύοντες αὐτόν, νομίζοντες διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς ἐκείνου τάχιστ' ἂν εὑρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν. Σωθέντες δὲ καὶ τυχόντες ἁπάντων ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατεστήσαντο κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν εὐχήν.

Aiakos, son of Zeus and ancestor of the *genos* of the Teukridai, was so distinguished that when there was a drought among the Greeks and many people had perished, and when the magnitude of the calamity had exceeded all bounds, the leaders of *poleis* came as suppliants to him; for they thought that, by reason of his kinship with Zeus and due to his piety, they would most quickly obtain from the gods a relief from the present evils. Having gained their desire, they were saved and established in Aigina a sanctuary common to all the Greeks on the very spot where he [Aiakos] had made his prayer.

Scholia on Pindar Nemean *5.17b*

ηὔξαντο δὲ στάντες παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλανίου Διὸς βωμόν. Ἑλλήνιος δὲ Ζεὺς τιμᾶται ἐν Αἰγίνῃ παρὰ τῷ οὕτως Ἑλληνίῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ καλουμένῳ. φασὶ γὰρ αὐχμοῦ ποτε πιέζοντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔνιοι δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ, συνελθόντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καθικετεῦσαι τὸν Αἰακὸν ὡς ὄντα παῖδα Διὸς ἐξαιτήσασθαι τῶν τότε συστάντων κακῶν τὴν ἴασιν· τοῦτον δὲ εὐξάμενον ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τὰ δεινά, καὶ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωτηρίαν Ἑλλήνιον παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις τιμῆσαι Δία.

They prayed standing by the altar of Hellanios Zeus. Hellanios Zeus is honored on Aigina at the peak called thusly Hellanios. For they say that when once a drought was oppressing Hellas (but some say it was a flood), the Hellenes assembled together and came as suppliants to Aiakos, on account of his being a child of Zeus, to seek a remedy from the present evils. And having prayed he [Aiakos] cured the misfortune, and so because of this salvation of Hellas Hellenios Zeus is honored by the Aiginetans.

Scholia to Aristophanes Equites *1253a–b*

Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ: Ἑλλάνιος Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ ποτε γενομένου, ὅτε ὁ Αἰακὸς συναγαγὼν τοὺς Πανέλληνας ἐξιλεώσατο τὸν Δία. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει ὁ ἀλλαντοπώλης, εἰληφὼς τὸν στέφανον. Ἑλλάνιος δὲ Ζεὺς τιμᾶται ἐν Αἰγίνῃ.
Ἑλλάνιος Ζεὺς τιμᾶται ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. αὐχμοῦ γάρ ποτε ἐν Ἑλλάδι γενομένου Αἰακὸς συναγαγὼν τοὺς Πανέλληνας ἐξιλεώσατο τὸν Δία καὶ ὑετὸν ἀπέστειλε. τιμᾶται οὖν ἔκτοτε Ζεὺς Ἑλλάνιος. Lh

(a) Zeus Hellanios [is so called] from the drought that once happened, when Aiakos, having gathered all Hellenes, propitiated Zeus. This is what the sausage-seller says having seized the wreath. And Zeus Hellanios is honored [on Aigina]. (b) Zeus Hellanios is honored on Aigina. For when a drought once happened in Greece, Aiakos, having gathered all Hellenes, propitiated Zeus, and the latter sent rain. Because of this therefore Zeus Hellanios is honored.

Diodorus Sicilus 4.61.1–3

Οἰνόην τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Μίνως δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν κατὰ τὸν υἱὸν συμφοράν, ἦκεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δίκας αἰτῶν τοῦ Ἀνδρόγεω φόνου. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, πρὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον συνεστήσατο, ἀρὰς δὲ ἐποιήσατο τῷ Διὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων αὐχμὸν καὶ λιμόν. ταχὺ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένων αὐχμῶν καὶ φθαρέντων τῶν καρπῶν, συνελθόντες οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἡγεμόνες ἐπηρώτησαν τὸν θεὸν πῶς ἂν δύναιντο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. ὁ δ' ἔχρησεν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Αἰακὸν τὸν Διὸς καὶ Αἰγίνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρός, καὶ κελεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι. ὧν πραξάντων τὸ προσταχθέν, ὁ μὲν Αἰακὸς ἐπετέλεσε τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ ὁ αὐχμὸς παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἐπαύσατο, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μόνοις διέμεινεν· οὗ δὴ χάριν ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἔχρησεν, ἐὰν τοῦ Ἀνδρόγεω φόνου τῷ Μίνῳ δίκας δῶσιν ἃς ἂν ἐκεῖνος δικάσῃ.

Minos, when he learned of the fate, which had befallen his son, came to Athens and demanded satisfaction for the murder of Androgeos. And when no one paid any attention to him, he declared war against the Athenians and uttered imprecations to Zeus, calling down drought and famine throughout the state of the Athenians. And when drought quickly prevailed about Attica and Greece and the crops were destroyed, the heads of the communities gathered together and inquired of the god what steps they could take to rid themselves of their present evils. The god made answer to them that they should go to Aiakos, the son of Zeus and Aigina, the daughter of Asopos, and ask him to offer prayers on their behalf. And when they had done as they had been commanded, among the rest of the Greeks, the drought was broken, but among the Athenians alone it continued; wherefore the Athenians were compelled to make inquiry of the god how they might be rid of their present evils. Thereupon the god made answer that they could do so if they would render to Minos such satisfaction for the murder of Androgeos as he might demand. 3 The Athenians obeyed the order of the god, and Minos commanded them that they should give seven youths and as many maidens every nine years to the Minotaur for him to devour, for as long a time as the monster should live. And when the Athenians gave them, the inhabitants

of Attica were rid of their evils and Minos ceased warring on Athens. (Modified from the translation of C. H. Oldfather)

Pausanias 2.29.7–8

ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες· αἰτίαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν Αἰγινήταις καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ λέγουσιν. αὐχμὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐπίεζε καὶ οὔτε τὴν ἐκτὸς ἰσθμοῦ χώραν οὔτε Πελοποννησίοις ὗεν ὁ θεός, ἐς ὃ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλαν ἐρησομένους τὸ αἴτιον ὅ τι εἴη καὶ αἰτήσοντας ἅμα λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. τούτοις ἡ Πυθία εἶπε Δία ἱλάσκεσθαι, χρῆναι δέ, εἴπερ ὑπακούσει σφίσιν, Αἰακὸν τὸν ἱκετεύσαντα εἶναι. οὕτως Αἰακοῦ δεησομένους ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ᾽ ἑκάστης πόλεως· καὶ ὁ μὲν τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐποίησεν ὗεσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐλθόντων ὡς αὐτὸν εἰκόνας ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Αἰγινῆται.

Wrought in relief at the entrance are the envoys whom the Greeks once dispatched to Aiakos. The reason for the embassy given by the Aeginetans is the same as that which the other Greeks assign. A drought had for some time afflicted Greece, and no rain fell either beyond the Isthmus or in the Peloponnesos, until at last they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what was the cause and to beg for deliverance from the evil. The Pythia bade them propitiate Zeus, saying that he would not listen to them unless the one to supplicate him were Aiakos. And so envoys came with a request to Aiakos from each city. By sacrifice and prayer to Zeus, God of all the Greeks, he caused rain to fall upon the earth, and the Aiginetans made these likenesses of those who came to him. (Modified from the translation of W. H. S. Jones and A. H. Ormerod)

Clement of Alexandria Stromata *6.3.28–29*

πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐχμοῦ ποτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολυχρονίως φθείροντος καὶ ἐπεχούσης ἀγονίας καρπῶν, οἱ καταλειφθέντες, φασί, διὰ λιμὸν ἱκέται παραγενόμενοι εἰς Δελφοὺς ἤροντο τὴν Πυθίαν πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν τοῦ δεινοῦ. μίαν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἀρωγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰ χρήσαιντο τῇ Αἰακοῦ εὐχῇ. πεισθεὶς οὖν αὐτοῖς Αἰακὸς ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρος, τὰς καθαρὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας εἰς οὐρανόν, κοινὸν ἀποκαλέσας πατέρα_τὸν θεόν, ἠΰξατο οἰκτεῖραι αὐτὸν τετρυμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἅμα δὲ εὐχομένου βροντὴ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεκτύπει καὶ πᾶς ὁ πέριξ ἀὴρ ἐνεφοῦτο, λάβροι δὲ καὶ συνεχεῖς ὄμβροι καταρραγέντες ὅλην ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χώραν· ἐντεῦθεν ἄφθονος καὶ πλουσία τελεσφορεῖται εὐκαρπία, ταῖς Αἰακοῦ γεωργηθεῖσα εὐχαῖς.

Save that the Hellenes, when once sterility of crops had spread over and was destroying Hellas, the survivors, they say, coming due to famine to Delphi asked Pythia how to avert the terror. [She] declared to them only one succour for their misfortune, namely, if they would make use of the prayer of Aiakos. So then, persuaded by them, Aiakos ascended the Hellenikos mountain, stretched his pure hands out to heaven, invoked the Common Father, and prayed to him to have pity on the worn out Hellas. And as he was praying, a portentous thunder struck and the whole air around became full of clouds, and furious continuous rains falling in torrents filled the land. Henceforth, ungrudging and bountiful fruitfulness brings fruit to perfection cultivated by the prayers of Aiakos.

Theogenes of Aigina (FHG *IV 511* = *Σ Pind.* N. *3.21*)

ὀλιγανθρωπούσης γὰρ τῆς νήσου φασὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἐν σπηλαίοις καταγείοις διαιτᾶσθαι, αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀκατασκεύους ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν γινομένους καρποὺς εἰς ταῦτα καταφέρειν, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὀρυττομένην γῆν ἐπὶ τὰ γεώργια ἀναφέρειν, οὔσης ἐπιεικῶς ὑπάντρου τε καὶ ὑποπέτρου τῆς νήσου, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν πεδινῶν τόπων αὐτῆς. διόπερ ἀφομοιούντων αὐτοὺς, ὡς εἶδον ταῦτα πράττοντας, τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐρχομένων μύρμηξι, Μυρμιδόνας κληθῆναι.

Since the island has a scarcity of men, they say, that those who inhabit it live in underground caves, themselves being completely uncivilized, and that they bring whatever fruits happen to be down into the caves, while the earth dug out from the caves they bring up to farmed fields, because the island is generally cavernous and rocky, especially its plains. For this reason, that is, because those coming from abroad when they see them [Aiginetans] doing these things they liken them to ants, they [Aiginetans] are called Myrmidons.

Strabo 8.6.16

Αἴγινα δ' ἔστι μὲν καὶ τόπος τις τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῆσος πρὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἀρτίως παρατεθεῖσιν ἔπεσι βούλεται φράζειν ὁ ποιητής· διὸ καὶ γράφουσί τινες "νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν" ἀντὶ τοῦ "οἵ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν," διαστελλόμενοι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τῶν σφόδρα γνωρίμων ἐστὶν ἡ νῆσος, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ Αἰακός τε λέγεται καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καὶ θαλαττοκρατήσασά ποτε καὶ περὶ πρωτείων ἀμφισβητήσασα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ Περσικά. λέγεται δὲ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ὁ κύκλος τῆς νήσου, πόλιν δ' ὁμώνυμον ἔχει τετραμμένην πρὸς λίβα· περιέχουσι δ' αὐτὴν ἥ τε Ἀττικὴ καὶ ἡ Μεγαρὶ καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰ μέχρι Ἐπιδαύρου, σχεδόν τι ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἑκάστη διέχουσα· τὸ δὲ ἑωθινὸν μέρος καὶ τὸ νότιον πελάγει κλύζεται τῷ τε Μυρτῴῳ καὶ τῷ Κρητικῷ· νησίδια δὲ περίκειται πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ, Βέλβινα δὲ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὐτῆς κατὰ βάθους μὲν γεώδης ἐστί, πετρώδης δ' ἐπιπολῆς καὶ μάλιστα ἡ πεδιάς· διόπερ ψιλὴ πᾶσά ἐστι, κριθοφόρος δὲ ἱκανῶς. Μυρμιδόνας δὲκληθῆναί φασιν οὐχ ὡς ὁ μῦθος τοὺς Αἰγινήτας, ὅτι λοιμοῦ μεγάλου συμπεσόντος οἱ μύρμηκες ἄνθρωποι γένοιντο κατ' εὐχὴν Αἰακοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μυρμήκων τρόπον ὀρύττοντες τὴν γῆν ἐπιφέροιεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὥστ' ἔχειν γεωργεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀρύγμασιν οἰκεῖν φειδόμενοι πλίνθων. ὠνομάζετο δ' Οἰνώνη πάλαι. ἐπῴκησαν δ' αὐτὴν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κρῆτες καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Δωριεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀφελόμενοι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν νῆσον ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἰκήτορσιν. ἀποίκους δ' ἔστειλαν Αἰγινῆται εἴς τε Κυδωνίαν τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ εἰς Ὀμβρικούς. Ἔφορος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φείδωνος· ἐμπόριον γὰρ γενέσθαι, διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαλαττουργούντων ἐμπορικῶς, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν ῥῶπον Αἰγιναίαν ἐμπολὴν λέγεσθαι.

Aegina is the name of a place in Epidauria; and it is also the name of an island lying off this part of the mainland—the Aegina of which the poet means to speak in the verses just cited; and it is on this account that some write "the island Aegina" instead of "who held Aegina," thus distinguishing between places of the same name. Now what need have I to say that the island is one of the most famous? for it is said that both Aeacus and his subjects were from there. And

this is the island that was once actually mistress of the sea and disputed with the Athenians for the prize of valor in the sea fight at Salamis at the time of the Persian War. The island is said to be one hundred and eighty stadia in circuit; and it has a city of the same name that faces southwest; and it is surrounded by Attica, Megaris, and the Peloponnesus as far is Epidaurus, being distant about one hundred stadia from each; and its eastern and southern sides are washed by the Myrtoan and Cretan Seas; and around it lie small islands, many of them near the mainland, though Belbina extends to the high sea. The country of Aegina is fertile at a depth below the surface, but rocky on the surface, and particularly the level part; and therefore the whole country is bare, although it is fairly productive of barley. It is said that the Aeginetans were called Myrmidons,—not as the myth has it, because, when a great famine occurred, the ants became human beings in answer to a prayer of Aeacus, but because they excavated the earth after the manner of ants and spread the soil over the rocks, so as to have ground to till, and because they lived in the dugouts, refraining from the use of soil for bricks. Long ago Aegina was called Oenone, the same name as that of two demes in Attica, one near Eleutherae, "to inhabit the plains that border on Oenone and Eleutherae;" and another, one of the demes of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, to which is applied the proverb, "To Oenone—the torrent." Aegina was colonized successively by the Argives, the Cretans, the Epidaurians, and the Dorians; but later the Athenians divided it by lot among settlers of their own; and then the Lacedaemonians took the island away from the Athenians and gave it back to its ancient settlers. And colonists were sent forth by the Aeginetans both to Cydonia in Crete and to the country of the Ombrici. Ephorus says that silver was first coined in Aegina, by Pheidon; for the island, he adds, became a merchant center, since, on account of the poverty of the soil, the people employed themselves at sea as merchants, and hence, he adds, petty wares were called "Aeginetan merchandise." (Translated by H. L. Jones)



1. Enclosure framed by Ionic columns, in the rema of Tripiti, northeast of the Aphaia temple. Photo credit: Furtwängler, A. (1906) *Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*. Munich, pl. 16, 4.



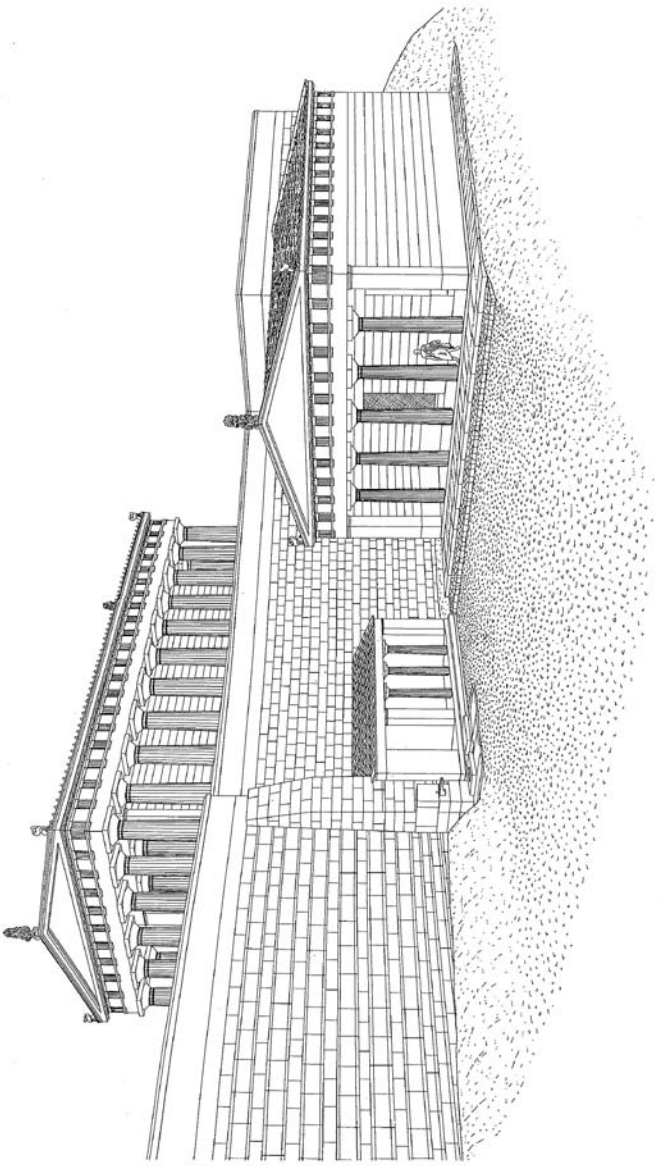
2. Aigina-town. North Harbor.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya



3. Aigina-town. Cape Kolonna and South Harbor A.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya



4. Cape Kolonna. Section of the north perimeter wall with a fountain/well. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya



5. Cape Kolonna. Reconstruction drawing of the Archaic temple, perimeter wall, fountain, and the Building with Inscribed Walls: view from the northeast.
Image credit: Klaus Hoffelner (1999) *Das Apollon-Heiligtum*. Mainz am Rhein (Verlag von Zabern), Tafel 77.
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6. Sanctuary of Aphaia: a "cave" below the northeast corner of the terrace wall. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



7. Pedimental sculpture from the temple of Aphaia: Athena at the center of the East pediment. In the collection of Glyptothek München. Reproduced with permission. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



8. Pedimental sculpture from the temple of Aphaia: figure of a lion-helmeted archer. In the collection of Glyptothek München. Reproduced with permission. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



9. Inscription concerning Aphrodite Epilimenia: *IG* IV^2 1005.
Photo credit: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archiv der *IG*, Photo or/and Repro H. R. Goette. Reproduced with permission.



10. Honorary Decree for *agoranomos* Diodoros. *IG* IV^2 750, lines 36-37.
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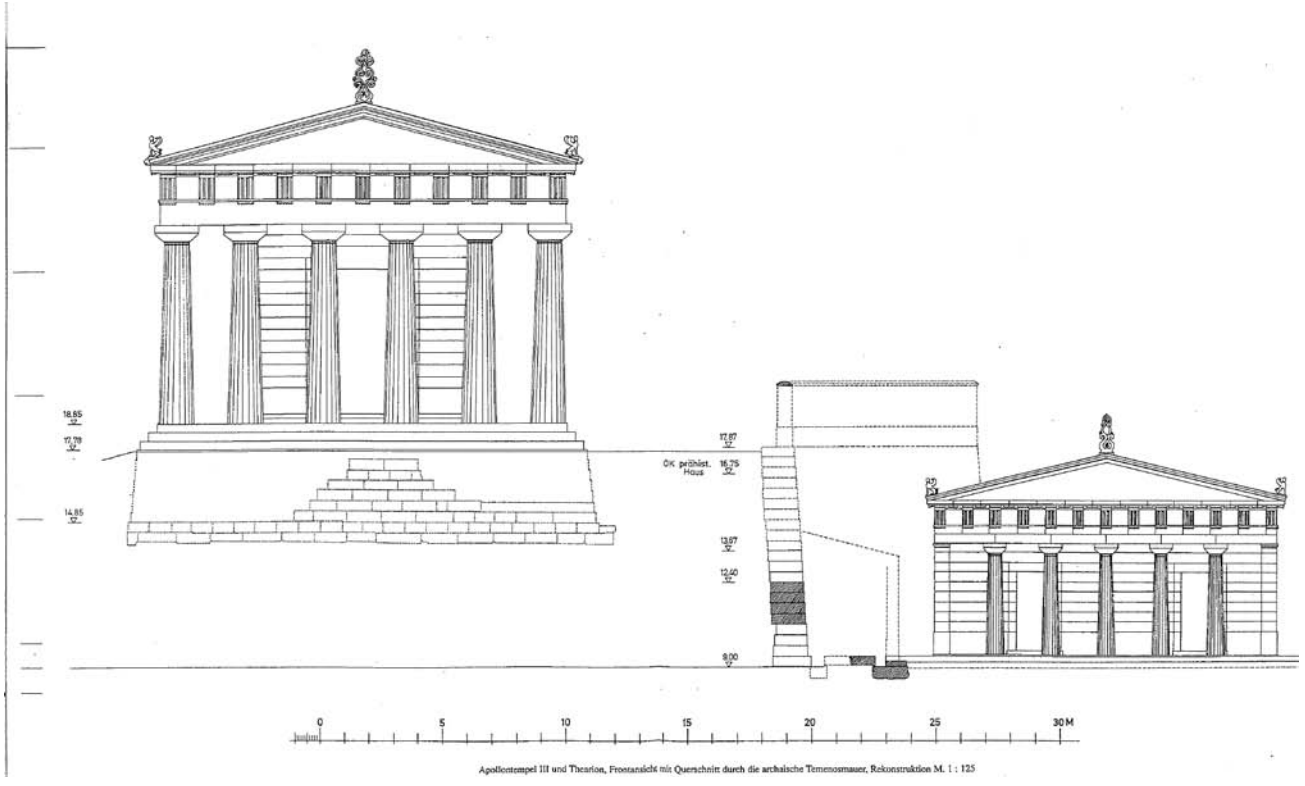
11. Document relief from Aigina (Nat. Mus. 1475).
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12. Late Roman wall with inscriptions on the north side of Cape Kolonna.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



13. Cape Kolonna. North perimeter wall of Late Roman date with block Q85 from the Building with Inscribed Walls.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



14. Cape Kolonna. Elevation drawing of the Archaic temple, the perimeter wall, and the Building with Inscribed Walls. Image credit: Klaus Hoffelner (1999) *Das Apollon-Heiligtum*. Mainz am Rhein (Verlag von Zabern), Tafel 71. Reprinted with permission.



15. Votive relief from Aigina (Nat. Mus. 1950).
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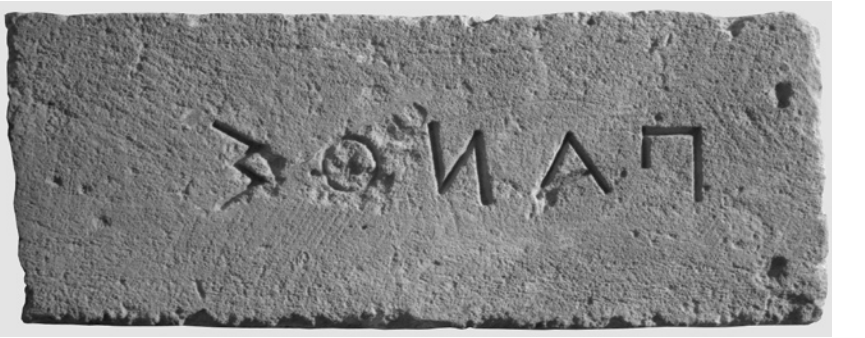
16. Votive table for Koliadai from the festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios. *IG* IV^2 1057, Pl. VI.
Photo credit: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Archiv der *IG*, Photo H. R. Goette. Reproduced with permission.



17. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the northern foot of the Oros: the upper cistern.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



18. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the northern foot of the Oros: the lower cistern.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



19. Inscription concerning Pan, from the sanctuary of Aphaia. *IG* IV² 1036, Pl. X.
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20. Dedication to Thebasimakhos. *IG* IV² 754, Pl. II.
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21. View of the north slope of the Oros from the festivals grounds of Zeus Hellanios to the summit and the site of the altar of Zeus.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



22. Marble corner-piece of an altar from the summit of the Oros.
Photo credit: courtesy of John McK. Camp, II.



23. Stone platform under the church of Profitis Elias at the summit of the Oros. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



24. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the Oros: view from the southeast.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



25. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the Oros: the ramp and the east retaining wall.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



26. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the Oros: the west retaining wall.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



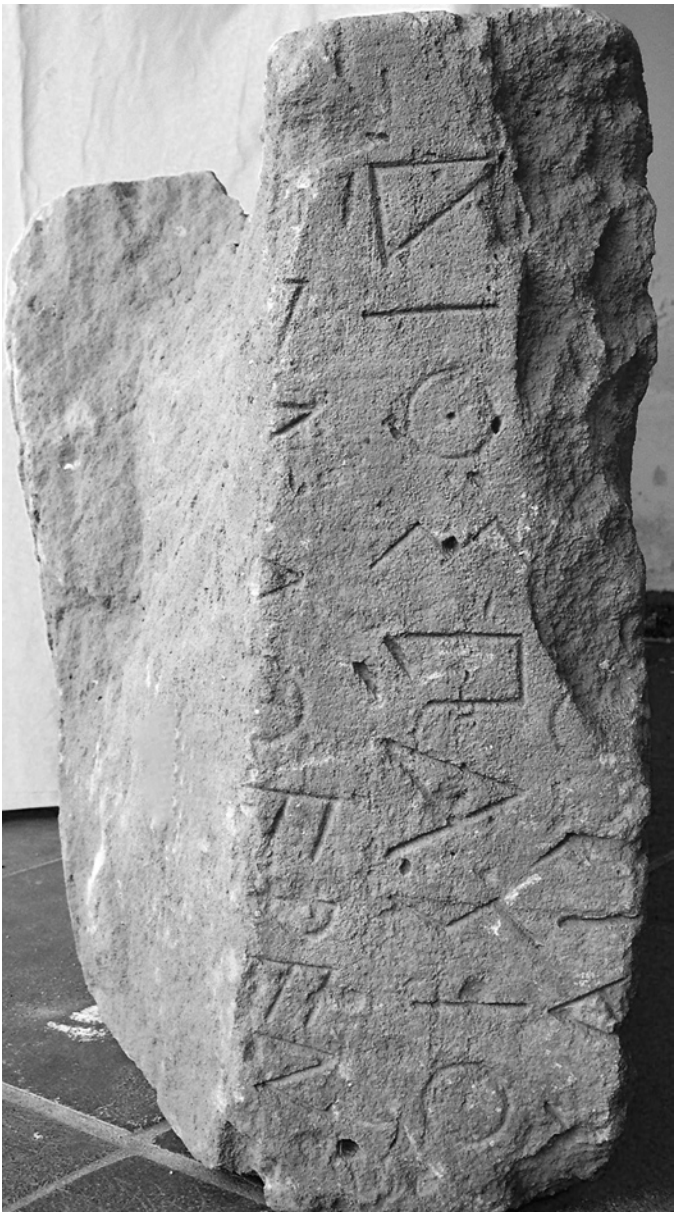
27. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the Oros: inscribed votive statue base (*IG* IV² 1055, Pl. VI) west of the ramp.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



28. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios at the Oros: statue base built into the church of Ag. Taxiarchi.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



29. View of Aigina from the Athenian acropolis.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



30. Inscription concerning Zeus Pasios. *IG* IV^2 1061, Pl. IV.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



31. View of south Aigina (village of Perdika and the peak of the Oros) from the island of Moni. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



32. View of the peak of Dragonera from the north.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.



33. View to the west and north from the peak of Dragonera.
Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.

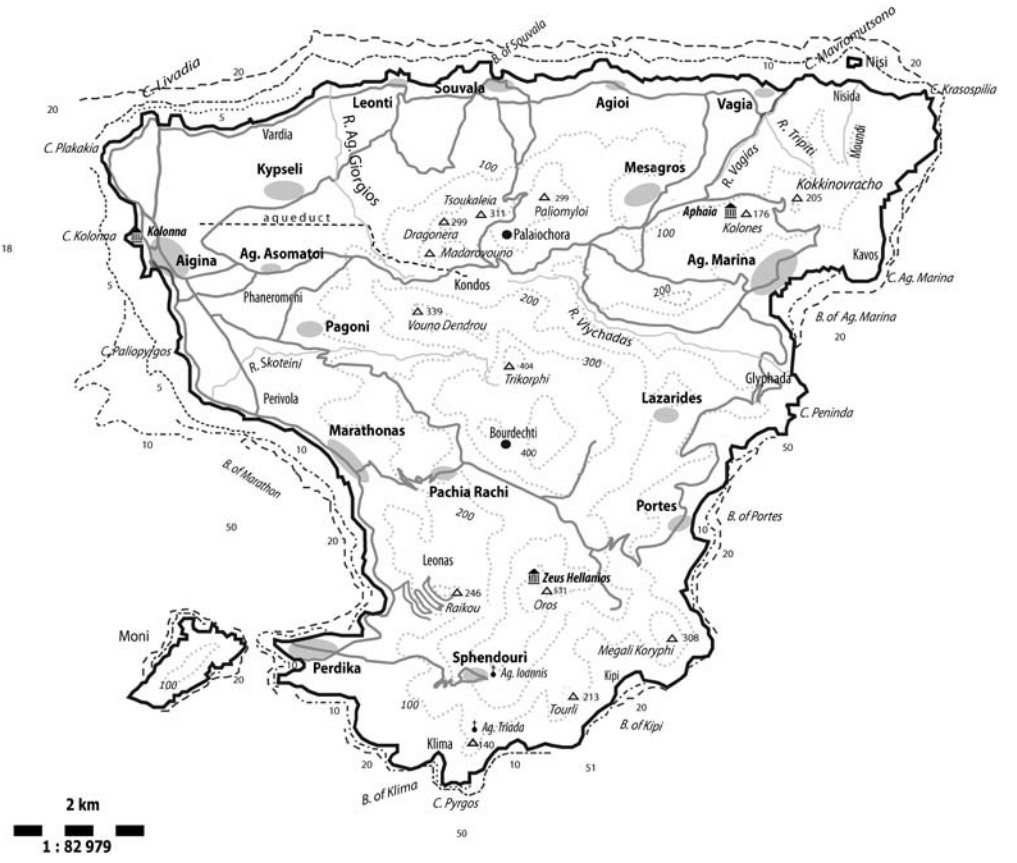


34. Andesite millstone hewn from bedrock and left on the north slope of Raikou. View north and west to the sea. Photo credit: Irene Polinskaya.

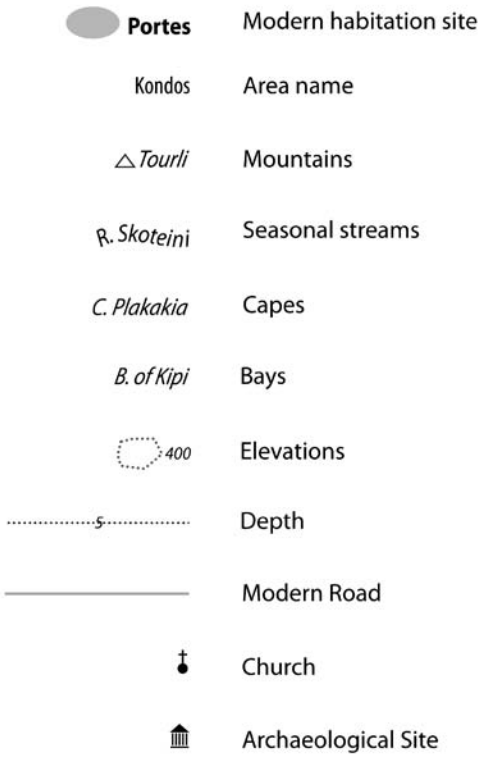


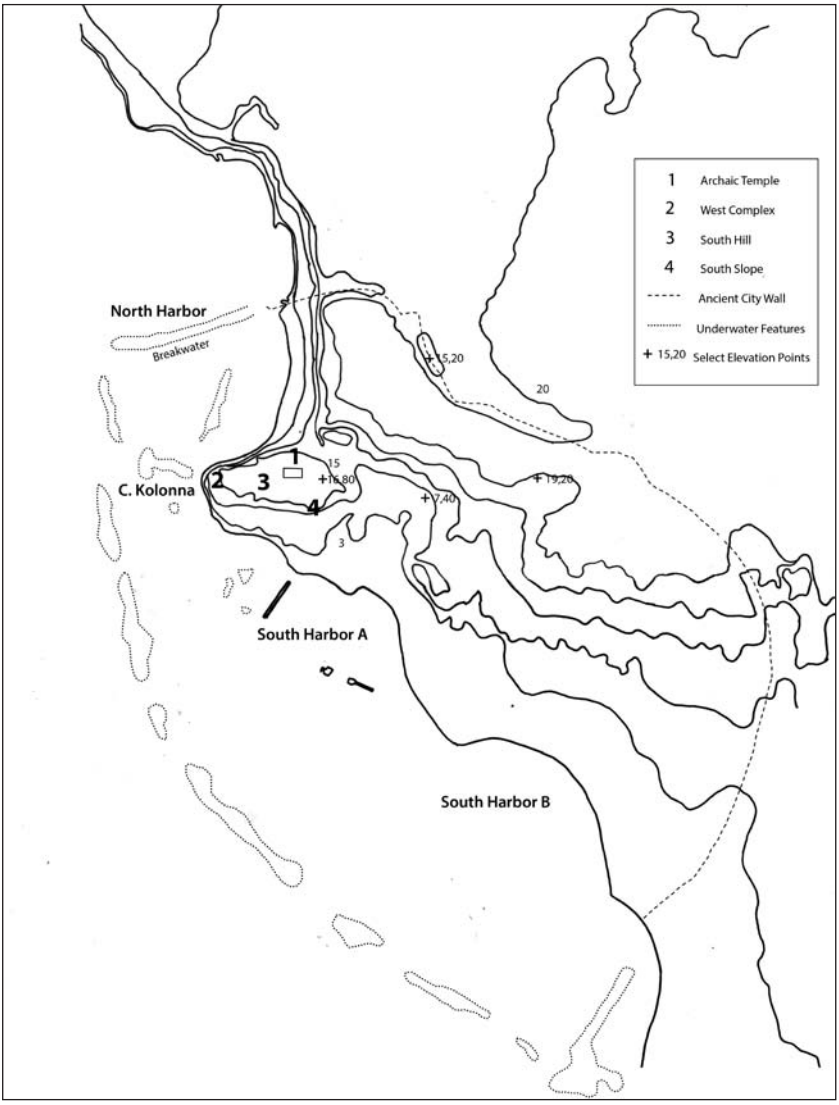
35. Architectural terracotta fragment from an area east of the sanctuary of Aphaia. Photo credit: Moustaka, A. (*Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia.* Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993, Plate 120, c and d). Reprinted with permission.

MAPS

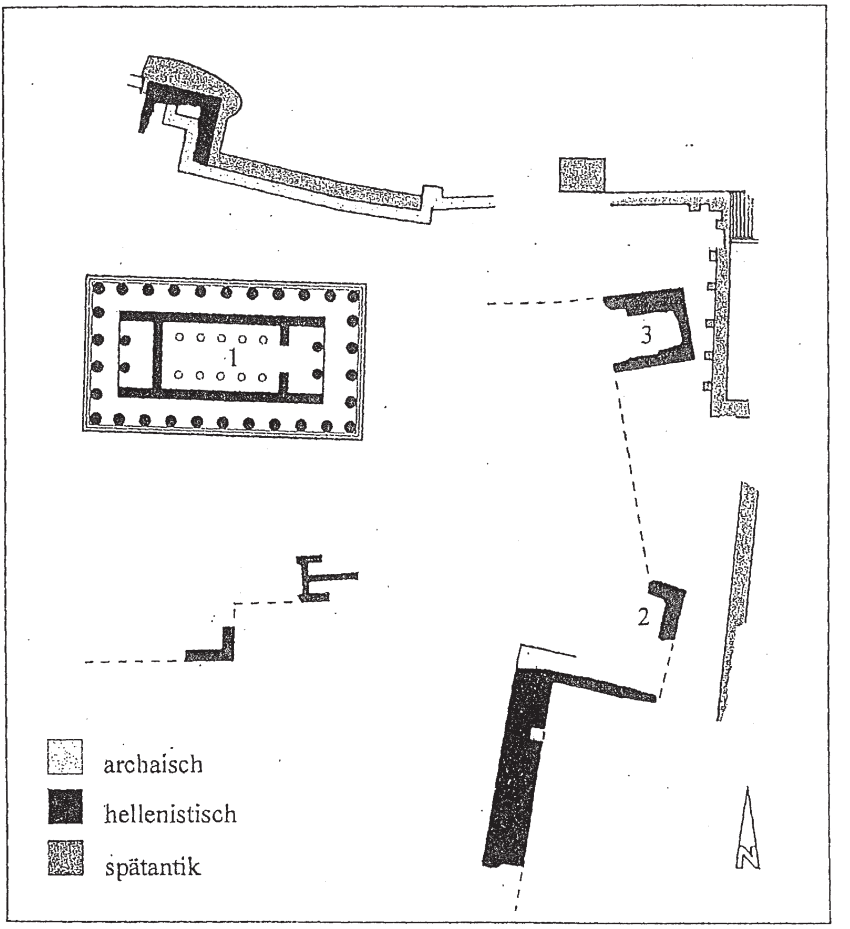


1. The island of Aigina.
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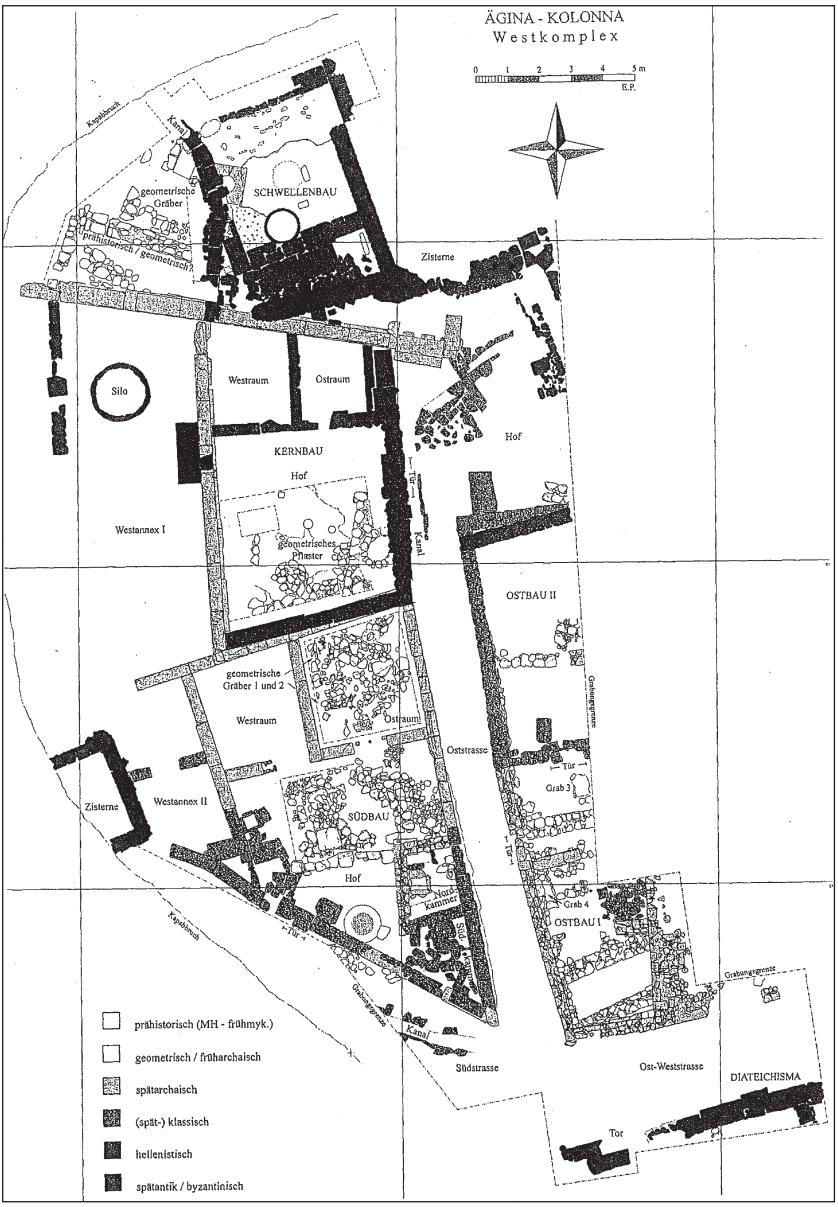

Portes
Modern habitation site
Kondos
Area name
Tourli
Mountains
R. Skoteini
Seasonal streams
C. Plakakia
Capes
B. of Kipi
Bays
400
Elevations
5
Depth
Modern Road
Church
Archaeological Site



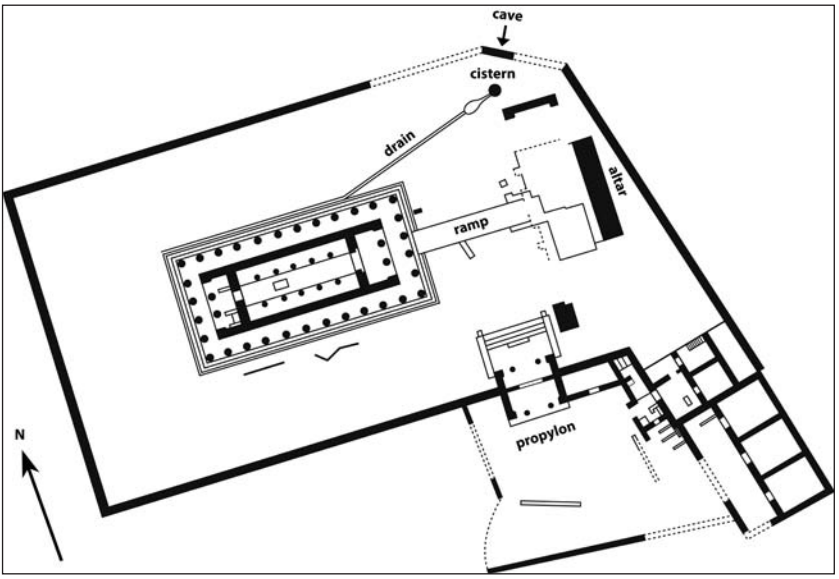
2. Ancient Aigina-town.
Image credit: Irene Polinskaya and Valeria Vitale.



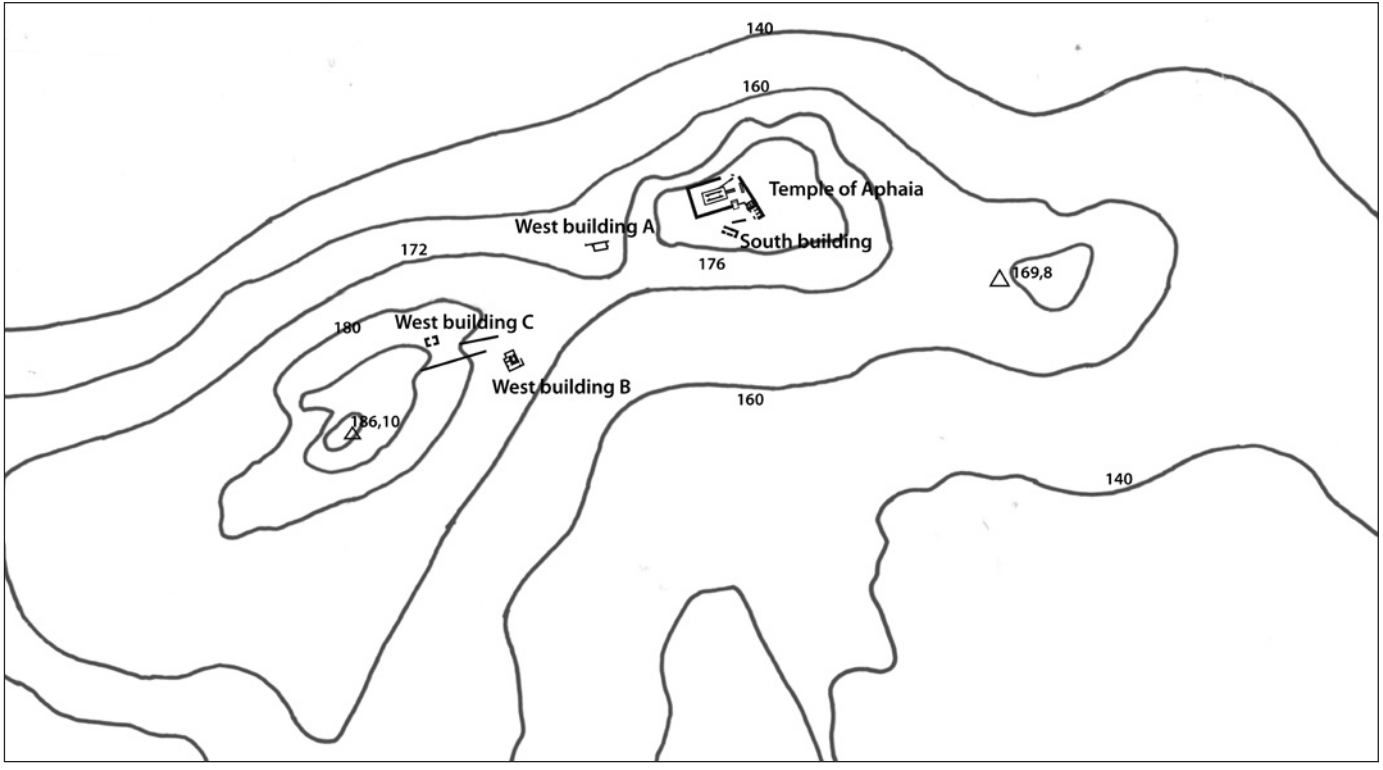
3. Archaeological site of Kolonna: ground plan of the eastern half. Image credit: Ed. Pollhammer. Reprinted, with permission, from F. Felten (2005) "Zur Baugeschichte archaischer Akropolen: Athen und Aigina," in B. Brandt, V. Gassner, S. Ladstätter, eds., *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzinger*, Volume II, pp. 179-189, Fig. 1 (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag).



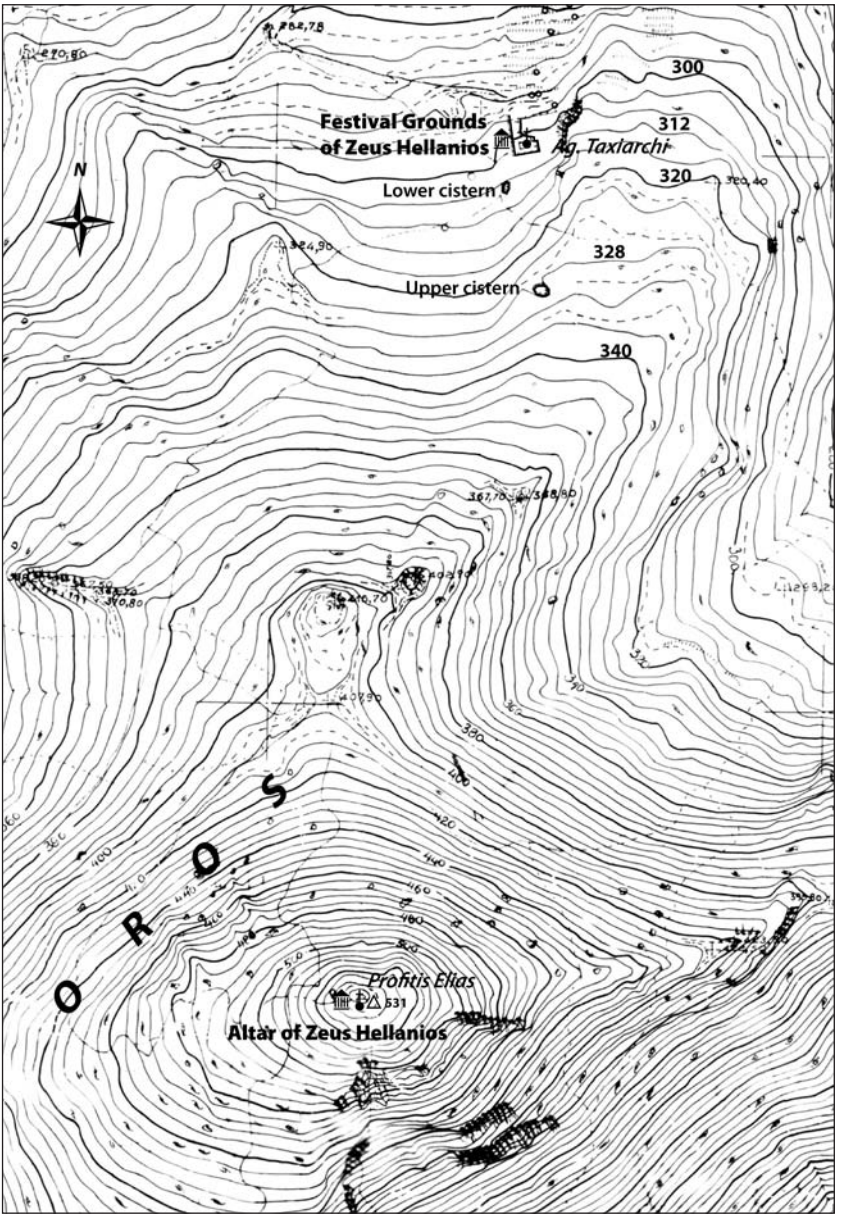
4. Archaeological site of Kolonna: ground plan of the West Complex. Image credit: Ed. Pollhammer. Reprinted, with permission, from Felten, F., C. Reinholdt, E. Pollhammer, W. Gauss, and R. Smetana (2010) "Ägina-Kolonna 2009. Vorbericht über die Grabungen des Fachbereichs Altertumswissenschaften/ Klassische und Frühägaische Archäologie der Universität Salzburg." *ÖJh* 79, 43-66, Fig. 1 (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag).



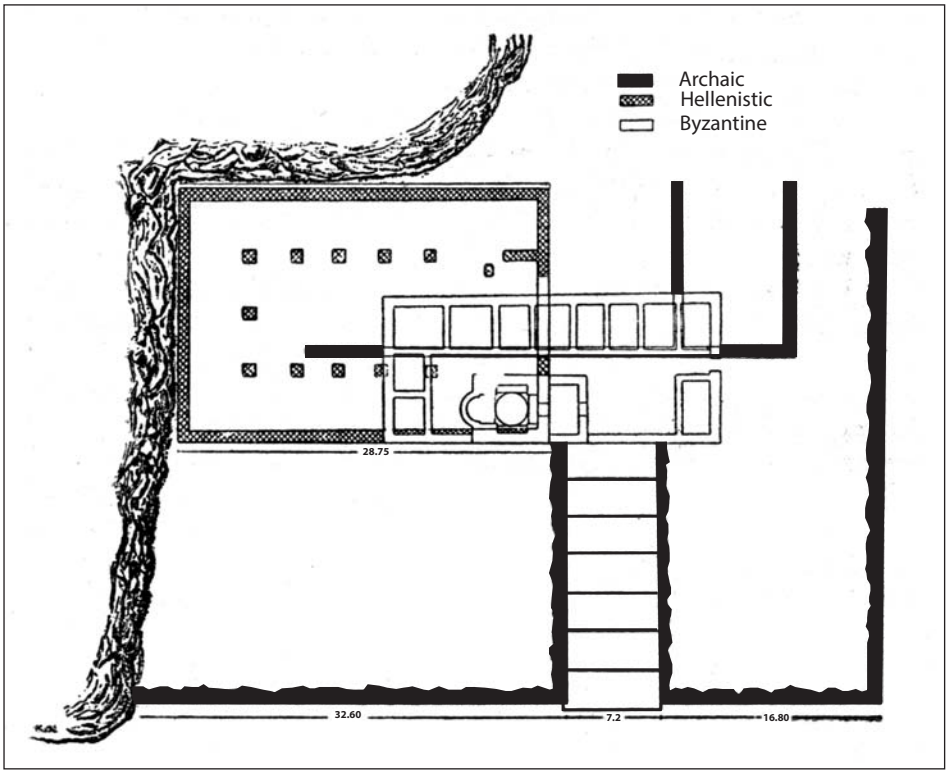
5. Sanctuary of Aphaia: archaeological remains of the 5th century BCE. Image credit: adapted from Furtwängler, A. (1906) *Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*. Munich.



6. Sanctuary of Aphaia and its immediate vicinity: West Buildings A, B, C.
Image credit: Irene Polinskaya and Valeria Vitale.



7. Sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on the Oros: altar at the summit and the festival grounds on the north slope.
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8. Festival grounds of Zeus Hellanios.
Image credit: G. Welter ("Aeginetica I–XII." *AA* 1938:1-33, fig. 5), with modifications by Valeria Vitale.

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